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THE DIVINE FOOTSTEPS

IN

HUMAN HISTORY

Adv. Bill

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
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IN

HUMAN HISTORY.

INTRODUCTION.

A FEW preliminary and explanatory remarks may prove serviceable to the readers of this volume. Its contents treat of questions, every one of which is of primary importance to the human race. The means by which great light is thrown upon them are both unusual and unprecedented. The principal materials employed are certain and unquestioned facts of human history. These are shown to have been so controlled and directed by some unseen yet intelligent agency, as to speak with utterances so clear, so distinct, and so decided, that their language can neither be mistaken nor misunderstood. There are lines upon lines, reaching from the far past to the immediate present in some instances; and the intermediate ages are full of historical chambers of light and knowledge. Throughout all time there are undeniable evidences of a continuous design, increasing

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the streams of its powerful influence as the ages accumulate, and all pouring the rivers of their separate and diverse action on human affairs into the grand reservoir of latter times. The selection of illustrative historical occurrences or epochs is not partial and limited, but full and comprehensive. Events involving the origination and evolution of new influences, and those connected with the decay and destruction of old ones, are included. The foundation, the rise, the duration, and the fall of some empires are traced through the successive stages of their existence. The planting, the extension, and the influence exercised by churches, are followed through their several windings to their respective destinations of overthrow, corruption, ambition, or approximative perfection. The histories of many modern states and kingdoms are carefully analysed; the principles of their governments tested; their social and political institutions compared and contrasted as they at present exist; and the past sources of their prevailing differences pointed out.

The strong and irresistible tendencies of the present age, influenced and impelled as they are by the concentrating and converging moral and intellectual forces which have been gathering and accumulating throughout all history, are intimated with no faltering or hesitating voice. These tendencies, politically, are so largely evolved, and their national fruits are so full and complete in one empire, that all ground of uncertainty is dissipated in respect of the character of their as yet unattained ultimate results elsewhere. In connection with the history of the people of the British Isles, the political conclusions arrived at, after con-

siderable research, and confirmed by abundant evidence, can produce only one feeling in the universal national mind, and that without distinction of creed or party, rank or condition. Here, there cannot but be a general accord of sincere satisfaction and hearty congratulation. Ecclesiastically, the essential points of difference are narrowed to two : one, the old source of religious disunion between Romanists and Protestants ; the other, the new cause of a wider separation between established and dissenting Protestant churches. The final settlement of both questions is yet to come ; but great light is thrown upon their respective bearings and their conflicting influences on the ecclesiastical perfection and religious welfare of the three kingdoms. A vast amount of historical evidence is adduced in order to elucidate, with a clearness and precision approaching to undeniable demonstration, the strong and resistless currents and tendencies of human history in connection with ecclesiastical or religious institutions. The proofs are found running in three distinct streams of history ; the first negative, and the second and third affirmative, in their character. The first pronounces adversely against one class of claims and pretensions ; the remaining two chiefly corroborate and confirm the liberating and uniting ecclesiastical operation of the opposite principles held by other classes of claimants, but they also incidentally repeat and reiterate the negative testimony of the first.

The tendency of affairs in the American States, which in their population and institutions are identified with the history of Britain, is examined with great care and at considerable length, and with an

apparent approach to success in arriving at a just and enlightened conclusion. The strong tendencies at work in the production of modern European history are next followed, from their several sources, throughout the various lines along which they have travelled, to their existing manifestations of disturbing, revolutionary, and desolating inherent force and power. The whole is wound up by the presentation to the mind of the reader of an exact and undoubted facsimile of this remarkable picture of human history, given 2500 years ago in one single chapter of that great book, whose contents have been the occasion of ceaseless bitter contentions among dogmatic partisans, and have been not unfrequently, and even are at the present day, regarded in many quarters with grave suspicion, if not openly avowed disbelief.

Happily the small portion of Scripture contained in the chapter made use of at the close of this volume has hitherto escaped all criticism, whether friendly or unfriendly. It has been as much beyond the reach of cavil or disputation as the principles and facts of geology were until their recent discovery, or the inscriptions on the Nineveh monuments of antiquity until they were dug up in modern times ; and, with the exception of this one chapter, the reader will not find much above a score of the briefest possible Scripture quotations throughout the entire volume. The book has been written in no hostile spirit to any human being. The aim throughout has been to exclude entirely from view the living man, in treating of the Divine principles and influences which at various times have exercised a controlling power over the human race, individually and nationally. Even as to

the practical application of the conclusions arrived at, it is impossible that any effects but such as are beneficial, elevating, and delighting, can be produced, except where a wilful but unavailing resistance may be offered. Joy and blessing and happiness are the promised gifts to the race of man; and to Britain great favour has been shown in selecting her people to be the first recipients of the ripened harvest-fruits of that glorious consummation to which all past human history points, and which is now to be fully and permanently inaugurated on this earth.

CHAPTER I.

“WHAT is truth?” is an inquiry, the reply to which, particularly in its religious and ecclesiastical aspects, is apparently beset with considerable difficulty. It is manifest that grave doubts exist in many quarters. The Roman Catholic evinces some hesitation in endorsing the traditional theory of his Church when its infallible authority is committed to the support of dogmas which cannot stand the test either of investigation or free discussion. The Protestant is not without fretting and impatience under the yoke which creeds and formularies impose; and there are indications that some are not disinclined to emancipate themselves from the restraint of humanly devised confessions of faith, and elaborately compiled systems of religious doctrine. Even the individual Christian, who relies on the Scriptures and the enlightening influence of the Divine Spirit within his own nature, feels as if the old foundations were giving way. What is truth even in Scripture, is an open question in the estimation of not a few. And if some modern theories of biblical criticism are to be accepted and worked out to their legitimate results, what has hitherto been reveren-

tially received and believed as the Word of God, will come to be regarded as a book of great value, in some respects—the writers of which, however, were as liable to error and misconception as the author of an ordinary literary production.

During the apostolic period of church history, the doctrine of infallible authority was, to say the least, reasonable, if what is affirmed concerning Christianity and Judaism be true. A new religion was in process of promulgation. It was to supersede a religious system that had been evolved in the history of the Jews, after being introduced, it is alleged, with solemn Divine sanctions. New motives of human action, both in relation to God and fellow-men, were to be announced. Self-denial, as a dominant principle, was to be substituted for strict equity as a rule of life and conduct. Towards God, the spirit of the moral law was to supplant the letter; towards men, the practice of love was to be ingrafted upon the observance of justice. New views of man's prospects as a moral being, both in time and in eternity, were to be revealed. Life and immortality were to be brought to light: a life that was to be begun, and the happy fruits of which were to be largely experienced by many, in the present state of human existence; an immortality, the hope of which was to gladden many hearts, and the full realisation of which hereafter, was to become the chief aim of not a few while they sojourned on this earth. The platform from which the favoured nation had contemplated the nature, the works, and the ways of the Creator and Governor of the universe, was to be abolished. Another and a more elevated stand-point of observation was to be

erected, from which men might obtain a more comprehensive view of the grand purpose of the Eternal, and take a wider survey of His great work. God Himself was to descend, and, by the agency of the Divine Spirit, tabernacle with men. New influences of a moral and invisible kind were to come into operation in the hearts and minds of men, and they were to exercise a powerful and efficacious control over the destinies of the human race and the general history of the world.

These and other similar objects constituted the appointed work of the founders of the Christian church. Their discovery was beyond the reach of unaided human reason. The greatest minds of preceding eras groped in midnight darkness in relation to such things. The nature of the Deity and His intentions towards the race of man, as disclosed in the teachings and writings of the first heralds of the Christian faith, must of necessity have been the subject of invisible illumination and Divine revelation if what was proclaimed is true ; for truth of this kind was not ascertainable by any process of induction or intellectual reasoning. Therefore the plea for an infallible authority in or with the Christian church at the initial stage of its history is not only admissible ; its existence was an absolute necessity. From God alone such truth, if made known at all, could come. Through human instrumentality only could it be presented in an intelligible and suitable form for the consideration and acceptance of the men of that and every succeeding age. The new church once fairly launched on the sea of life, fully equipped with its armour of heavenly principles, and furnished with its unerring chart of Divine truth, the circumstances which at-

tended its advent would pass away. In particular, the repository of Divine truth committed to its keeping, for the progressive enlightenment and final regeneration of the human race, was complete. Interpretation from thence became the legitimate employment of the teachers and custodiers of the truth. The extraordinary influences of the Divine Spirit, by which the apostles were guided and directed when declaring what was previously unknown, ceased to be indispensable. And the ordinary avenue of Divine illumination in interpreting the received oracles was accessible to all, so far as regarded their faith and practice.

It is alleged, however, that an infallible interpreter has been provided, and that to Him has been committed the subsequent development of the great scheme of human enlightenment and complete redemption. As the Divine Interpreter, it is recorded that He occupies, in respect of Scripture, a most important relation to individuals, to nations, and to the whole race of mankind. Of Him many things are alleged: among others, it is affirmed that His is the pen that writes on the fleshly tables of men's hearts the truth as revealed in the written Word; His is the finger that traces in human history the outlines of the great plan of the Divine Ruler, and guides and regulates among the nations of the earth the incarnation of the heavenly principles enunciated in the sacred record; His is the hand charged with the entire responsibility of the full verification, the unerring historical interpretation, and the grand final consummation of all that is declared and promised in the word of truth; He is the only infallible Guide, and it is His peculiar province to reveal all truth. Dissociated

from His influence, there neither has been nor can be any progress in the evolution of correct principles and sound doctrine, nor any increase of the knowledge of what is true concerning either the purpose of God or the destinies of men. His constant and unwearied superintendence renders wholly unnecessary and superfluous the proffered aid of human agency in this exalted region of spiritual action. The attributes of divinity are alone competent to undertake and accomplish the work; and they require not to be supplemented by the limited faculties and faltering energies of man.

Since the day of Pentecost, His influence for good has been in active operation among men. The seed of all that is pure and ennobling, either in individual character or national existence, has in the interval been abundantly sown by Him, and the issue thereof cannot fail to be the ripening and the reaping of an abundant harvest of blessed and happy fruits. His work is likened to the erection of a glorious and magnificent temple. The materials out of which He is constructing the building are the lives, the experiences, and the actions of the human race. The manner of His operation is both internal and external—internal as respects individual life, and external in controlling the aggregate results of individual life and action in the production of human history. The end apparently contemplated is a grand disclosure of the Divine glory in the physical improvement, the intellectual enlightenment, and the moral elevation of the human race. Reflecting minds generally agree in regarding human history as a great instructor. Large stores of human wisdom and experience have

been accumulated in the past ; but there is, above all, a Divine Teacher, whose footsteps in history will be discoverable when the clouds and darkness that have hitherto surrounded them begin to be removed.

Nearly six thousand years have elapsed since the commencement of human history. Although there had been no revelation from above bearing upon the point, it would scarcely be credible that the author of so complicated a living machinery of hope, motion, feeling, and action, could remain a listless and quiescent spectator of its varied and conflicting productions from age to age. If absolute indifference on the part of the Divine Creator is inadmissible as a description of the relation which He has occupied towards mankind throughout their history, then active interference to some extent must have been the rule of His procedure. This interference may have been minute and particular in its character, or it may have been comprehensive and general, or it may have partaken of each quality in a greater or less degree. The recognition of the Divine interference in either manner in human history involves the existence of positive and palpable results therefrom. The obscurity that interposes to conceal these results of active Divine interference from human view, does not materially diminish the probability of their existence in human history. The law by which order and regularity of movement are secured in the material heavens, was for ages a mystery to human beings, until at length the very common occurrence of the falling of an apple from its tree suggested to a human mind a train of thought and inquiry, the fruit of which was its discovery.

Few men of ordinary penetration can fail to be struck with the remarkable characteristics of the present time. How many questions that have long perplexed thinking men, and separated them into opposing sections, are now apparently ripening, and hastening to a satisfactory settlement! What nation, or kingdom, or dynasty, or form of government, is in these days free from the disturbing influence of existing commotion and uneasiness or impending change? Are the apparently resistless influences now manifesting their power and presence in every quarter of the earth, new in their nature and inexplicable in their character; or are they the fruits and the effects of long-existent Divine footprints in the world's history, now moving with accelerated speed to their destined consummation? Are those manifold indications which betoken the coming storm in human affairs the production of a sudden and impulsive invisible action unconnected with past history; or are they the legitimate results of a great scheme, whose slow but steady and progressive development has been in operation for many generations, and of which clear and legible traces ought to be found in the history of the world?

Many histories of modern nations have been written, and not a few of ancient empires are accessible to human study; but there is a history that has not yet been written. The history of the Divine footsteps among the nations and kingdoms of men is yet unwritten. It may remain so till the end of time; but whether or not, it is impossible to deny that either in the present or some future state the veil will be removed, and these footprints will be made manifest.

It cannot be seriously alleged that the differences in the character, the constitution, the governments, and the very peoples of the various nations that now exist on the earth, are the result of accident. Why are not all nations alike in every respect, springing, as it is affirmed they have done, from one common origin? And if not all alike, what has made them to differ? Some may say, nature; others will reply, climate; and yet a third may answer, acquired habit. Will any one, or all three, satisfactorily account for the actual differences in the present state of Britain as an empire, compared with that of any other power on the face of the earth? For few nations has nature or climate done less than for the people who inhabit the British Isles; for some nations acquired habit has done as much, if not more;—and yet it is beyond all controversy she is first among the dominions of earth for the liberty and security enjoyed under her government, and the contentment, the unity, and goodwill of all classes among her people. Has the application of correct principles nothing to do with these results? Has the knowledge of what is true exercised no influence? And must the Divine intention be wholly excluded from view when estimating the causes that have produced effects so singular and remarkable?

The general rule by which the Divine procedure towards individual men is regulated is very plainly indicated in Scripture, both by example and express declaration. Yet he is nevertheless a bold man who ventures to form and express a confident opinion concerning the Divine intention towards any particular individual among his fellow-creatures. The rule by

which the Divine procedure towards nations of men is regulated, is not so plainly announced in Scripture, either by example or distinct declaration. It does not therefore follow, however, that there is no rule on the subject, and no Divine intention in process of evolution. The formation by one man of a correct opinion concerning the Divine intention towards any other man is a palpable impossibility, not so much from the nature of the thing itself, as from the absence of all the required elements for its accomplishment. It is different with the history of a nation; for in its case the elements of a correct opinion exist in abundance, if the connecting links can only be accurately ascertained, and if the actual influences which have directed the leading events can be analysed and properly defined.

An observant man, towards the close of a long life of careful examination and study of his own experiences, may approximate toward a correct opinion concerning the Divine intention with regard to himself at some remarkable epochs of his existence. But even this is probably a rare occurrence, and furnishes no reliable foundation on which to build a general theory of individual human experience. It is, at the very least, unwise to attempt to comprehend the purpose of the infinite Ruler in its relation to the finite and brief existence of a single human being. The Divine intention is, of necessity, so wide and diffusive in its relation to individual persons, embracing innumerable myriads, and is also so extended as respects the period of its duration, that without direct and special inspiration, no man can attain to any certainty in his knowledge of its particular bearings even towards

himself. It is, in all circumstances, unsafe for an individual to form any opinion of the Divine intentions towards himself, even although it could be based on a very large number of personal experiences and remarkable occurrences; for the sphere of individual observation is infinitesimal, while the range of the Divine plan is infinite, and its application is to innumerable individual beings.

The same difficulties do not present themselves in the study of aggregate human history. Not only individual units, but successive generations, have their personal history merged in the gradual evolution of a great principle of human action. The Divine intention is the one great predominating influence in the control and regulation of the principal national events that constitute the general history of the world. The great epochs in the history of one or more nations are the landmarks of the Divine plan; and as the time of its consummation draws near, the Divine footprints in history will in all probability be traced with considerable distinctness and a near approach to accuracy. The nature of the inquiry is altogether different from an investigation of a similar kind into the bearings of the Divine intention towards individual men. The latter savours strongly of presumption; the former is, in some respects, not dissimilar to the labours of the astronomer, the geographer, or the geologist. And it remains to be seen whether it is possible to throw as much light on the Divine footsteps in human history as has been cast on the Divine footsteps in the creation and order of the material heavens and earth.

In presence of evidence admittedly sufficient to establish beyond doubt a system of law and order in

the material universe, there have been (and probably still are) men of no mean intellect who have nevertheless hesitated to accept this fact as proof of the presiding and controlling care of a supreme intelligence. If, however, a reasonable amount of testimony could be adduced in support of a plan, according to which the great events of human history have been guided and regulated, the existence of a great intelligent ruler could not in fairness be open to question by such minds. An argument for the existence of an "I am that I am" would be irresistibly stronger if deduced from facts proving an intelligent intention in the history of men, than one drawn from the invariable and unchanging laws that control the movements of inert matter. When it is considered how short-lived in time and contracted in space has been the influence of the greatest of men on the course of human affairs, and how frequently their known intentions have been frustrated by the results produced, the proof of anything like continuous design or regular sequence in the order of the leading events in the history of the world would be a remarkably sure foundation, on which to rest a new argument in favour not only of the Divine origination, but also of the Divine care and superintendence of all things.

In this age of mental activity, opinions are very various and conflicting on all subjects. Even when facts, and more especially figures, have to be dealt with, it is occasionally surprising to witness the different meanings which are attached to them, and the opposite uses to which they are applied. In no region of thought is there so much actual diversity of opinion as in that which pertains to the Divine Being,

and the relation in which men stand to Him here, or are to occupy towards Him hereafter. There are some minds extremely credulous and superstitious, and there are others violently sceptical and doubting. There are some who regard the Scriptures as written by men under the inspiration of God, every word of which is to be received as spoken by the Divine Being ; and there are others who profess to receive them as they would any other book of ancient writings, to be judged of by their own intrinsic and internal worth, and regarded accordingly. There are eminent thinkers who firmly believe in the truth of the miracles recorded in the Scriptures, and there are thinkers as undoubtedly eminent who unhesitatingly reject them, and deny the probability of their having occurred. There is no end of the shades and diversities of opinion and doctrine on all questions relating to the present moral position and future destiny of the human race.

It cannot be denied that there are among all sections of thinkers, however opposite and antagonistic their opinions, many men who have carefully investigated for themselves before forming the conclusions to which they have sincerely come, and which they conscientiously profess. Such men are at all times open to a reconsideration of their views, if sufficient grounds can be brought forward to induce them to re-enter the field of inquiry. The design of the writer of the present volume is so to present the subject as to invite the attention of all classes of thinkers, and, as much as possible, to avoid repelling the scrutiny of any. The endeavour will be to establish the existence of a law regulating movements in the realm of history not dissimilar to the law that prevails in the

realm of matter. An attempt will be made to show that the sun does not more regularly perform his daily circuit than the great luminaries of the world's moral and intellectual history have run their appointed courses. As the sun rises, attains his meridian, and finally sets, so it will be shown that the lights of the moral and intellectual economy of existence have had their dawn, their meridian, and their final consummation. Great centres of human history and numerous lesser constellations of historical light will be found, all of them exerting a singular and remarkable power of mental illumination.

The materials out of which the theory is to be constructed, and by which the law of human events will be proved to exist, are indisputable facts of history. The reasonings employed will be wholly founded on these facts; and the inferences deducible will in most cases be self-evident to readers of moderate intellectual ability. The use of Scripture cannot be altogether avoided; it will, however, be resorted to as a repository of facts chiefly. The effect, towards the latter portion of the volume, will probably be to prove certain things of and concerning some parts of Scripture, rather than the establishment of any particular or general feature of the theory from them. The motive for adopting this course is not by any means depreciatory of the authority of Scripture; and this method of prosecuting the inquiry will generate a restrictive influence and increase its difficulty. One great beneficial result from this plan, however, will be, that the man who believes in the inspiration of all Scripture, or the man who doubts or disbelieves it in whole or in part, will have no violence done to his opinions by

the limited and sparing use that is made of the sacred writings in these pages.

If there be one thing beyond all others respecting which there is a widespread and well-founded conviction in the general mind of this country, it is the fact that a new era in the history of the United Kingdom was inaugurated in the year 1828. From thence an epoch of great and unprecedented transition dates its commencement. The opinion is so generally entertained, and its correctness is so abundantly confirmed by the events which have transpired, that it only requires to be stated to be uniformly acquiesced in. The intervening period has witnessed the completion of the edifice of full religious liberty, and the abolition of every civil disability previously existing on the ground of nonconformity in religious faith. The political fabric of the nation has been reconstructed, to the great advantage of the people generally; and the reform of the national institutions has enlarged the privileges and increased the liberty of individual citizens. The fetters of the slave have been struck off, and every bondman has been made free. Municipal corporations have been reorganised in a popular direction, and established on a wider and a broader basis. In trade and commerce the law of restriction has been wholly abandoned, and the influence of freedom is all-prevalent. The spirit of change has even assailed the ecclesiastical institutions of the empire: for in one of the national establishments there has been a diminution and a curtailment of the number of its dignitaries; in another there has been a disruption of its corporate existence, and an extensive secession of its ministers and members; while, in the three kingdoms, they

have been thrown on the voluntary contributions of their people, as the chief resource from which to draw the pecuniary means of increasing the number of their places of worship, and enlarging the sphere of their religious ministrations.

Such have been the celerity and swiftness of the march of events, that thirty years have sufficed to accomplish all these things. Within the space of time ordinarily allotted to the existence of a single generation—within the period occupied in developing to maturity the powers and faculties of an individual man—the British empire has cast aside the remnant of medieval principles by which her energies were cramped and her spirit chafed, and, clothing herself with the principles of justice, freedom, and goodwill, as with a garment, has risen to the zenith of political grandeur and national greatness. From whence has all this proceeded? Is it the result of accident or blind fortune, or is it the product of an intelligent intention? If designed, who has been the great architect of her remarkable destiny? Are there any among all her sons who can lay claim to this high distinction? Where were her distinguished citizens of the generation now passing away when the foundations of her greatness were laid in past ages? How many of those who have ultimately given their strenuous and willing support to the carrying of the measures that have been recently enacted, were originally under the influence of principles and opinions, adherence to which would have hindered the onward advance of the nation, prolonged the struggle of contending parties, and postponed the triumphs that have been achieved?

The era of great change and vast progress to Bri-

tain in later times dates from the repeal of the Test Act in the year 1828. This was followed by the act of Roman Catholic Emancipation in the year 1829 ; and this class of reforms or innovations in long-established usage was completed by the removal of Jewish disabilities in the year 1858. Protestant dissenters, and adherents of the Roman and Jewish faiths, were previously excluded and sometimes oppressed sects. They were the classes specially benefited by the passing of the measures that have so largely contributed to the internal peace of the empire, and the strength and stability of its institutions. Britain, Italy, and Palestine, are portions of this earth's territory that appear to have been specially consecrated as the nurseries of great principles of civil and ecclesiastical polity. Among the nations inhabiting these portions of the earth's territory, three distinct, and in many respects dissimilar, forms of civil government, have been originated and developed. Under the rule of their civil governments there have arisen three separate systems of religious faith and ecclesiastical polity. Notwithstanding the distinctness and variety of these three several forms of civil government and systems of religious faith and ecclesiastical polity, there are not wanting in their histories evidences of unity of design.

Britain and Italy are, in the present day, great centres of influence upon surrounding nations ; and the disturbing vibrations of the long-pending Eastern question, on the solution of which the destiny of Palestine depends, have not yet ceased. In the land of Palestine, and among the people of the Jews, a compend of religious faith and doctrine was devised and

gradually matured. The full accomplishment of this was the work of many generations. This fact is irrespective and altogether independent of the truth or error of the principles enunciated ; neither is its absolute certainty in any way affected by the question of the acceptance or rejection of these principles and doctrines as of Divine authority. There is this further fact, equally unassailable in point of accuracy,—the Roman empire first, and subsequently the British empire, have been brought under the influence of the principles and doctrines which constituted the essence and the substance of this very religion. Judaism, Romanism, and Protestantism, are three grand and apparently antagonistic divisions of one religion, and although fiercely hostile to one another, each one of the three claims and acknowledges the same historic origin. The points of divergence in their history mark the great epochs in the general history of events by which the principles of human action have been revolutionised. The adherents of Romanism profess to trace its rise from the early dawn of the Christian era, and make its foundation coeval with the labours of Paul and his associates. Protestantism commenced its separate existence in the great Reformation era, and can be traced to the labours of Luther and his colleagues. All three, however, agree in attributing to Abraham and Moses the distinction of being the first founders, in remote ages—the one of the religious faith they have adopted, and the other of the ecclesiastical polity on which theirs is founded.

Whether any one of the three is a true religion, or all three are received as human inventions cunningly devised, cannot in any degree militate against the

absolute truthfulness of the historical occurrences narrated. That such men as Abraham, Moses, Paul, and Luther have lived on this earth, cannot be denied. That Abraham was the founder of the Jewish nation, and the first subject of a general religious faith still subsisting—that Moses was the framer of the Jewish ecclesiastical polity—that Paul was an apostle of the Christian faith, preaching it specially to what was denominated the Gentile world—and that Luther was the leading mind in the toils of the crisis that gave birth to Protestantism,—are all facts of history sufficiently well attested. A comparison of the present state of Britain with its condition at the time of the Reformation, reveals a law of national progress. A comparison of the existing general aspects of civilised nations with the state of the people most advanced in their social and political relationships either at the time of the Reformation, the commencement of the Christian era, or the days of Moses, proclaims a general law of human progression, evolving itself not fitfully, but by successive and regular steps of gradation.

There is a continuous chain of human history, dating from the life of Abraham onward to the present time. The principal connecting links of this continuous chain are well-authenticated facts, and generally-recognised epochs. Whether by accident or design, the history of man is apparently divided into three separate periods, each of which has striking peculiarities clearly distinguishing it from the other two. The first terminates with the death of Noah or the birth of Abraham ; the second dates from thence, and closes with the commencement of the Christian era ; and

the third has been running its course since that eventful epoch. Of the first period little is known ; reliable records are extant which give more information concerning the second period ; and the knowledge of the more important occurrences of the third period is even more full and complete. These divisions may not inappropriately be designated the infancy, the boyhood, and the maturing manhood of the human race. The evidence in support of the three great divisions of the geological scale may be as satisfactory to those who have made that science their study ; but it is not so accessible to the world beyond, as the testimony by which a similar division of human history is warranted.

There is seemingly a law of human progression applicable alike to the physical, the mental, and the spiritual faculties and powers of the members of the human family. This progress has been generally onward and upward, and probably never more so than on some of the occasions that its course appeared to be backward and downward. All this may be the simple result of man's own capacity for improvement. The unaided resources of human nature may have been sufficient to accomplish all that has been effected. Still, whatever the cause or causes, the effects are open and visible, and they are such as place the fact of human progression beyond all ground of cavil. In connection with the first and second periods, there is an approach to a law or rule in the duration of each. Of course, without the aid of the historical records contained in the Bible, this is not easily capable of proof ; but taking them as they exist, they point to the conclusion that the first and second periods

of human history are almost of equal duration as to time.

If this were a solitary instance it would have been unnecessary to allude to it ; but if it is not so, the fact of its being the earliest constitutes its prior claim to notice. This same law repeats itself in a remarkable manner in connection with the second and third periods. The rise of Judaism and Protestantism mark two distinctive epochs in human history,—the former in the second period, and the latter in the third period. By all the sections of Christianity it is maintained that Judaism pointed to a better economy, and should have been merged in the Christian religion ; and the adherents of Protestantism affirm that their faith and doctrine are the legitimate offspring of apostolic Christianity. One thing, however, is certain,—it would have been difficult, prior to the Reformation era, to single out even one kingdom or political government, whose laws or principles of action had the most distant resemblance to the maxims or precepts of Christianity. On the contrary, it would not be easy to conceive of a kind of authority and dominion more opposite and hostile to the genius and the spirit of the Christian religion, than were the manner of the exercise of the authority, and the spirit of the dominion practised by the governments of all nations and kingdoms prior to the era of Protestantism.

This is the fact. And it is a fact in nowise dependent upon the reply that may be given to the question, Whether is the Christian religion true or not ? It is undoubtedly true, as a fact of history, that prior to the era of Luther there was not a solitary nation or kingdom on earth which, in its political and corporate

capacity, gave any evidence of being either prevailingly or partially influenced by the precepts or the spirit of the gospel. That there were, for many centuries, individuals among all European nations who not only professed Christianity but exemplified it in their lives, is admitted ; but they were too few in number and too weak in power to affect perceptibly the external policy or the internal constitution of the nations among whom they lived. Christianity, whatever its intrinsic worth, has nevertheless, in some form, become the religious faith generally professed among civilised nations ; and the era of its inauguration marks the division between the second and the third periods of human history. The Mosaic and the Lutheran eras, otherwise distinguishable as the epochs of the advent of Judaism and Protestantism, are equidistant in point of time from the great central era of the advent of Christianity, around which it may be said they revolve.

Britain, as an empire, has had her destiny closely identified with the progress of Protestantism. She was nominally a Christian kingdom for many centuries before she became a Protestant empire ; but her political advancement has been more marked and rapid since she adopted the principles and doctrines of Protestantism. She now stands alone among the nations of the earth as a political embodiment of the maxims and the spirit of Christianity. The kind of moral influence she possesses was unknown in the history of any previously existing kingdom ; and she holds a position of unrivalled pre-eminence among surrounding nations because of the approximating perfection of her political institutions. Her existence

and her constitution are something new in the world's history; for she has attained that happy middle state between autocracy and democracy which has resulted from retaining the good and rejecting the evil connected with both extremes. But above all she breathes an atmosphere of political peace and goodwill; for there is little, if any, remaining antipathy among the various classes of her population.

Her present condition may or may not be the offspring of her adoption of Christianity in its Protestant form; but there it is, proclaiming the existence of a law of national progress, dating one of its chief impulses to rapid advancement from the era of Luther. Here also, however, may be discovered the existence of the other law, that of time or duration. The great modern era of reform and advancement to Britain was inaugurated in the year 1828 by the repeal of the Test Act. The Test Act was a measure adopted for the purpose of protecting and defending the Protestant characteristics of the national government; but its civil disabilities of exclusion were experienced alike by Protestant Dissenters and by Roman Catholics. Had there been no collision between the head of the Roman Catholic church and Luther, there would have been no Protestantism; and had there been no Protestantism, a Test Act would not have been required for its defence and protection.

The principle embodied in the Test Act was a violation of the law of civil equality. A profession of religious faith, whether true or false, is not a legitimate ground either of qualification or of disqualification for civil office; and to have made it so was not a justifiable act of political power. It was the law,

however; and it seems to have been in force for a certain and precise time, bearing a striking similarity to a preceding period with which its history is intimately connected. There is the cause,—the acts of Luther in the years 1517-18, resulting in the advent of Protestantism; there is the effect,—the passing of the Test Act for the protection and defence of this same Protestantism in the year 1673; and there is the finale,—the repeal of this very Test Act in the year 1828, followed by the further act of Roman Catholic Emancipation in the year 1829. If any one will take the trouble of calculating, he will find the two periods of time are exactly parallel in their duration, being 155 years each. Here, then, is a cluster of facts in history connected together in a remarkable manner; certainly not less worthy of stimulating to further inquiry, and encouraging to closer investigation, than the falling of the apple that arrested the attention of Newton, and suggested the train of thought which resulted in his great discovery.

CHAPTER II.

THE commencement of the Christian era is the central epoch of the second and third periods of human history. All the living streams of the Abrahamic and Mosaic period run into it, as their great termination ; and from it, as their fountain-head, flow the springs and rivers of modern civilised existence, personal and social, political and ecclesiastical. For many centuries the Roman empire held the political destinies of the world in its grasp ; and its power frequently came into violent and hostile collision with the adherents of the Christian religion. The eastern portion of the old empire ceased not to exist for nearly a thousand years after the extinction of its western division. In the interval, two new powers had arisen to occupy the territory vacated by the fall of the western portion of the Roman empire : one a superstructure ecclesiastical in its origin, but transformed after a brief period into a semi-ecclesiastical and a semi-political dominion ; the other a political fabric, with an imperial chief not destitute of pretensions to a right of interference in ecclesiastical affairs.

Modern controversialists do not evince much hesi-

tation in coming to a decisive conclusion concerning either the divinely-appointed arrangement for the internal management of ecclesiastical affairs, or the proper relation which the church should occupy towards the political dominion under whose protection it is placed, and with whose existence and character its influence is associated. And yet an impartial inquirer, however diligent, cannot discover the necessary materials in early church history out of which to construct a reliable theory on this important subject. The three leading forms of internal church management are—Episcopacy, Presbytery, and Independency; and however much the adherents of each may desire to establish a Divine or early church sanction for their view, to the exclusion of its two competitors for the coveted distinction, disinterested on-lookers are constrained to admit that none of the three has made good its claim to be considered as the exclusive successor of the apostolic or early Christian churches in this respect.

The relation in which the church should stand to the civil government is also a vexed question. There are at least three leading sections of opinion on this point, and there has been a fourth. There are those who contend that when the state supports the church by paying its ministers, the church ought to yield a large measure of obedience and subjection to the will of the civil government. There are others who maintain that it is the duty of the civil magistrate to give all manner of protection and pecuniary support to the church, yet leaving it ecclesiastically independent of state control, and spiritually free. There are also many who advocate and practise the principle of

trusting wholly to the voluntary contributions of the adherents of the Christian church for the means wherewith to maintain and extend its services, as well as propagate its precepts and doctrines. And there have been, and may still be, a class of ecclesiastics who would place church dignitaries above all other authority, and would even desire the submission of all civil governments to their oracular utterances.

The history of the Christian church during the first three centuries of its existence is absolutely void of all light or precedent on this important question. Its experiences of governmental power were frequently painful, and invariably uncertain and unsatisfactory. The possessors of political power were generally under the influence of feelings and passions the very reverse of friendly to the disciples of the Christian faith. Even when the external hostility disappeared at the beginning of the fourth century, the spirit and conduct of those in power, although professedly favourable to the Christian religion, were not such as many modern theorists of whichever opinion would be inclined to recommend for imitation or adoption. Much has been written, and more has been said, on all sides of this question. The chief objection is to the manner, not to the subject, of the controversy; and in this lies the main hindrance to any approach towards a solution of the problem. And so long as the combatants intrench themselves under the cover of an assumed Divine or scriptural sanction for their particular views—shutting out the light of modern and recent history, and its in many cases unerring instruction—the breach, if not widened between them, has no prospect of being narrowed to any appreciable extent.

In the world of politics, apart altogether from its connection with ecclesiastical affairs, there is great diversity of opinion and practice. The best form of government is, among theorists, a disputed point; and Divine sanction is here also introduced as a formidable weapon with which to assail an adversary. The papal government of Rome and the republican government of America occupy the two extremes in the fraternity of civilised nations. Both lay claim to Divine authority: the one alleging it to be favourable to the absolute sway of the chief of the state, and the unquestioning submission of all under his authority; the other proclaiming it to be directly hostile to such absolute sway, and, on the contrary, favourable to the perfect equality and almost unlimited freedom of every member of the commonwealth, with an elective chief of limited power. Unfortunately for the high pretensions of both, neither theory appears fitted to stand unstrained the test of passing events. The absolute monarch is helpless as a civil ruler among his subjects, and despoiled of much of his territory. The present republican chief's election is, in all probability, to result in rending the union of the States he was to preside over, and in the secession of millions of his fellow-citizens.

The realm of thought and opinion, and its treatment by the possessors of political power, is another problem of grave import, respecting which conflicting theories and diametrically opposite practices exist. The activities of thought within the man cannot be hindered, and the formation of opinions cannot be prevented; but their oral utterance can be punished, and their publication in a written or printed form can

be suppressed. Political opinions are often so intertwined with religious opinions, that it is occasionally difficult to say to which class they belong. In such a state as modern Rome, whatever is subversive of things as they are, in either church or state, is subversive of both. In a state such as Britain, where civil liberty and religious freedom have grown side by side, slowly and surely, it would be impossible to wound the one without impairing the healthy action of the other. Civil tyranny and ecclesiastical despotism are, to all appearance, linked together in their destiny, and must either fall simultaneously, or continue to coexist. The opinions that are destructive of either are destructive of both. Civil liberty and religious freedom must reign in union; for, separated, their power diminishes. The opinions which have been the foundation and living energy of either are the sustaining power by which alone both can continue to flourish and prosper.

Civil liberty has two aspects: one wholly political, the other intellectual. Political liberty and the free expression of thought and opinion should go hand in hand. It matters not to what subjects the thoughts and opinions refer, whether political, religious, or scientific; wherever civil liberty prevails, there the utterance of these also should be free and unfettered. This freedom of religious opinion, sanctioned by a political government, is something different from ecclesiastical liberty. Churches of all creeds have long been tolerated in Great Britain; yet the civil government was adverse to certain sects, and visited certain opinions and tenets with political exclusion. The civil magistrate did not persecute or attempt to punish or suppress churches as religious associations,

but the imperial legislature enacted laws inflicting pains and penalties upon the individual disciples of certain opinions. Ecclesiastical freedom pertains to each separate section in its own corporate capacity, and in its relations to its own members. Civil and religious liberty is the product of liberal political institutions, and may, so far as the state is concerned, exist although ecclesiastical bodies within their own proper sphere keep their adherents to some extent under restraint. A church free within itself may exist in a despotic state, subject to persecution and interference; and a church partially in bondage within itself may be found in a free state. But complete civil freedom and entire religious liberty cannot be found dissevered in any state.

In the early days of the Christian era, there existed a religious association free in its internal organisation, but located within the territory of an absolute and persecuting political power. Religious toleration was then a principle of government unrecognised in action, if even known. Religious liberty, in the modern acceptance of the term, was a thing unheard of—the thought of it had not probably entered the mind of the most enthusiastic philosopher in his wildest dreams of human perfectibility. Religious intolerance was the ground-work of the political economy under which the Jews were placed. All the members of the Jewish state were bound to profess their belief in certain doctrines, and conform to established religious customs, under severe penalties. They were, moreover, prohibited from professing or teaching any new doctrine, or introducing or practising any change in established religious customs. The purest and the noblest

victim of religious intolerance suffered under the Jewish system, at a time when the national territory had become an outlying province of the Roman empire.

No doubt good and sufficient reasons might be advanced with the view of explaining the why and the wherefore of the adoption of a law of religious intolerance among the Jews, and its incorporation with their political and ecclesiastical system. The discussion of these, however, is unnecessary, as the fact, and not the cause or the motive, is what principally concerns the present inquiry. After the dissolution of the Jewish commonwealth and the dispersion of its people, the practices founded on religious intolerance did not cease. It is difficult to understand how intelligent and enlightened statesmen (of whom the Roman empire was not destitute in Christian times) could be persuaded to persecute on religious grounds, seeing that their own faith, if they had any, was not alleged to have a Divine origin, in the Jewish and Christian sense, but was an agglomeration of all manner of palpable and contradictory absurdities. Whatever the cause of this singular phenomenon, the fact remains on record, that for nearly three hundred years the disciples of the Christian faith were, because of their religion, frequently subjected to violent persecution at the hands of the Roman government.

The change which was effected in the era of Constantine did not diminish the practical power of the principle of religious intolerance, although Christians were no longer persecuted because of their religion. They were thenceforth favoured with the support and protection of the civil rulers of the Roman empire. But the opponents of the Christian faith were substituted

as the new victims of the persecuting spirit of religious intolerance. The practice was then renewed in circumstances somewhat analogous to those of the Jewish political and ecclesiastical system. A Divine Being was affirmed to be the founder of the Christian religion. He was believed to have produced higher credentials than even Moses. Therefore, it might be reasoned, Christianity, when honoured as Judaism had been by being constituted the state religion, was entitled to all the privileges and powers conferred on Judaism for the protection of the national faith, and its preservation from error. As a historical fact, it is undeniable that the simple and limited articles of religious faith, the knowledge of which was communicated to the Jews, were transmitted unimpaired through successive generations, and were finally merged in those more comprehensive principles and doctrines of religious faith which had their origin in the teaching of Christ and His apostles.

This result was principally, if not entirely, owing to the adoption of a system of compulsory conformity in matters of religious faith and practice. Through Moses the Jews received an ecclesiastical system, which at their peril they were to preserve from corruption and decay. They received it in a condition as perfect as its nature permitted of. Change in its case was synonymous with deterioration. It was stationary and unprogressive in itself; but was calculated at all times to assist in developing the mental and moral faculties of the nation, while it also operated as a restraining and restoring influence in times when tendencies to error and injurious practices were prevalent. It came into existence as a national institution, com-

plete in all its details, and would not admit of alteration in any of its parts. It was, both in essence and form, a system of bondage. Freedom in the modern sense of the word could not consist with it. And it is not anywhere alleged to have had any higher function to perform than that of a pedagogue who prepares the youthful mind for receiving, at a more mature age, the knowledge which could not be communicated or comprehended previous to its advent.

The commencement of the Christian era marks the advent of the more mature age, when the office of the ecclesiastical pedagogue was abolished. No two systems could be imagined more different in their nature and essence than the Jewish and Christian systems. They were both, nevertheless, traceable in their origin to the same alleged Divine fountainhead. A nation is separated and prepared, among whose people the external rites and minute ceremonies of the first are established. A few illiterate men of humble station are selected, and to them the lively oracles of the second are committed. The Jewish church was placed under the fostering and protecting care of a rising political power, which enforced conformity within its own borders, and warded off aggression from without. The Christian church was planted in the very heart of its most bitter opponents, and from its earliest dawn was subjected to the fierce persecution of those in power. With all these apparent advantages, the Jewish community was not preserved from frequent declensions. In the midst of their numerous disadvantages and grave perils, the adherents of the Christian church increased rapidly, and their moral influence was diffused widely.

External uniformity was absolutely indispensable to



the very existence of the Jewish church ; whereas its strict enforcement is positive destruction to the free spirit of the Christian religion. Lineal descent from Abraham, and outward conformity to the requirements of the Mosaic law, were the conditions of connection with the Jewish church. Spiritual apprehension of Christian truth, and practical faith in Christ's Messiahship, are the prerequisites to Christian discipleship. The Jewish system was of necessity exclusive and coercive. The Christian system is, from its very nature, comprehensive and persuasive. Religious intolerance was the inevitable accompaniment of the Jewish system. Religious freedom is the living influence of the Christian system. With such extreme diversity in the component elements of the two systems, it is inconceivable that there should not be corresponding variety in the history of their career among men. The exclusiveness and intolerance which protected and preserved the Jewish system, would annihilate and destroy, if applied to the Christian system.

In Judaism all was simple and intelligible, and nothing connected with the system was doubtful or uncertain. In Christianity many things are difficult and mysterious, and respecting none is it allowable to dogmatise with infallible certainty. The Mosaic economy tended to bring the minds of those placed under it into the habitual practice of unquestioning obedience to its Divine Author. The Christian dispensation has tended to inspire men with a spirit of investigation and inquiry, and has liberated them in their relation to the Divine Being from the slavish principles of the Jewish system. Its tendency has further been to leave its disciples in a great measure

unrestrained and unfettered by precise and minute forms as to the manner of propagating its doctrines, conducting its worship, managing its affairs, or gaining converts. In the New Testament writings there is a total absence of the minute and detailed arrangements announced by Moses for the guidance of the Jewish people. The Christian system has gradually developed itself through the action and reaction of men's thoughts and opinions upon each other, both in their individual and associated capacities.

The leading feature of early Christian history appears to have been great external diversity of opinion among Christians on many subjects. Even Paul and Barnabas had a warm contention, ending in their separation from each other in the prosecution of their mission. Peter exhibited considerable reluctance to comply with the call he received to preach the Gospel to the Roman centurion. And the Christians of that day took him to task for the supposed violation of law and dereliction of duty. It is impossible to peruse with care the writings of the New Testament without arriving at the conclusion, that the most important precedents therein recorded were the products of doubt, difference of opinion, and free discussion. And if the spirit of the apostles and their contemporaries had been more prevalent in the subsequent history of the Christian church, there would have been little dogmatism and less intolerance than has been witnessed in many quarters. Of the existence of an official or personal authority of coercive command exercised by one Christian over any other, or many others, there is not a scintilla of evidence in the New Testament record. The principle

may be right, or it may be wrong. The practice may be good, or it may be bad ; but, in either case, there is neither precept nor precedent for it in the New Testament.

It cannot be precisely determined at what period the principle of compulsory ecclesiastical authority began to find a place in the Christian system. Probably from its earliest years the leaven was hid in its associated existence. The simple Christian duty of brotherly remonstrance and faithful counsel was in process of time transformed into the authoritative exercise of ecclesiastical discipline. The pretensions of church dignitaries kept pace with their increasing influence. There arose considerable rivalry among themselves, and discreditable contentions for the mastery ; two, in particular, out-distanced all other competitors. The bishops of Rome and Constantinople vied with each other in prosecuting their ambitious project of subjugating the whole of Christendom to the sway of one universal ecclesiastical sceptre. The bishop of Rome first succeeded in obtaining the ecclesiastical precedence of his brother of Constantinople, and was ultimately recognised as the visible head of the Christian church ; although his spiritual supremacy, in its most halcyon days, was acknowledged only by the Roman or Latin church as distinguished from its Greek sister.

Christianity was not founded in connection with any particular nation, neither was it identified with any form of political authority or civil government, at the outset of its history. It had to endure three centuries of imperial hostility, sometimes active and at other times latent. Favour it received not, protection

it was oftentimes denied, and persecution it frequently suffered. It outlived the hostility of Rome's imperial government; it witnessed the end of imperial Rome itself; and the two epochs were not unimportant in their influence on the history of the Christian system. From the beginning of the fourth century the Christian church was connected with the Roman state in a manner not dissimilar to that in which the Jewish church and state were related to each other. The fact of a close relation having subsisted between the Christian church and the Roman state is not in itself a ground of condemnation. But the manner and the object of forming the connection endangered the very existence of Christianity as a living influence for good to mankind, without averting the decline or preventing the fall of the civil dominion of Rome.

Christianity, if it be what its promulgators affirmed of it, was destined to regenerate the human race in all the varied relationships and phases of their complex existence. Either, then, it is not what it professes to be, or its failure to regenerate imperial Rome, after being to appearance identified with its existence, can be satisfactorily explained. If imperial Rome as a commonwealth had become Christian in the same sense that the early Christian church was Christian, its dominion must have been preserved. The principles of Christianity did not leaven the minds of the citizens of Rome generally, and thereby effect the union of the Christian church and the Roman state. But the new chief of imperial Rome rescued the Christian church from its last violent persecution, embraced its tenets himself, and decreed its faith to be the faith of the state. Whether Christianity be

true or false, this mode of propagating its doctrines and nationalising its faith is directly at variance with its avowed principles ; and therefore the failure to regenerate imperial Rome in no way militates against the renewing efficacy of Christian influence when properly applied.

The fall of imperial Rome paved the way for the accomplishment of the ambitious projects of ecclesiastical Rome. And these ambitious projects had their origin in the union of the Christian church with the Roman state at the beginning of the fourth century. From thence ecclesiastical history records a gradual declension, terminating in a final abnegation of Christian truth and principle about the beginning of the seventh century. The church of Christ, not of this world, yet fitted to impress its Divine image on all earthly things, became a conspicuous competitor in the race for worldly power through the subversion of its original principles of Christian equality and self-denying mutual submission. Little, if any, trace is to be found in the ecclesiastical procedure of the seventh and many subsequent centuries of the Divine lineaments, which were characteristic of the early Christian church. In its stead there arose a vast and ambitious corporation of ecclesiastics, whose chief was incessantly aiming at the political as well as the ecclesiastical supremacy of the world.

If the pretensions of Christianity are well founded, the influence of its principles is destined to regulate and control both the political and ecclesiastical affairs of this world. The failure of the bishops of Rome to obtain a permanent and enduring ascendancy over all human affairs did not proceed from any proved weak-

ness and inefficacy of Christianity. The cause of the doubtful and limited success of the popes of Rome was the substitution of their own personal authority as chiefs of the church for the life-giving influence of Christian principle and doctrine. The bishop of Rome sat on a visible throne, commanding external obedience ; but Christianity appeals to the heart, and leaves its subjects free from all external authority or constraint. The history of ecclesiastical Rome is long and checkered. Many centuries elapsed ere the bishops of Rome attained the zenith of their worldly power and greatness.

In the beginning of the seventh century, about the year 606, the bishop of Rome became ecclesiastical head of the Christian church. A century and a half later, in the years 754-6, those events transpired which resulted in the revival of the civil dominion of Rome, and the elevation of the bishop of Rome to the rank of a territorial and political potentate. The three great epochs in the early history of Christianity are the beginning of the fourth century, the beginning of the seventh century, and the middle of the eighth century. The change from a state of persecution to a state of security, which overtook the Christian church at the beginning of the fourth century, was a great turning-point in its career. From thence it ceased to be isolated and antagonistic in its organisation to the civil dominion of Rome. But it failed to accomplish the political regeneration of the empire. From thence, however, has emanated that continuous stream of influences which will be proved to have regenerated another empire of more recent origin than imperial Rome, yet not less powerful or extensive.

The many important stages in the rise and revelation of the British empire will be treated of in a subsequent chapter. It will suffice for the present to introduce its dominion to notice as the successor of imperial Rome in its relation to Christianity at the beginning of the fourth century, and as the rival of papal Rome in its pretensions to the Divine vicegerency of the earth.

The principles on which the Christian religion is founded contain the germs of human freedom. The liberty which their practical adoption as a rule of life generates is most comprehensive in its character. Their operation is to train men to habits of self-restraint and self-submission. These habits lie at the foundation of all true freedom, whether it be individual or social, political or ecclesiastical. A nation of Christians is of necessity a nation of freemen. The spirit of Christianity inculcates the practice of toleration to the utmost possible extent. It prohibits the employment of external force either for the propagation or suppression of opinion. It sanctions the punishment of evil-doers; but it provides no penalties with which human agency can visit evil-thinkers, or correct erroneous opinions. The bringing of an individual man in his daily life under the prevalent, though not complete, power of Christian principle, is the appointed task of his earthly existence. To impregnate a nation's life with the spirit of Christianity to such an extent as will cause its influence to predominate in the institutions and public acts of the nation, must be a slow and tedious process spread over the history and experience of many generations.

The constitution of a Christian nation cannot be constructed as the political and ecclesiastical economy

of the Jews was devised. But when constructed, it has within itself the elements of self-protection and self-preservation. Its indestructible vitality is hid deep in the minds and hearts of its people; unlike the strength of the Jewish system, which was a written law imposing many and burdensome outward ceremonies that were intrinsically profitless. During the first three centuries of Christian history, one searches in vain for the enunciation of any clear principle directly applicable to the exigencies of human government. The prevalent idea of the period in Christian minds was at utter variance with the consideration of the application of Christianity to such a purpose. The church was regarded as a Divine institution, whose chief office it was to prepare men for the enjoyment of another and a future state of being. In doing so it no doubt was believed to make those who joined its ranks better members of this world's society. This, however, was not the recognised aim or end of the church's labours, but rather an indirect benefit resulting therefrom.

It does not excite surprise, therefore, to find that the revolution in the era of Constantine came upon the Christian world in a state of unpreparedness for grappling with such an emergency. The identification of the Roman state with the Christian church as a corporation for the purposes of support and protection, was an event so novel and so strange that both statesmen and ecclesiastics were utterly at sea as to the mode in which it should be dealt with. The only precedents at hand were those of the Jewish kingdom and the Roman empire. And it is not easy to decide which was studied or copied most—whether

the politico-ecclesiastical pattern of Israel, or the imperial and hierarchical model of heathen Rome—in the erection of the future civil and religious edifice of Christian Rome. One thing is undoubted: the spirit and principles of Christianity had little if any influence in the arrangements. Instead, therefore, of the gradual revelation of a thoroughly Christian empire through the regenerating spirit of the Christian church, there is witnessed the continued decline and final dissolution of the great Roman empire.

The feebleness of the Christian church, proved by its inability to exert any beneficial or restoring influence on the Roman empire, exposed its own existence to the insidious and corrupting influences of the ambitious but decaying empire. The Christian church failed to indoctrinate the Roman empire with any of its salutary and life-giving principles; and it could not resist the contaminating power of contact with Rome's lordly and imperious spirit. The empire of Rome did not cease to exist in the West till the prelates of the church were filled with ambitious projects of authority and dominion. The humble shepherds and prayerful overseers of Christian flocks were gradually transformed into earthly magnates and lordly masters over God's heritage. The moral and spiritual power of Christianity diminished, and its place was usurped by outward pomp and coercive authority. The still small voice within the church was hushed and silenced, to be supplanted by swelling words of ecclesiastical dignitaries. As the seed, so was the fruit. The successors of the apostles and early Christian bishops denuded themselves of all claim to the title of Christian pastors. And the

permitting of such assumptions proclaimed the absence throughout the entire church of the spirit that could have checked their growth and progress.

The seed of corruption and decay in the church budded in the position of ecclesiastical supremacy, arrogated by the bishop of Rome; and it blossomed in the act of his elevation to the dignity of the sovereign of a political and territorial dominion. The fruit did not begin to ripen till the days of Hildebrand; and the fulness of its harvest was not witnessed till the time of Innocent III., in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The church that was in early days suffering and persecuted, became, under the management of ambitious popes, the church dominant and martially militant. Discontented with the ecclesiastical supremacy and regal dignity of the position attained by them, the chiefs of the church first contended with the civil monarchs of Europe for the exclusive patronage or power of investiture to the most enviable appointments in the church. And ultimately they claimed and asserted the right, in virtue of their office, of determining all questions, whether civil or ecclesiastical, even to the disposal of kingdoms, and the setting up and pulling down of kings at their pleasure.

For nearly a century after the reign of Innocent III. the popes were all-powerful in Europe. But the beginning of the fourteenth century saw their power begin to wane; and for seventy years Rome was bereft of the presence of a pope, the French king having removed the papal residence to Avignon. The declining influence of the See of Rome encountered a new and formidable peril in the Reformation of the sixteenth century. From thence, for the first time in

history, are caught some glimpses of the application of Christian principle and moral influence in the government of nations. The people whose history exhibits the greatest progress in the impregnation of its institutions and its national life with the spirit of Christianity, are the people of Great Britain. The seed of true liberty was early sown, and began to bud in the separation of England from Rome in the year 1534, and the nation's subsequent adoption of the principles of Protestantism. It blossomed in the Revolution of 1688-9, whereby freedom and toleration, somewhat restricted, but sufficient for the time, were finally recognised as vital principles of the British constitution. But its full harvest of beneficent fruits did not begin to appear till the years 1828-9, in the exchange of the principle of toleration for the principle of full civil equality, which was followed by an extensive measure of political reform in the direction of enlarged privileges and increased freedom, and also by the removal of the restrictions which fettered the action of trade and commerce.

As Britain has risen Rome has declined ; and the removal of the last remnant of intolerance from the political institutions of Britain in the year 1858 was speedily succeeded by the events in Italy of the years 1859-60, the effects of which, on the temporal dominion of the See of Rome, are indicative of the last stage of decrepitude and decay. If the Christian church of Constantine's time, with all its moral and spiritual advantages, failed in the effort to regenerate imperial Rome, is the church, of which the Pope of Rome is now the chief, after twelve centuries' experience of its renovating power, in a position to claim a renewal of con-

confidence in its ability to rectify the disorders and cure the maladies by which the European civilised nations and the world at large are afflicted and oppressed? If the Church of Rome is the only embodiment of the spirit of Christianity, then woe unto the nations and peoples inhabiting this earth, if the state of her adherents is the ideal of perfection in human society! Tried by the test of her fruits, she is found lamentably deficient in beneficent action. Tried by the test of her history, her principles must be pronounced powerless in opposition to the evil tendencies of human nature. And if she were the exclusive depository of whatever of Christian principle, sound doctrine, and ennobling moral influence was to be found in this world, the conclusion would be unavoidable, that Christianity was a total and irredeemable failure as a system of human reformation and regeneration.

No two things could well be more dissimilar than the politico-ecclesiastical edifice of papal Rome, and the principles and doctrines of the Christian religion, of which it is alleged the Church of Rome is the exclusive embodiment. There are, however, numerous points of resemblance between the fabric of authority reared under the superintendence of the see of Rome and the theocratic constitution of power and government established among the Jews. The history of the Jews, from the death of Moses to near the conclusion of David's reign, is one of national progression and advancement, checked by occasional interruptions. The removal of Moses, and the termination of their journeying in the wilderness, were coeval occurrences in history. From thence the conquest of their promised inheritance commenced under the leadership of

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Joshua, and its full possession was acquired towards the close of David's reign. The kingdom of Israel then reached the summit of its power and glory, and Solomon's peaceful reign was succeeded by the rending of the kingdom in twain. Thenceforward, with little intermission, disaster and declension are the prevailing characteristics of Jewish history, till the time of Nebuchadnezzar's invasion of their territory, the consequent destruction of their church and state, and the captivity or dispersion of the people. There are three remarkable epochs thus indicated in Jewish history: the time of their first entrance into the partial possession of their promised inheritance, or the dawn of the nation's existence as a territorial power; the era in which the kingdom attained its greatest political importance and widest geographical extent; and the epoch in which the political and ecclesiastical existence of the Jewish kingdom was temporarily extinguished. The rise of the nation's territorial power was witnessed 1430 years before the Christian era, and its overthrow was completed between the years 606 and 590 before the Christian era. From first to last 860 years elapsed, the first half of which was marked by progress and advancement, and the latter half by declension, till its fall. The meridian of its glory and the zenith of its geographical greatness were reached in the midtime of its history, a few years before David's death. It may be here remarked, that the preparatory period of Jewish history, which terminated in the exodus from Egypt, was 430 years, or one-half the duration of the period that elapsed between the rising and the setting of the sun of their national territorial dominion.

The captivity and dispersion of the Jews continued for seventy years. In the year 536 before Christ they were permitted by edict to return to their own country; and other sixteen years elapsed ere the temple, which was the symbol of their ecclesiastical polity, was restored and dedicated to the service of their religion. The Scripture history of this remarkable people virtually terminates with the record of their return from captivity and the restoration of their ecclesiastical and religious existence. The next important stage in their history was the commencement of the Christian era, and this was also an epoch in the history of the human race most pregnant with important results. Shortly after the commencement of the Christian era, the people of the Jews were finally driven from their country, their temple destroyed, and with it their national ecclesiastical existence extinguished. From thence Christianity was without a rival to the claims put forth on its behalf as being of divine origin. Like the Jewish commonwealth, the Christian church had its three remarkable epochs during the first six centuries of its history: the first, the commencement of the Christian era; the second, the last season of persecution under the Roman empire; and the third, the transformation of the church into a corporate institution, not dissimilar to the ecclesiastical fabric of Judaism. The same law of precision as to time is found to prevail in connection with these three epochs, for between the first and the second 303 years elapsed; and between the second and the third other 303 years intervened.

The law which appears to have regulated the principal epochs in the separate history of the Jewish and

Christian systems, so far as that history has been traced, is found operative in connection with corresponding events of Jewish and Christian history. The commencement of the Christian era is the great central epoch. The overthrow of the Jewish system began 606 years before the Christian era, and the rise of the Romish system was witnessed 606 years after the commencement of the Christian era. It is not less remarkable that the period which elapsed from the rise of the Romish system until Luther's collision with its chief, corresponds with the period that intervened between the overthrow of the Jewish system by Nebuchadnezzar and the time of Moses' flight from the presence and power of Pharaoh, king of Egypt. Judaism and Romanism seem to have been each allotted a parallel period, during which they were to maintain undisturbed possession of their influence as religious systems over men. Both have had a fair and a full trial, and their capabilities to improve and regenerate human society have been historically pronounced incompetent and effete.

In addition to his ecclesiastical supremacy, the Bishop of Rome was constituted a territorial monarch. The political dominion of Rome was revived under his sovereignty. It is supposed that the dominion of ancient Rome was founded 753 years before the Christian era. It is quite certain that exactly 753 years of the Christian era had expired when, in A.D. 754, those events began to transpire, the immediate result of which was the founding of the political dominion of modern Rome. The three occurrences which have exercised a paramount influence on human history during its third period are singularly con-

nected with three, in all important respects, similar occurrences, that happened during the second period, the parallel events of both periods being equidistant in point of time from the commencement of the Christian era—the great central epoch of the two periods. The years 606, 754, and 1517 of the Christian era are, in this way, singled out as marking epochs of great change in human affairs. And it cannot be disputed that they are the sources of contending influences, the result of the conflict between which is not yet finally decided, although enough is disclosed to indicate what kind of termination the struggle is destined to have.

CHAPTER III.

BRITAIN and Rome are at this hour the very antipodes of each other, whether viewed in a political or an ecclesiastical aspect. Great Britain is a free and a mighty political dominion, and under her government the professors of every conceivable kind and form of religion enjoy equal civil privileges and full protection. Rome is a despotic, worn-out political dominion, dependent on the army of a friendly foreign power for the preservation of a bare existence. Under her government one kind, and one form only, of religion is permitted, and dissent or nonconformity thereto is prevented or punished by severe pains and penalties. In Britain all classes are free, and free to the utmost possible extent. No section of the community suffers any civil disability because of religious opinion. And the meting out of equal justice to all classes, without respect of persons or opinions, is the sacred aim of the national institutions, and its accomplishment is the avowed study of all in authority, whether ministers of state, judges, or inferior magistrates. In Rome a cold lifeless uniformity of opinion is enforced by penal laws; and freedom of any kind is unknown, except the freedom of degrading licentiousness.

Miserable and unhappy as is the social and political condition of modern Rome, it is the legitimate fruit of those principles and doctrines by which its government has been uniformly influenced throughout its history. Its political and ecclesiastical system is inflexible. Happy and enviable as the state of Britain now is, it has had its generations of misrule and oppression. When the Bishop of Rome became the chief of Christendom, the Christian religion had not been many years introduced into one of the provinces of the future England. When the chief of Christendom became the political sovereign of Rome, England was still a weak and disjointed heptarchy. When the famous Hildebrand kindled the flames of violent contention in Europe, in his bold attempt to wrest from the emperor and kings the right of investiture to vacant ecclesiastical offices, and aimed at accomplishing the church's entire independence of state control and interference, England was suffering from the effects of its recent successful invasion and conquest by William of Normandy, in the year 1066.

When the papal power reached its zenith, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, none of the kings or peoples of Europe suffered greater indignities and humiliation at the hands of the haughty and imperious Innocent than King John and the people of England. The death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1205, occasioned an ecclesiastical vacancy, the filling up of which brought the pope and the king into open collision. The contest lasted till the years 1212-13, and, during its continuance, the pope, because of the king's resistance, fulminated at him all the thunderbolts of his ghostly authority, one

after another, until his store was exhausted. The height of power to which the chief of Christendom had ascended, and the depth of humiliation to which the king and people of England were subjected by him at this critical period, are briefly narrated by Mosheim in his *Ecclesiastical Institutes* :—

“He (Pope Innocent III.) adopted the principles of Gregory VII., and claimed absolute dominion, not only over the church, but also over religion and over the whole world. He therefore created kings both in Europe and Asia, according to his pleasure. In Asia he gave a king to the Armenians : in Europe he conferred the honour of royalty, A.D. 1204, on Primislaus, the duke of Bohemia : and, in the same year, by his legate, placed a royal crown on Johannicus, duke of the Bulgarians and Wallachians ; and, in person, crowned at Rome, and saluted as king, Peter II. of Arragon, who had rendered his dominions tributary to the church. Many other proofs of his claiming such absolute power over all the world may be easily gathered out of his epistles.”

“Not content with these acts of sovereignty, he compelled emperors and the greatest monarchs of Europe to fear and respect the power of the Romish church. Near the commencement of the century, when Philip, duke of Suabia, and Otto IV., the third son of Henry the Lion, contended for the empire of Germany, he at first favoured the side of Otto, and terrified Philip with his denunciations ; and, on the death of Philip, A.D. 1209, he placed the imperial diadem upon Otto at Rome. But as Otto would not comply in all things with his wishes, he changed his mind, and pronounced him unworthy of the throne ;

and, in the year 1212, substituted in his place Frederick II., his own pupil, son of Henry VI., and king of the Two Sicilies. Philip Augustus, king of France, he excommunicated for having dismissed his wife, Isemburgis, daughter of the king of Denmark, and marrying another woman; nor did he cease to harass the king with anathemas till he received back his former wife."

"But no one suffered more disgracefully and severely from the arrogance of Innocent than John the king of England. He resolutely withstood the pontiff, who had designated Stephen Langton to be Archbishop of Canterbury. The pontiff, therefore, first excommunicated him in the year 1208, and afterwards, in the year 1211, absolved the English from their oath of allegiance to their king; and, finally, in the year 1212, divested him of his authority, and gave the kingdom of England to Philip Augustus the king of France. Terrified by these decrees, and dreading a war, John made his kingdom tributary to the pontiff in the year 1212."* (This occurred in May 1213.)

The same writer adds, that "during the whole of the thirteenth century the Roman pontiffs were engaged in fierce and bloody conflicts with heretics—that is, with such as taught differently from what the Roman church prescribed to them, and brought under discussion the power and prerogatives of the pontiffs. In the year 1206 that terrible tribunal for heretics, called the Inquisition, took its rise. As the labours of the inquisitors did not at once produce all the results which Innocent III. anticipated, he, in the year 1207, exhorted Philip Augustus, king of France,

* MOSHELM, *Ecccl. Hist.*, vol. ii. pp. 508-510.

and his nobles, to make war upon the heretics, promising them ample indulgences as their reward. In the year 1209 a very large army of crusaders commenced their holy war against the heretics, that bore the general name of the Albigenses, and continued the war in the most cruel manner during several years with various success."

In the beginning of the thirteenth century the Roman power had reached the pinnacle of its greatness. It was fully revealed as an intolerant and persecuting civil and ecclesiastical dominion. At this, the period of its greatest arrogance, it had placed its heel on the neck of England, converting her king into a tributary vassal of Rome. The first stone of the Christian church in England was laid a few years prior to the assumption of ecclesiastical supremacy by the Bishop of Rome. The Anglican church maintained a show, if not the reality, of independence in her dealings with Rome all through her history till the beginning of the thirteenth century, when, as the sequel of the disastrous contest with Rome that then ensued, both church and kingdom were handed over to the Roman see, to be thenceforward subjected to the sway of its tyrannous sceptre. Two years, however, only elapsed from the completion of the degrading and humiliating submission of King John to the Roman see till the foundation of the stately edifice of English political freedom was laid, in the signing of Magna Charta by the same king in the year 1215.

The beginning of the fourth century witnessed the change in the hostile attitude which imperial Rome and the Christian church had for the preceding three centuries occupied toward each other. From thence-

forward those influences began to operate which bore fruit in the papal usurpation of ecclesiastical supremacy and civil sovereignty. From the year 303 of the Christian era, when the Christian church entered upon its last exposure to violent persecution at the hands of imperial Rome, until those events began to transpire, in the year 754, which conferred on the head of the once weak and suffering church the power and dignity of civil sovereignty, there elapsed 451 years. From thence, until the time was reached when the full fruits of Roman ambition and arrogance began to be reaped by kings and peoples, and by England in particular, in the year 1205, other 451 years intervened. Imperial Rome closed the exercise of its persecuting power against the Christian church in the edict of Diocletian, issued in the year 303. The history of the persecuting power of papal Rome, which has been since embodied by the famous Inquisition, commenced in the year 1205-6. Midway between these two great landmarks of human history the civil dominion of Rome is revived, and the sovereignty of the state conferred on the chief of the Christian church, whose successor resuscitated the persecuting power of imperial Rome in the beginning of the thirteenth century.

So far as regards its spirit and principles, Rome has proved itself unchangeable and inflexible. What it was in the beginning of the thirteenth century, it has continued to be ever since, wherever it has possessed the power to enforce its dogmas and practise intolerance. Even on the supposition that the religion of Rome is all that could be desired in respect of divine truth and Christian verity, the manner of propagating its tenets, and the compelling of unifor-

mity among the nations who profess it, is beyond all question destructive of human freedom in every form, and promotive of tyranny and oppression of the worst possible type. Although Rome has remained stationary in practice, and retrogressive in spirit, during the six centuries and a half that have elapsed since she reached the summit of her power and the full limit of her dominion, in the interval great progress has been made elsewhere in the incarnation of a spirit and principles directly antagonistic to the Roman system. This progress has been accompanied by the growth of human freedom of every description. The Roman system enslaves the individual; does not purify, but rather corrupts the social sphere; enforces ecclesiastical uniformity and unquestioning obedience to spiritual guides; and supports an absolute and despotic exercise of civil and political authority. The system opposed to Rome is founded on the right of private judgment in all matters of faith and conscience. According to its progress, it has produced a purer and a kindlier social atmosphere; for, in addition to teaching the direct responsibility of each conscience to the Supreme Being, and to Him alone, it has inculcated a spirit of forbearance, and, not unfrequently, respect for the different and opposite opinions of others. It has placed obedience to the requirements of civil law above all other obligations, and has thereby prevented the possibility of the successful manifestation of a spirit of clerical assumption or ecclesiastical ambition. This very civil law is itself highly impregnated with a spirit of justice and freedom, and in its authoritative action recognises neither persons nor opinions, but is blind to all manner of

differences of rank and condition, and distinctions of class and creed, knowing nothing except the full equality of all sections, and every individual of the community.

The first successful assault on the Roman system was commenced by Luther in the year 1517. The principles which he enunciated found a place of rest and safety in England. The government and legislature of the nation adopted them, and the minds of the people were indoctrinated with them. As previously stated, in the year 1673, midway between the commencement of the strife and the beginning of the final triumph of the anti-Roman system in the years 1828-9, an act savouring of intolerance was passed, imposing a test, the chief aim of which was to protect the Protestant system from the injurious assaults of the adherents of Romanism. In the year 1205-6, King John of England commenced his unsuccessful resistance of papal arrogance and intolerance. The Roman system was at that epoch entirely successful, and the church and kingdom of England lay as helpless vassals at the feet of Romanism. In the year 1517, Luther commenced his successful resistance of papal arrogance and intolerance, and struck that spark of light and freedom which has since become the life and the spirit of English institutions. In the year 1828-9 the full harvest of happy fruits began to be reaped by all classes of the nation. In the greatness of her strength and power Rome could not afford to tolerate dissent or nonconformity, but persecuted violently unto blood and death the opponents of her system. In the day of the full dawn of her great power and influence as an empire, Britain's initiatory

acts were the casting away of the garment of intolerance, and the conferring on dissenters, and on the very adherents of the Roman system, all the rights and privileges of British citizenship.

The contrast is curious and remarkable; and the history of its development is governed by the not less singular law of time or duration in the occurring of the principal events. From the year 1205-6, the era of the Pope's successful assault on England's national independence, until the year 1517, the era of Luther's successful resistance of papal arrogance and intolerance, is 311 years. From thence until the beginning of the final triumph of the principles of civil and religious liberty, and the extending not merely of toleration, but full civil equality, to the adherents of the Roman system within the British dominion, in the year 1828-9, a precisely similar period of 311 years elapsed. But there is in this instance a wheel within a wheel, as it were. As mentioned at the close of the first chapter, the last half of the period is subdivided into two equal portions, the centre point being denoted by an event in the year 1673 that marked the turning-point of the conflict which commenced in the year 1517-18, and began to terminate triumphantly in the year 1828-9, by the repeal of the Test Act, which had been passed in the year 1673.

The great fact of Christianity, the chief corner-stone of its religious fabric, is "the decease accomplished at Jerusalem." Taken in connection with the teaching of Him that suffered even unto death, another fact of equal significance is established beyond dispute. The way to the attainment of Christian triumph and victory is a way of suffering and humiliation. It is not neces-

sary here to discuss the absolute truthfulness or otherwise of Christianity ; for that is a question altogether apart from the subject of inquiry at its present stage. No doubt, indirectly evidence will be accumulated for or against the pretensions set forth in its behalf. The influences, if any, which the spirit of Christianity has exerted on human affairs, and in what direction, are alone the topics of investigation. No question of doctrinal controversy need be introduced ; as in presence of the two great facts mentioned, all other points, however intrinsically important, are of little avail towards the elucidation of the subject.

Although such discussions as those which relate to the nature of Christ's person, the cause and the effects of His death, and the future destiny of believers and unbelievers, would be out of place and inappropriate in these pages, it does not follow that the successful prosecution of this work will not throw some light on these and other important doctrinal points connected with Christianity. "The decease accomplished at Jerusalem," and its practical lesson of suffering and humiliation, as the way to Christian victory and triumph, are sufficient for the present purpose. Tried by this simple but unerring standard, the Roman system in all its phases is found wanting and defective. It professes faith in the absolute divinity of the mysterious sufferer, and ascribes to Him a power omnipotent and resistless ; yet to no act of His life, and to no precept of His teaching, can the adherents of Rome appeal for sanction or approval in the employment of coercive power as a means of promoting the interests of the Christian religion. Not merely is there an entire absence of any such example and precept, but

there is abundant example and precept of an opposite kind. His great example was one of obedience and self-denial. He was a pattern of suffering and humiliation. But above all, even He was made perfect through these ; and because of His obedience, suffering, and humiliation, it is said He is now highly exalted.

If it be true that it behoved God to make the Captain of human salvation perfect through suffering, can any other process be suggested by which the subjects of salvation can be made perfect ? Keeping in view the objects, the accomplishment of which Christianity professes to aim at, it may be asked, Can any other means be effectual than those adopted in the case of Christ himself ? In what way is a man to learn obedience to God and submission to His will in the inmost recesses of his nature ? How is a man to be taught the painful lesson of humility, and the not less difficult art of practising it ? By what means can he be moved to cultivate pure thoughts, and to curb and restrain improper and unlawful desires ? In what manner is he to acquire the invaluable habit of esteeming himself less and others more than outward appearance would sometimes seem to warrant ? How, in short, are all the excellences with which human nature may adorn itself attainable ? The reply of Christianity is, Through suffering and humiliation, accompanied by heavenly light and Divine knowledge.

What is applicable to an individual of the race, is of equal applicability to a nation or community. The triumph of Christian principle in the acts of a nation, and the prevalence of a Christian spirit in its laws and institutions, can only be produced by national suffering and humiliation, accompanied by heavenly

light and divine knowledge. Arrogant pretension, unrestrainable ambition, and territorial conquest from lust of dominion, are incompatible with the spirit of Christianity. The greatness, the power, and the dignity of a Christian nation, consist in its deference to and respect for other states ; the forbearance and self-restraint of its conduct toward all without ; the justice and impartiality of its general demeanour ; and the self-denying character and results of its unavoidable interference in the affairs of other nations. These are qualities of slow growth. The way of their acquirement is long and difficult, and the manner tedious and trying.

In tracing the history of the regeneration of England, the first event that calls for notice is the laying the foundation of the modern Anglican church in the soil of English humanity. The circumstances attending it are somewhat interesting, and they are thus narrated in the foot-notes of Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*. First as to the author, and the occasion that prompted the mission to England. "Gregory the Great, before he was made pope, was so captivated with the beauty of some English youths offered for sale at Rome as slaves, that he wished to go himself as a missionary to England ; but the Roman people restrained him. He was created pontiff in 590, and in 596 persuaded Augustine, abbot of St Andrew's at Rome, to undertake the conversion of the English nation." Although Augustine, with a small retinue of monks, set forward on the mission, Gregory's benevolent design had all but miscarried. For Augustine "scarcely reached France before the courage of the whole party failed, and Augustine returned to obtain

leave to abandon the enterprise. Gregory, however, would not give it up ; he exhorted Augustine to proceed, assigned him more assistants, gave him letters of introduction to bishops and princes on the way, and dismissed him. Augustine now proceeded through France, crossed the Channel, and landed with his forty monks on the Isle of Thanet in Kent. There King Ethelbert met him, learned his object, gave him access to the country, promised him protection and sustenance, but refused to embrace the new religion till after further examination. The next year, A.D. 597, the king had his mind made up, was baptised, and allowed, but did not compel, any of his subjects to follow his example. In a short time, however, all Kent was nominally Christian. Having been so successful, Augustine this year went to Gaul, and was ordained Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England, and returned with a fresh accession of monks. In the year 598, he sent two monks, Laurentius and Peter, to Rome, to inform Gregory of the prosperous state of the mission. Gregory exulted in its success, and sent back the messengers with additional labourers, the pall for the new archbishop, &c. He confirmed Augustine's jurisdiction over all England.*

Two things are specially worthy of observation in this account of Ethelbert's conduct at this most interesting stage of England's history. When he learned the object of the Romish missionaries, he gave them access to the country, promised protection and sustenance, but would not himself adopt the new religion without further examination. When the king, in the following year, had resolved to embrace for

* MOSHEIM, *Eccl. Hist.*, vol. ii. pp. 4, 5. 4 vols., 1850.

himself the religion of the missionaries, he allowed, but did not compel, any of his subjects to follow his example. There is here a practical illustration, given by a pagan or barbarian prince, of the double aspect of the Christian principle of toleration and liberty in religious matters. He permitted strangers to propagate a new religion among his subjects before he himself was convinced of its truthfulness; and after he became converted to it, he allowed his subjects to choose for themselves, avoiding prohibition or compulsion in either case. To whatever cause the fact is to be attributed, whether to the king's inherent natural instinct, or to a regard for his wife's feelings, she being a Christian, or to any other motive of human action, certain it is that Ethelbert, probably without knowing it, exhibited the true spirit of the religion he adopted in his treatment of the missionaries and his own subjects.

From thence commences the history of the English church. The nation, as it then existed, was partitioned among seven different sovereigns, and remained so until the year 827, when the English Heptarchy was united under one monarchy. The planting of the Anglican church, and the appointment of a primate of all England in the years 596-8, was an event in English history corresponding with the assumption of ecclesiastical supremacy by the Bishop of Rome in Romish history. Thereafter two streams of religious and ecclesiastical life began their career, and both have become large rivers of influence on human affairs. They appear to have a common source of existence, or rather Rome seems to be the parent of England in this respect. But this opinion will not be confirmed

if the facts and circumstances be investigated more closely. After the Jewish church and state had been overthrown by Nebuchadnezzar, there was an interval of seventy years' desolation and captivity. At its expiry, Cyrus of Persia issued an edict authorising the return of the people to their own land, and the restoration of the Temple at Jerusalem. The Jewish religion was re-established, and remained in existence until the appearing of the Founder of Christianity. It is alleged that all the sacrifices and services of the Mosaic economy were typical of the decease that was accomplished at Jerusalem. That great work over, the Jewish system, as introduced by Moses and restored under Cyrus, had finished its career.

But a new religion has had its foundation laid in that decease. The spirit and principles of Christianity have taken deep root in the mind of the British nation, and have influenced its modern history in a large degree. A condition more degraded than that in which the Romish missionaries found her people in the year 596 can scarcely be imagined. Out of deep suffering and great degradation she has been raised, by a process of long-protracted anguish and constantly-recurring humiliations, to a dignity and an eminence among the nations of men unequalled in the history of the past or the experience of the present. For what she is, she is indebted wholly and exclusively to the decease accomplished at Jerusalem. Without it she might have been a greater than Babylon or Rome in material power and extent of dominion; but for that great decease, however, and the life-giving influence of its example, conjoined with the purifying energy of the resurrection of its power

in the national institutions, Great Britain would not have been that indescribable kingdom, whose dominion is the envy and the wonder of surrounding nations, and whose principles of government are a source of positive blessing to all under the sway of its mild and benignant sceptre.

The edict of Cyrus permitting the return of the Jews to their own land and the restoration of their religious ceremonies, was issued and acted on 536 years before the Christian era. The alleged purpose of the restoration was fulfilled when the great decease was accomplished at Jerusalem in the thirtieth year of the Christian era. Between these two events there elapsed a period of 566 years. A similar period of 566 years intervened from the time of the decease at Jerusalem until the Christian church was founded in England, in the years 596-8, preparatory to the nation's entrance on that long course of training and discipline which was to terminate in its bringing forth abundantly the fruits of the spirit and principles of Christianity. In this instance, also, there is a wheel within a wheel ; for the last half of the period is divided into two equal portions of time, having midway Constantine's adoption of Christianity, and the final cessation of persecution under the Roman empire throughout all the churches, in the year 313. From the year 30, the time of the decease at Jerusalem, until the year 313, one of the great turning-points in early Christian history, is 283 years ; and from thence until the seed of Christianity is planted in the year 596, in connection with a nation in whose final history the fruits thereof have been abundantly brought forth, is a similar period of 283 years.

The Romish system, constructed on an imperial and hierarchical model, has two starting-points in its career of ambition and aggrandisement; one in the year 606, connected with its ecclesiastical character; the other in the year 754, pertaining to its territorial and political dominion. It would appear that Rome, when on the very eve of taking a practical farewell of Christian principle, had been induced to transmit the precious treasure to the keeping of other and weaker hands. If there be such a thing as spiritual successors of the apostles of Christianity, an impartial observer, giving due consideration to the transactions of 596-8 and 606, and taking also into account the subsequent history and present condition of Britain and Rome, would be constrained to decide unhesitatingly in favour of England, and adverse to Rome, as the real inheritor of the spirit and principles by which the apostles and early Christians were actuated and influenced.

The condition of England at the time the Anglican church was founded, and for many succeeding centuries—until, in fact, the era of the Norman invasion, and consequent conquest—was as low and debased as it could well be. The little that is known of this early portion of English history presents a dark and dismal picture of the state of the nation. The beneficial influence of the Christian church on national customs and habits, even then, is undoubted. Although the living material operated upon was ignorant and untutored in the extreme, and the power exerted was feeble and weak, still a degree of progress was made. The Saxon race originally drove the ancient Britons to the western borders of the island, and ultimately

both were in turn exposed to frequent incursions and ravages on the part of the Danes. These were sources of great suffering to the people, and were on one or two occasions accompanied by circumstances of deep humiliation. For many years the Danes ravaged the country, enriched themselves by spoil, and departed with impunity. In the reign of Ethelred II., on 13th November 1002, the race of English inhabitants massacred the Danes.

Concerning this cruel act Hume writes : "That Gunilda, sister to the King of Denmark, who had married Earl Paling, foretold, in the agonies of despair, that her murder would soon be avenged by the total ruin of the English nation. Never was prophecy better fulfilled, and never did barbarous policy prove more fatal to the authors. Sweyn and his Danes, who wanted but a pretence for invading the English, appeared off the western coast (1003), and threatened to take full revenge for the slaughter of their countrymen." This invasion of the Danes terminated in the year 1007, when England "at last submitted to the infamy of purchasing a precarious peace from the enemy, by the payment of thirty thousand pounds." The Norman invasion brought with it the last infusion of races, and completed the combination of human elements out of which the English nation has sprung. The Conqueror also established a strong government on the ruin of the ancient Anglo-Saxon form of government. He introduced the feudal law, "and reduced the whole people to a state of vassalage under the king or barons, and even the greater part of them to a state of real slavery. The necessity also of intrusting great power in the hands of a prince who was to

maintain military dominion over a vanquished nation, had engaged the Norman barons to submit to a more severe and absolute prerogative than that to which men of their rank, in other feudal governments, were commonly subjected." *

This state of matters continued without interruption from the time of the Norman conquest until the beginning of the thirteenth century. Three events then occurred, each of which had great influence on the future destiny of England. After the Norman conquest, Normandy was gradually depressed into the position of a province of England. In the year 1203 the war commenced with France, which severed the connection between England and Normandy, and from its termination Normandy was thenceforth annexed to France. The second event was Rome's successful assault on the national independence, and the king's disgraceful handing over of his kingdom to the papal see, and agreeing by charter to hold his dominions as feudatory of the church of Rome by the annual payment of a thousand merks—seven hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. The third event was the signing of Magna Charta in the year 1215, by which grant the foundation was laid on which the edifice of English civil freedom has been erected. This formal renunciation of the kingdom, and agreement to hold it as feudatory of Rome, were not rescinded until the breach between Rome and England in the year 1534. The occasion of this rupture was a difference on a question in which the nation had no direct interest or concern, and is by no means creditable to King Henry VIII. In the year

* HUME.

1509, the king had taken in marriage the widow of his deceased brother : under the pretence of entertaining conscientious scruples as to the propriety of such a connection, the king endeavoured to induce the see of Rome to grant him a divorce from his queen. With this request the pope first delayed, and finally, after much negotiation, declined compliance ; and the result was a final and hitherto irrevocable separation between England and Rome.

Momentous as have been the ultimate results of this breach between the King of England and the see of Rome, there is nothing to boast of either in the apparent cause which produced it, or in the immediate consequences that followed it. An act intrinsically unimportant—the marriage of the king—is the first of a series which terminated in the liberation of England from the thralldom of Rome, thereby inaugurating her entrance on a new and grand career of improvement to herself, and benefit to the world at large. This unpropitious marriage of the king, therefore, became an important link in the chain of human history. The years 606 and 754 are the two starting-points in the history of the Roman system. It appears that the two periods of 606 and 754 years have been repeated in the conjoined history of Rome and England. The termination of 606 years, from the year 606, is the year 1212 ; and in the year 1213, the see of Rome, after many futile attempts in the interval, finally gained the ascendancy and mastery of England. The termination of 754 years from the year 754 is the year 1508, and in the year 1509 that event occurred, which, coupled with the king's desire to undo it, was, after the lapse of a quarter of a century, the first pro-

curing cause of the final and permanent separation of England from Rome, both politically and ecclesiastically. Following close upon the termination of the second period of 606 years, the foundation of civil liberty was laid in England; and when the second period of 754 years had run its term, the era of religious freedom was shortly thereafter inaugurated in England, and the event of the year 1509 was the first in the series of visible causes producing its advent.

Not the least curious and attractive feature in the history of Rome and England, is the manner in which the influential occurrences in each are connected together, as if by design. When the see of Rome is about to assume the supremacy in the ecclesiastical world, the pontiff, who was instrumental in bringing forth the headstone of papal ambition in spiritual affairs, is the agent by whom a church is planted, which has since become Rome's most formidable rival. When the German empire is founded by Charlemagne in the beginning of the ninth century, and becomes the political ally of the Romish church, a few years later the United Kingdom of England is founded, and becomes the political ally of the Anglican church. Thereafter, still prolonged depression and humiliation are the characteristics of English history for centuries, whereas exaltation and arrogance are the characteristics of Romish history. The Norman invasion and conquest of England are accompanied, or immediately succeeded, by the ambitious contendings of Hildebrand for the mastery over emperors and kings. And as if to confirm the opinion that, throughout their early history, Rome's ascent was to be accompanied by England's descent, the epoch of Rome's highest exal-

tation was the era of England's deep degradation. The two powers grappled in deadly conflict in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and victory was with the Pope of Rome, while the King of England was covered with disgrace and discomfiture.

The humiliating subjection of England to Rome, then accomplished, was nominally maintained till the year 1534, although more than once in the interval the nation manifested a strong inclination to put an end, even in form, to the papal supremacy. From thence the tide in the history of each has changed. England, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, became an independent political and ecclesiastical system, a *fac-simile* of Rome. The Reformation principles, which by their promulgation and reception occasioned so much trouble and disaster to Rome, gave power and energy to England as her political and ecclesiastical rival. The characteristics of the early history of each were reversed; for as Rome declined, England rose—as Rome was weakened, England was strengthened. Again the two systems came into direct collision within the English dominion. On this occasion a popish king vainly attempted to prepare the way for the restoration of papal supremacy and his own arbitrary monarchical prerogatives. But he was successfully resisted, and forfeited his throne. There was on that occasion (the year 1688-9) another invasion by another William, but it was friendly to English independence, civil liberty, and religious toleration, and opposed to Roman supremacy and papal intolerance.

The revolution then effected was destructive of the power of the Roman system in England, as a sys-

tem of political dominion and ecclesiastical authority. Thereafter the tide of history in each ceased not to flow in opposite directions : in Rome, continuous decline until the pope's overthrow by Napoleon in the beginning of the nineteenth century ; in England, increasing greatness and power, until she grappled in deadly conflict with the destroyer of the pope's civil dominion, and finally vanquished him. Britain still retained in her laws and practices some of the leaven of the Roman system of exclusiveness and intolerance, and her civil liberty was not placed on so broad and extensive a basis as it was finally to possess. The year 1828-9 witnessed the repeal of the Test Act and the emancipation of Roman Catholics. So much for reform in its religious aspect. And the year 1832-3 witnessed the passing of the great Reform measure, and the act of slave emancipation within the British dominions. So much for liberty in its political and social aspects.

The Anglican church was founded in the year 597-8. From thence one of the two streams of Britain's ecclesiastical and political life began to flow. The Norman invasion and conquest in the year 1066 was the last of those occurrences which gave cohesion and unity to England as a political dominion ; and from thence the second of the two streams of England's ecclesiastical and political life began its full flow. In the year 1534-5 the separation from Rome was effected, and thereafter England became an independent ecclesiastical and political system. Between the first and second epochs a period of 468 years elapsed, and between the second and third epochs a similar period of 468 years intervened.

Again, from the first flow of the stream of the English nation's ecclesiastical and political life in the years 597-8, until the triumph of the principles and power of Romanism in the political and ecclesiastical subjection of England in the year 1213, is a period of 615 years; and from thence the year 1213 until the triumph of the principle of full religious liberty, in the abolition of the civil disabilities of Dissenters, including Roman Catholics, in the years 1828-9, is a similar period of 615 years. It occupied, therefore, as long a period of time to develop fully the Roman system of arrogance and intolerance in England as it afterwards took to bring to maturity, also in England, a rival system of forbearance and freedom. Further, from the same year, 597-8, the starting-point in English ecclesiastical and political history, until the foundation of English civil liberty was laid in the grant of Magna Charta, in the year 1215, is a period of 617 years; and from thence until the full fruition of social and political freedom, in the year 1832-3, is a similar period of 617 years.

Moreover, one of the turning-points of early Christian history, and the starting-point of Rome's ecclesiastical system, is the year 303. The important elements of England's ecclesiastical and political fabric, in respect of races to be united in it, and dynasty to rule over it, were fully revealed in connection with the Norman invasion and conquest of the year 1066. The controversy in Hildebrand's time, between him and the emperor, concerning ecclesiastical patronage, reached its climax in the year 1076-7. Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) had decreed that "whoever should confer a bishopric or abbacy, or should receive an investi-

ture from the hands of any layman, should be excommunicated." The incidents of the contention that ensued are thus narrated by Mosheim :—

“But Henry was not dismayed at the decree of the pontiff. He acknowledged, indeed, that he had done wrong in selling sacred offices, and he promised amendment ; but he could by no means be induced to give up the power of appointing bishops and abbots, and the investiture so closely connected with that power. Gregory, therefore, well knowing that many of the German princes, especially those of Saxony, were alienated from Henry, deemed this a favourable opportunity to extend and establish his authority ; and, sending ambassadors to Goslar, he summoned the king to Rome, there to answer before a council to the charges brought against him. The king, who was a high-minded prince, and of an ardent temperament, being extremely indignant at this mandate, immediately called a convention of German bishops at Worms ; and there, accusing Gregory of various crimes, pronounced him unworthy of the pontificate, and appointed a meeting for the election of a new pontiff. Gregory, on the other hand, upon receiving this sentence by the king’s messengers and letters, interdicted him from religious rites and throne, and absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance to him. War being thus declared on both sides, the church as well as the state was rent into two factions, one party taking sides with the king, and the other with the pontiff ; and the evils resulting from this schism were immense.”

“The first that revolted from Henry were the Suabian nobles, at the head of whom was Rudolph, duke of Suabia. Next followed the Saxons, who had

long been hostile to the king. Both were advised by the pontiff, in case Henry would not comply with the church, to elect a new king; and they assembled at Tribur, in the year 1076, to deliberate on this very important subject. The result of the deliberation was, that the decision of the controversy between the king and the prince should be referred to the Roman pontiff, who should be invited to attend the diet of Augsburg the ensuing year for that purpose; and that the king during the intervening time should lead a private life, yet with this condition annexed, that unless he obtained absolution from the anathema within the year, he was to lose the kingdom. Henry, therefore, with the advice of his friends, determined to go into Italy and implore the clemency of the pontiff. But he did not gain as much advantage as he had hoped from this long journey. He obtained, indeed, though with difficulty, from the pontiff, then residing at the castle of Canossa with Matilda, the great patroness of the church, the pardon of his sins, after standing for three days together, in the depth of winter, in February 1077, bare-footed, bare-headed, and clad in a common weed, within the castle's walled enclosure, professing grief of mind. But the pontiff deferred the discussion and decision of his right to the throne till the convention of the princes should meet, and in the mean time wholly interdicted him from wearing the ornaments or exercising the functions of royalty." *

Taking the year 303, the era of the last persecution of the adherents of Christianity under the Roman empire, as a common starting-point, from thence

* MOSHEIM, *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. pp. 325, 329.

until the year 1066 is a period of 763 years. After the lapse of other 763 years, in the year 1829, there is witnessed the practical condemnation of the persecuting spirit of Rome, imperial and papal, and the maturing in England of the full fruits of the benevolent spirit and tolerant principles of Christianity. Also from the same year, 303, until the year 1076-7, is a period of 773 years. When other 773 years have run their course, in the year 1849-50, the successor of the once-powerful and arrogant pontiff is a fugitive from his dominion, and his flight was occasioned by the revolt of his own subjects. His return to the territory of his civil sovereignty, and his present residence in Rome, he owes not to the revived affection or renewed loyalty of his people, but to the arms of a foreign power. Let the relation which the Christian church occupied towards the Roman empire in the year 303, the condition of England at the time of its invasion and conquest in the year 1066, and the vaulting ambition and imperiousness of the pontiff in the year 1076-7, be contrasted with the manifest triumph of the spirit and principles of Christianity in Britain in its national capacity in the year 1829, and the painful and distressing exhibition in Rome itself of the fruits of the spirit and principles of the Roman system in the years 1849-50, and the conviction cannot but force itself on every impartial mind that there is a law regulating the flow of the great streams of human history, based upon high, and, it may be, complex moral considerations, yet singularly exact in its chronological order, while just, merciful, and benevolent in the manner of its operation and the effects it has produced.

CHAPTER IV.

It is the cherished expectation of many that, when the spirit of Christianity is all-prevalent on earth, there shall be no sickening spectacles of physical deformity, no grievous manifestations of mental aberration or intellectual weakness, and no tendencies or incitements to moral obliquity or spiritual perverseness. Whether the realisation of such an expectation awaits future generations of the human race or not, it is unquestionable that the ordinary operation of the Christian spirit hitherto has produced no such signal effects. The physically impotent, or blind, or dumb remain the same, in these respects, after they have been influenced by the spirit of Christianity, as they were previous thereto. The intellectually weak and defective experience no beneficial change in that respect from their reception of the Christian faith. No new physical powers or mental faculties accompany the gift or reception of the Christian religion by an individual man. And unhappily, although the power of the Christian religion is chiefly directed to the eradication of a man's corrupt moral propensities, and the inculcation of pure and virtuous principles and

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motives of life and action ; yet it is painfully true, that even in this region of human existence it cannot be said to have been altogether and infallibly successful in the case of a solitary human being, so long as he dwelt in this world.

May what is thus provable concerning individuals of the human species not be equally true of them when viewed in their aggregate and consolidated aspects? Churches are formed by the association of units ; and kingdoms are constructed by the union and combination of individuals and smaller communities, and by the amalgamation of tribes and races. The inherent physical and intellectual properties of a nation are a gift, or possession, altogether irrespective of the use or abuse of them. The spirit of Christianity may give them a bent in a direction that will issue in what is good and praiseworthy ; but it makes no pretension to do more than exercise an influence that will develop their power to the enduring profit and advantage of the possessor. The absence of Christian influence leaves men unaided in the conflict with their own corrupting tendencies, but does not diminish their physical powers or mental faculties. The individual man and the Christian spirit are each distinct and complete as powers of life and action, prior to the union of the influence of the latter with the nature of the former. The results that flow from this union may be entirely the work of the Christian spirit in one view ; but they are not less really the product of the life of the individual man. This union may be effected in the boyhood or in the mature age of the individual ; and if the former, the growth of his body, or the unfolding of his intellectual power,

is not, by any means, or to any extent, interfered with.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is a dominion of this world, altogether irrespective of the influence which the spirit of Christianity may be proved to have exerted upon its laws and institutions. What she would have been in different circumstances, it is needless to inquire ; but it is important to keep in view the fact of her distinct and complete existence as an empire. As there are many component parts of an individual man, so there are many constituent elements of national existence. Numbers, territory, and governing power are common to all earthly dominions. But each differs from the others as to amount of population and extent of territory. The manner of the exercise of the governing power in all kingdoms, both ancient and modern, has been remarkably uniform, with rare exceptions. It is the spirit more than the form in which the governing power is exercised, that should elicit commendation or provoke censure. An absolute form of government may be the only one practicable among certain nations ; but its path need not be strewed with scenes of cruelty and tyranny. Justice and comparative mildness are not impossible associates of a despotic rule. Britain is free within her own territory, yet she has no option but to govern millions of the human race in Asia in a manner different from that which prevails among the people who inhabit her own islands. Wherever the subjects of the British empire have evinced a desire and a reasonable aptitude for self-government, the privilege has been conferred.

The spirit of British rule is one ; but the circum-

stances and the manner in which it requires to be exercised are diverse and opposite. There are at least four different ways of using the governmental authority of the British executive: one within the three kingdoms, composing her home dominion; a second, among the people who have emigrated from the British Isles and other European countries, and have formed the communities that constitute her colonial dominion; a third, among the inhabitants of the Ionian Isles—a people civilised, but alien in race, and latterly somewhat unfriendly and intractable in spirit; a fourth, among the tribes and peoples inhabiting the territories annexed to her dominion in Asia and other parts of the world. In each case, the form adopted is that which is believed to be the one most conducive to the welfare and progress of those among whom it is established. They have many points of difference when compared with each other; but the spirit and the aim of all are one and the same. To confer the greatest amount of good of every description on the largest possible number of the human race, is the avowed end of British rule. If this can be best attained by the fullest concession of every kind of freedom, as in the home territory, nothing is withheld; if by making the link of connection between the parent dominion and its colonies so fine as to be scarcely perceptible, that even is not denied; if by the grant of popular institutions, and the careful tentation of their development in a right direction, as in the case of the Ionian Islands, the experiment is tried; and if, as in India, a despotic form alone is calculated to produce the desired end, it is resorted to with perfect consistency.

It is not in any degree in a boastful mood that one

should affirm the fact that the spirit and principles of British rule have conferred great blessings on all placed under its dominion. Neither should the still greater good which it is evidently her destiny to work out for her own and other peoples on this earth be contemplated with feelings of pride or exultation. To her it would appear much has been given: and when she has done all and fulfilled her mission among the kingdoms and peoples of this world, there will in all probability be less boastfulness and more humility in the temper in which the results will be surveyed, if they are successful, than can now be imagined. The qualities of British rule are unprecedented in human history. Their growth has been slow and not uninterrupted by violent checks and powerful hindrances. The constituent parts of the United Kingdom were disconnected and separate at no very remote period. The history of the manner and the means by which the imperial unity has been gradually and finally effected, in conjunction with the coming into existence of the kind of rule and government which has sprung up in connection with it, must be both interesting and instructive.

The home dominion of the British empire is the product of the union of the three originally independent kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. For many centuries England itself was partitioned into many small monarchies. Even when England was united under one monarchy in the year 827, Wales remained a distinct principality, and continued to assert its independence until the reign of Edward I., when its separate existence ceased by its incorporation with England. In the history of England pre-

vious to her legislative and corporate union with either Scotland or Ireland, the seeds of her civil freedom and political greatness were fully sown. For long after the union of the English heptarchy under one monarchy, little if any progress was made by the nation. In common with France, Italy, Scotland, and Ireland, England was exposed to frequent incursions of Danes. Finally, in the year 1066, the Norman invasion and conquest concluded this early and unsettled phase of British history. In addition to a strong government for the time being, ruling with energy at home, and powerful to repel foreign invasion, the Norman conquest produced other important changes in England's dominion. A new reigning dynasty was founded, a new hereditary aristocracy was established, and the feudal law was introduced by William and the Norman barons. The condition of English affairs that resulted from the Norman conquest continued without material change until the grant of Magna Charta in the year 1215.

There are now three estates in the realm of Britain whose harmonious co-operation is essential to the maintenance of good government, and without whose united voluntary assent there can be no legislation. When Magna Charta was granted, the seeds of all three were sown ; and from thence the long-protracted contentings between kingly prerogative, parliamentary privilege, and individual liberty, take their rise. There were frequent and sometimes violent contests throughout the thirteenth century, attendant on the rise of the three estates of the realm. And it was not till the reign of Edward I. that they took the external form and assumed some of the more important privi-

leges that have been transmitted to their successors. According to many historians, the first regular English parliament was summoned in the reign of Edward I. Both the Barons and the Commons had been several times convened to deliberate and advise previous to the time of Edward I. But before his reign their assent was not essential to the making of a law, and their consent was not required in the imposition of taxes. The decree of the sovereign had been sufficient to constitute a law ; and his necessities had been the only regulating power of his arbitrary demands upon his subjects. In this reign, however, the principle of making parliament's assent indispensable to the enactment of laws was brought into operation. So also was a clause added to the Great Charter, whereby the nation was secured against all impositions and taxes without the consent of parliament.

But a new peril threatened the infant liberties of the English nation during this reign, the nature, the source, and the results of which have so important a bearing on the subsequent history of the nation, and are therefore so valuable as lights to guide in the present inquiry, that the account given of them by Hume will be adopted in preference to a narrative of the writer's own :—" While the people, after so many successful struggles, deemed themselves happy in the secure possession of their privileges, they were surprised, in 1305, to find that Edward had secretly applied to Rome, and had procured from that mercenary court an absolution from all the oaths and engagements, which he had so often reiterated, to observe both the charters. There are some historians so credulous as to imagine that this perilous step was taken by him

for no other purpose than to acquire the merit of granting a new confirmation of the charters, as he did soon after, and a confirmation so much the more unquestionable, as it could never be invalidated by his successors on pretence of any force or violence which had been imposed upon him. But besides, this might have been done with a better grace if he had never applied for any such absolution. The whole tenor of his conduct proves him to be little susceptible of such refinement in patriotism; and this very deed itself, in which he anew confirmed the charters, carries on the face a very opposite presumption. Though he ratified the charters in general, he still took advantage of the papal bull, so far as to invalidate the late perambulations of the forest, which had been made with such care and attention, and to reserve to himself the powers, in case of favourable incidents, to extend as much as formerly these arbitrary jurisdictions. If the power was not in fact made use of, we can only conclude that the favourable incidents did not offer."

"Thus, after the contests of near a whole century, and these ever accompanied with violent jealousies, often with public convulsions, the Great Charter was finally established; and the English nation has the honour of extorting, by their perseverance, this concession from the ablest, the most warlike, and the most ambitious of all their princes. It is computed that about thirty confirmations of the charter were at different times required of several kings, and granted by them in full parliament; a precaution which, while it discovers some ignorance of the true nature of law and government, proves a laudable jealousy of national privileges in the people, and an extreme anxiety

lest contrary precedents should ever be pleaded as an authority for infringing them. Accordingly we find that, though arbitrary practices often prevailed, and were even able to establish themselves into settled customs, the validity of the Great Charter was never afterwards formally disputed ; and that grant was still regarded as the basis of English government, and the sure rule by which the authority of every custom was to be tried and canvassed. The jurisdiction of the Star Chamber, martial law, imprisonment by warrants from the Privy Council, and other practices of a like nature, though established for several centuries, were scarcely ever allowed by the English to be parts of their constitution ; the affection of the nation for liberty still prevailed over all precedents, and even all political reasoning. The exercise of these powers, after being long the source of secret murmurs among the people, was in fulness of time solemnly abolished as illegal, at least as oppressive, by the whole legislative authority."

During this reign also attempts were made to unite England and Scotland under one monarchy. Edward sought to accomplish this, in the first instance, by the marriage of his son with Margaret, the Scottish queen. The Scotch estates had given their assent to Edward's proposals, and had also agreed that their young sovereign should be educated at the English court. The death of Margaret on her passage from Norway to Scotland frustrated Edward's design. What Edward failed to accomplish by the projected marriage he next endeavoured to attain by conquest. After numerous contests and several reverses he was ultimately successful, and, in the year 1303, he annexed the Scottish

kingdom to the English crown. "He abrogated all the Scottish laws and customs ; he endeavoured to substitute the English in their place ; he entirely razed or destroyed all the monuments of antiquity ; such records or histories as had escaped his former search were now burned or dispersed ; and he hastened, by too precipitate steps, to abolish entirely the Scottish name, and to sink it finally in the English. Edward, however, still deemed his favourite conquest exposed to some danger so long as Wallace was alive ; and, being prompted both by revenge and policy, he employed every art to discover his retreat, and become master of his person. At last that hardy warrior, who was determined, amidst the universal slavery of his country, still to maintain his independence, was betrayed into Edward's hands by Sir John Monteith, his friend, whom he made acquainted with his place of concealment. The king, whose natural bravery and magnanimity should have induced him to respect like qualities in an enemy, enraged at some acts of violence committed by Wallace during the fury of the war, resolved to overawe the Scots by an example of severity. He ordered Wallace to be carried in chains to London (23d August 1305), to be tried as a rebel and a traitor, though he had never made submission or sworn fealty to England, and to be executed on Tower Hill. This was the unworthy fate of a hero who, through a course of many years, had, with signal conduct, intrepidity, and perseverance, defended against a public and oppressive enemy the liberties of his native country."*

But Edward's attack upon the national independ-

* HUME.

ence of Scotland did not result in the permanent annexation of the Scottish kingdom to the English crown. In the year 1306 a new claimant to the Scottish throne made his appearance, in the person of Robert Bruce. Under his leadership the Scottish people were stirred up to a new struggle, and reconquered their national freedom and independence on the field of Bannockburn, in June 1314. The liberties finally secured to the English people in the year 1305, after so many contests, the legislative and taxing powers conferred on parliament in the same reign, and the national independence of Scotland re-established in the year 1314, are all important elements in the constitution and strength of the British empire, the absence of any one of which would have materially changed the course of history in relation to the kingdoms, both in their separate and united aspects. In the reign of Edward I. the English parliament nominally secured an effective power of control and regulation over the king in respect of legislation and taxation. The people were no longer liable to have laws enacted and taxes imposed by the arbitrary decree of the reigning sovereign. A restraint was placed on the monarch's prerogative of authority, which necessitated its exercise in accordance with the will of parliament. In the reign of Edward I.'s son and successor, parliament went a step further, and claimed and exercised the right of determining the monarch's fitness or incapacity to fill the English throne, and also of deciding what constitutes a sufficient ground of deposition. In the year 1327 King Edward II. "was accused to parliament of incapacity for government, of wasting his time in idle amusements, of neglecting

public business, of being swayed by evil counsellors, of having lost by his misconduct the kingdom of Scotland and part of Guienne ; and, to swell the charge, even the death of some barons, and the imprisonment of some prelates convicted of treason, were laid to his account. It was in vain, amidst the violence of arms and tumults of the people, to appeal either to law or reason : the deposition of the king, without any opposition, was voted by parliament."*

It would be erroneous to suppose that these manifestations in the early history of England of the most distinguished characteristics of Britain's modern constitutional government, were anything more than weak and fragile germs. The fully-formed skeleton was alone observable : the living body politic did not come into existence for two or three centuries later. Force and not reason, violent coercion and not the power of public opinion, were the principal weapons of political warfare resorted to by the government and the opposition alike. There was the written law of a free constitution without its living spirit. The violence and uncertainty of these remote times may be judged of from the fact, that between the reigns of Edward I. and Henry VII. there were nine occupants of the English throne in an interval of nearly one hundred and eighty years, six of whom were deposed, and five of these six lost their lives as well as their crowns. The dynastic war of the Roses came to a close with the accession of the house of Tudor. It was the good fortune of the Tudor line of English sovereigns, after the reign of Henry VII., to preside

* HUME.

over the destinies of the English nation at a most critical and eventful period of its history. The great Reformation, commenced in Europe during the reign of Henry VIII. of England, had taken deep root and was firmly established on English soil at the close of Elizabeth's reign. England's connection with Rome, which was nearly severed by Edward III. and his parliament in the year 1366-7, was actually broken by Henry VIII. and his parliament. The principles of the Reformation had made considerable progress in England before the close of Henry's reign.

On his son Edward's accession to the throne a new state of ecclesiastical affairs took shape and form. During his reign the Protestant religion became the new faith of the English nation ; but his death and the accession of his sister Mary operated as a severe check, and her reign was full of disaster both to the Protestant cause and its adherents. Her death, and the accession of her sister Elizabeth, brought revival to the one and relief to the others. The strifes, however, between Protestants and Romanists were frequent and rancorous. The latter were kept in subjection by severe penal enactments. To the dangers from within there was added a threatened peril from without of considerable magnitude. Philip of Spain had fitted out a formidable expedition, for no less an object than the conquest of England. The Armada sailed from Spain, but its destructive force was never felt in England. This century of English history was wholly occupied with the efforts requisite to emancipate England from the prevailing influences of Romanism, and to establish on a secure basis in their room the principles of Protestantism. With the opening years of

the seventeenth century came the accession of the house of Stuart. The old contentions between kingly prerogative and parliamentary privilege and individual freedom were revived, but in very different circumstances. The enslaving influence of Romanism was gone; the liberating power of Protestantism was in full operation. Enlightened intellect and elevated moral principle were combined in the struggle with the ancient weapons of force and violent coercion. King Charles I. was worsted in the conflict, and lost his crown and his life. After a short interregnum his son Charles II. was restored; but at his death, and the accession of his brother James II., the strife was renewed, Romanism and kingly prerogative contending for the mastery with parliament, church, and people. The contention was sharp and short, and terminated in the flight and deposition of the king, and the expulsion of the direct line of the Stuart dynasty.

From thence, under the rule of William and Mary, was inaugurated the second stage in the full development of England's singular political constitution. All monarchical prerogatives were thereafter placed under such regulation as to prevent their abuse, while permitting their free and legitimate exercise. The privileges of parliament were more clearly defined. Its co-ordinate power of legislation has never since been trespassed upon. And its control of taxation has not been arbitrarily interfered with. The basis of English freedom, civil and religious, has been gradually strengthened in the interval. Its national superstructure withstood unharmed the rude and violent shocks of the first French Revolution. And the united

empire of Great Britain and Ireland finished her second preparatory course of training in the year 1827, and entered on the third and last stage of her regenerating and reforming career in the years 1828-9. What was begun in the reign of King John has been brought to full maturity in the reign of Queen Victoria. The three kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland, once disjoined, are now united under one sovereign and one legislature. The legislative union of the United Kingdom is the result not of conquest, but of mutual consent. The small seed of liberty sown in the thirteenth century in English soil has become that great tree of civil and religious freedom, under the shadow and protection of which every citizen of the British empire sits, no one venturing to make him afraid.

The political peace and tranquillity which pervade the United Kingdom are the product of just and wise legislation. If suffering and misery exist to any extent among the people, their sources are beyond the reach of legislative enactment, otherwise a remedy would speedily be applied. Real political grievances there are none. Individual indiscretion, misconduct, and imprudence cannot be corrected by acts of parliament. It is of the very essence of true freedom that men should reap individually the fruit of what they sow as individuals, whether that be good or evil, so far as legislative interference is concerned. A man's duty to his country and to his fellow-citizens may be prescribed by the legislature ; but his duty to himself he must be taught by very different means. If the individual members of the commonwealth were as largely influenced by the spirit of Christianity as the

national institutions are proved to be, it is more than probable that many of the remaining causes of sorrow and distress would be alleviated, if not removed. The infinitely more difficult and tedious work of reforming and regenerating the national institutions having been so perfectly accomplished, there is everything to encourage the confident expectation that the much lighter task (in comparison) of reforming and regenerating the individual members of the community will be undertaken within a reasonable time. It is an invariable law of nature that all forms of material existence possess a remarkable adaptation for the particular state and condition of life assigned to them. Human existence in its diversified phases forms no exception to this rule. In by far the majority of cases, men of various tribes and climes, of all ranks and conditions, and the same classes of different generations and epochs, have evinced a singular aptitude for their actual positions in life; and a peculiar harmony has frequently been observable between men's peculiarities and training, whether as nations or individuals, and the circumstances by which they have been surrounded.

Martin Luther and John Knox would be out of place, as well as out of time, were they to appear as ecclesiastical guides in the present day. Queen Victoria, gifted with qualities so peculiarly appropriate in her high position to the exigencies of her reign, would have been wholly unfitted to perform the parts allotted in history to her predecessors Charles I. and his son James II. Not only is there a general fitness in the apparent arrangement affecting men and their circumstances, but an additional law of elevation or depression also operates. A man cannot be elevated

or depressed much beyond the position he is naturally qualified to fill, without occasioning discomfort to himself and dissatisfaction to others. Yet numerous are the instances in which men have risen to eminence far excelling their original station, who have so acquitted themselves as to prove their natural fitness for it. No better illustration can be desired of the twofold application of this natural law than the condition of the people of England and its attendant circumstances at the time of the Norman conquest, and their progressive improvement and advancement, combined with the altered circumstances surrounding them, and the different nature of the work they had to accomplish, at the successive and various important epochs of their history. The English nation of 1066, and even of 1366-7, would have been wholly incompetent and powerless in the Reformation struggles of the sixteenth century. The barons of King John's time could not have fought the battle of constitutional government and political freedom which was waged so fiercely, and resulted so triumphantly, in the seventeenth century. The union of the empire in 1801 by mutual consent would have been an impossibility during the reign of Edward I. And the union of England and Scotland by conquest, as attempted by Edward I., would have been not less impracticable at the latter date, if not previously effected. And the freedom, the religious equality, and the benevolent, yet just, spirit of British rule in the present day, could not have found a resting-place in the national institutions of the sixteenth century. The national edifice has always been in advance of the people's habits and their individual spirit. But they have

invariably grown into a state of harmony with each other before a new national start was made. During the last thirty-three years the national edifice has greatly outdistanced the individual habits of the people ; but, as in previous instances, it is to be hoped they will not linger far behind, but rather quicken the pace of their progress.

There can be no mistake in fixing the time when England was united under one monarchy as the true source and beginning of English national history. This occurred in the year 827. Most readers can verify for themselves the accuracy of the epochs hereafter selected as those most prolific of great and abiding results to England first, and through her to the United Kingdom subsequently ; and also the correctness of the choice of those events that have been most instructive to the nation, and have thrown most light upon her history. No one will doubt that the Norman invasion and conquest in the year 1066 mark an epoch of great importance in English history. It was the completion of the material or physical superstructure of the English nation's existence, the foundation of which was laid in the year 827. At the earlier date the physical or political union was effected, but it was not till the latter year, 1066, after an interval of 239 years, that the whole infusion of the elements which were to compose it came into contact, in the accession of the Norman sovereign and the establishment of the Norman aristocracy. The next great epoch was the foundation of civil liberty in the grant of Magna Charta. This was a written charter of law, right, and privilege, extorted from the king by the discontent and incipient revolt

of the barons of England. Its validity was never heartily acknowledged by the successors of King John for nearly a century. So frequent were the strifes on this point between the kings and the nation, that it is alleged that as many as thirty confirmations of the original charter had been given by the kings before the final and irrevocable adoption of its contents by Edward I., in the year 1305. The written charter of law and right granted by King John was improved in the interval by the conferring on parliament of important privileges in respect of legislation and taxation; and, as a written law, it was then as complete as it is at the present day. But for centuries after, the spirit of that charter was practically violated, and the germs of its political influence on the side of liberty and constitutional government were either unseen or unheeded. It occupied 239 years, from the year 827 to the year 1066, to complete the material or physical edifice of England's national existence; and other 239 years had to elapse, from the year 1066 to the year 1305, ere the charter of its constitutional law was perfected in a written form, and the national edifice fully reared, both physically and intellectually.

This concluded what may be termed the infancy of the English nation. It then entered upon the period of its boyhood. The principal agents of its political instruction for a time were its kings and rulers; and its chief religious preceptors were the Roman pontiffs and priesthood. Very early the boyish nation became discontented and dissatisfied with its political chief's capacity and conduct, and in the year 1327 he was dismissed, and another put in his place. Again and again, for six several times in all

during the course of 160 years, was a similar remedy resorted to. The religious chief did not find the national boy more pliant to him than he was to his political colleague. During the reign of Edward III., in the year 1366-7, the nation became restive under the papal supremacy; refused to pay the stipulated tribute, as provided in King John's charter resigning the kingdom to the pontiff; and denied the right of that or any other monarch to grant such a charter without the national consent. The physical extent of the nation was to grow immensely; its intellectual power was to increase and develop itself in a corresponding ratio; and above all, its high moral and spiritual influences were to be trained and ripened unto perfection. At length, the light of those principles by which the political and religious education of the English nation was to be completed in its riper manhood, began to dawn upon the world, through the agency of Martin Luther, in the year 1517-18. The lesson-book which England received in the year 1215, in the form of Magna Charta, at the hand of King John, was kept closed as much as possible by those charged with the nation's tuition. The effort to free itself from papal tutelage in the year 1366-7, was not persevered in to a final rupture, as there was no other mode of instruction then known by which the religious preceptor's system could be supplanted, if he were dismissed. The will to break the connection was present, but the way to do it safely and profitably was unknown; and it continued so until Luther's advent, as the founder of a new system of moral and religious training for individuals and nations, in the year 1517-18. The letter of English constitutional law was given in the year

1215. King and people went as far as they could go 151 years afterwards, in the year 1366-7, in exhibiting their impatience and dissatisfaction with their moral and religious teacher and his system. After the lapse of 151 years more, in the year 1517-18, that system of principles and doctrines began to be set forth in this world, by means of which the letter of English constitutional law, written for the first time in the year 1215, has become a living and prevailing national influence.

The English nation was then passing from a state of boyhood to adolescence, and the mode of tuition and training was changed in accordance therewith. It commenced the first stage of the instruction of its riper age in the Reformation era; and this was not concluded till the epoch of the Revolution in 1688-9. It did not now require the chastisement of a humiliating invasion and conquest; and it would not submit to arbitrary treatment at the hands of its political chief. The nation was coming of age, and was acquiring discretion sufficient to qualify it for taking part in the management of its own affairs; and in their control and regulation it began to lay claim to a preponderating voice. The Norman invasion and conquest of 1066 was now a remote event; and however useful as a national corrective at the time of its occurrence, a repetition of it in the Reformation era would have been an unsuitable and unprofitable mode of effecting improvement. The first of the nation's contests with its kings, in the year 1327, was the earliest indication of its latent independence and coming power of self-government as a nation. Between these two epochs a period of 261 years intervened; and 261 years further on, in the

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year 1588-9, an attempt was made by Philip of Spain to repeat in history the era of the Norman invasion and conquest of England. The state and condition of England being so much changed in the interval, and the nation having outgrown such a manner of correcting the defects and blemishes of its conduct, the design of Philip was frustrated.

The territorial extent or physical dimensions of the monarchy were soon thereafter enlarged to their present proportions at the death of Elizabeth, and the accession of James I. (of the house of Stuart), in the year 1603. The monarchy was fully matured when England, Scotland, and Ireland (for the first time completely) were united under the sceptre of James I. The legislative power was still subdivided, each kingdom retaining its own parliament, and other distinctive peculiarities of national existence. A brief review of the condition and circumstances of the three kingdoms in the year 1603, in the way of comparison with the state of the united empire in the present day, will reveal the magnitude of the task on the performance of which the British nation then entered, and the faithfulness and exactitude of its final accomplishment. Four centuries of almost continuous warfare between the sovereigns of England and the princes of Ireland had just terminated, in the voluntary submission of the last of the Irish chiefs. Thenceforward all Ireland, as well as England and Scotland, passed under the sway of one sceptre. The government of three independent kingdoms was a sufficiently arduous undertaking, even in circumstances the most favourable. But in addition thereto, there were many and abounding causes of discord and contention within

each separate kingdom. Ireland was annexed more by force than by consent to the English monarchy. A Protestant minority soon thereafter acquired a legal ascendancy over a Romanist majority. The mass of the people were little removed from a state of barbarism. The seeds of a rancorous and intolerant spirit were plentifully sown in those and subsequent unhappy days. And it was long participated in as largely by the governing classes as by those who were governed. In Scotland, the religious feeling of the majority had shown a decided preference for a Presbyterian church polity; and the Scottish people manifested a repugnance for prelacy only second in intensity to their Roman aversions. There was, however, an influential minority, prepared, at a fitting time, to countenance and support the introduction of Episcopacy, and the abolition of Presbyterianism. In England there was a Protestant majority, resolved to maintain the ascendancy of their principles. There was also a resolute minority, partisans of Romanism, not always scrupulous in the choice of the means employed for the attainment of their cherished, and sometimes avowed, hostile designs on the Protestant ascendancy. There had, moreover, appeared a considerable sect, named Puritans, who were dissatisfied with the state of things in the Anglican church, and who entertained no goodwill towards it. In addition to these diversities of nation and antagonisms of creed, the true principles of constitutional government had yet to be apprehended by sovereign, statesmen, and people alike. Political freedom, as now known in Britain, was but crudely, if at all, developed practically. The civil equality of all religious sects and creeds was not even announced as a prin-

ciple of government ; and the toleration of dissenters from the church established by law was unrecognised by the constitution until the close of the seventeenth century. Strict and unmistakable lines of demarcation had yet to be drawn, defining where the legal exercise of the monarch's prerogative terminated, and where the privileges and powers of the imperial legislature commenced. The then impending struggle, in its higher aspects, was confined to England and Scotland. The great charter of English law, written in 1215, began to assume life and form as an influential moral power at this epoch. In both countries the contest was between the king and the people. In England, a political direction was given to the conflict. Monarchical prerogative and parliamentary privilege came into open and hostile collision. In Scotland, the contention was concerning Prelacy and Presbyterianism chiefly. The predilection of the sovereign and the preference of the people were opposite and antagonistic to each other.

The war was waged at intervals, and with varying success in both countries, till the year 1688-9, when it terminated in the revolution which deprived the Stuart family of their right to the throne, and secured the constitutional liberties of all the countries. Toleration then became a part of the British constitution ; and Presbyterianism was acknowledged as the established form of ecclesiastical polity in Scotland. Crown prerogative and parliamentary power and privilege had their bounds defined ; the first stage of England's moral and spiritual training to the habit of national self-government was ended ; and a new stage of instruction was thenceforth inaugurated. Reverting a

second time to the foundation of the English united monarchy in the year 827, as a first starting-point in the nation's political history, it will be found that 388 years elapsed before the grant of Magna Charta in the year 1215. From thence dates the foundation, in a written form, of the constitutional liberties of the nation. It occupied exactly other 388 years, from the year 1215 to the year 1603, to prepare for placing the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland under one king ; to prepare, also, for the full revelation of the united monarchy ; and, further, to qualify England in particular for the great political contest of the seventeenth century, evolved in connection with the giving of national life and practical power to the written law of English constitutional government embodied in the Great Charter.

Scotland took part with England in the higher regions of this war of vital principles in connection with human government. In Scotland the strife was conducted chiefly on ecclesiastical grounds ; whereas in England the political element was predominant. In one respect the previous preparation of Scotland was not dissimilar to that of England, for it was likewise subjected to national disaster and humiliation. These results, moreover, were consequent on the attempt made by Edward I. to unite the two kingdoms by force and conquest under one monarchy. His invasion of Scotland with this object commenced in the year 1296-7, and by the year 1303 his design was to all appearance accomplished. In the year 1305, he gave the final proof of the nation's thorough subjugation by the execution of Wallace on a charge of treason against himself as the king of Scotland. The

greatest depth of humiliation to which England as a nation was reduced prior to the Norman conquest, and subsequent to the foundation of the united monarchy, was brought about by the English massacre of the Danes resident in England in the year 1002. In the following and three successive years, 1003-7, Sweyn and his Danes committed fearful ravages in England; and after amply avenging the massacre of their countrymen, refused to quit the country until the English had consented to the ignominy of paying a sum of money for their deliverance. Between these two singularly similar events there elapsed a space of 300 years. When 300 years additional have passed away, what Edward I. apparently had accomplished, the union of the two kingdoms under one monarchy—but which was undone in the reign of his son ten years later—was effected in the year 1603 in a manner that has proved mutually beneficial to both countries, and without the semblance of humiliation to either.

Still further in illustration of the character of the union which was effected between England and Scotland in the year 1603, and the manner of the preparation for its accomplishment. The Norman conquest of the year 1066 established and consolidated the political edifice of England. The English conquest of Scotland failed to consolidate a union of the two kingdoms, and 1313 was the last year of Scotland's subjugation. In the year 1314, the national independence was fought for and regained on the field of Bannockburn. Between the first year of England's final conquest, the year 1066, and the last year of Scotland's attempted conquest and subjugation, the year 1313, there intervened a period of 247 years.

The first year of the next 247 years, the year 1314, witnessed the resurrection of the national political independence of Scotland; and the last year of the 247 years, the year 1560, was the year in which Scotland's religious subjugation to Rome was terminated, and the era of the foundation of the Scotch reformed church, and the assertion of the national ecclesiastical independence of Scotland. Again, from the advent of the Reformation era in the year 1517, until the founding of the Scotch reformed national church—which was the embodiment of principles, the practical evolution of which, amid serious interruptions in the history of Scotland under the united monarchy, has constituted its chief if not prevalent feature—in the year 1560, there was an interval of 43 years. After the expiry of other 43 years, in the year 1603, the kingdoms were united under one monarchy, preparatory to the political struggle which ensued in England, and the ecclesiastical contentings that have scarcely ceased ever since in Scotland. The centre and turning points or epochs in English and Scottish history, prior to the union of the two kingdoms under one monarchy, are in both cases characteristic of the different nature of the conflicts that followed thereafter in each country.

The principles which kindled this moral and spiritual fire of profitable contentings in England and Scotland first dawned upon Europe in the year 1517-18. From thence until the union of the two kingdoms under one monarchy, in the year 1603, preparatory to their separate entrance on the field of conflict, there was a space of 86 years, with an important central epoch to Scotland ecclesiastically, in the year

1560. It occupied exactly 86 years more from the year 1603 to the year 1688-9 to bring the first stage of the conflicts in both countries to a successful issue. The infatuated dynasty which persecuted in Scotland, and attempted to oppress in England, was overthrown in the middle of the century, and restored in the year 1659-60. The nation had, in the preceding century, risen to a state above the necessity of the correcting and chastising influence of invasion and consequent conquest. The Spanish threatened invasion of the year 1588-9 proved abortive as an agency of interference with England's independence, both politically and ecclesiastically. The Stuart dynasty, restored in 1659-60, lost no time in resuming its persecuting career in Scotland. The advent of Protestant principles in the year 1517-18, and their incorporation with the political system of England, provoked the fitting out of the Spanish Armada, and its despatch on its mission of destruction to England, in the year 1588-9. The same principles, ecclesiastically embodied in the Presbyterian church of Scotland, occasioned the renewed persecution in Scotland, on the restoration of the Stuart dynasty, in the year 1659-60. Between the year 1517-18 and the year 1588-9 there elapsed a period of 71 years, and from the year 1588-9 to the year 1659-60 there is a like interval of 71 years. In both instances the designs of the opponents of English political independence and of Scottish ecclesiastical independence were frustrated, and their schemes rendered abortive.

The circumstances in which England and Scotland were placed after the completion of the great Revolution of 1688-9 were widely different from any that

preceded the momentous change then accomplished. The life and death struggles with priestcraft and kingcraft were effectually closed. The termination of civil war and domestic strifes, and the cessation of an age of violence, were followed by the devising of means and the putting forth of efforts calculated to promote internal strength and consolidation, and also to diffuse and extend the influence of the empire abroad. The first important step taken in the direction of home consolidation, was the legislative union of England and Scotland in the year 1707. It was a national transaction of a kind not dissimilar to the manner in which the union of two individuals in marriage is gone about. By mutual consent, and with a careful preservation of the national independence and distinct identity of each kingdom, the nuptials were celebrated. The first attempt to effect a complete union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland was made by Edward I., in the year 1296-7, by means of a very different character. Military invasion and violent conquest were resorted to by him, and he obtained a temporary success. After his death his work was undone, and the two kingdoms again became separate and distinct, until their legislative union in the year 1707. They had been united under one monarch in the year 1603, in consequence of the king of Scotland's accession to the throne of England; but their separate existence in all other respects continued as before, until the year 1707. The first event of the series, which resulted in the union of the two crowns of England and Scotland, was a marriage. In the year 1502, King James IV. of Scotland married Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. of England. From this source sprang



that stream of events which, by first effecting the union of the two crowns in the year 1603, prepared for the more important and beneficent union of the two nations in the year 1707. From the first attempt to unite the two kingdoms by force in the year 1296-7 to the marriage of James IV. of Scotland and Margaret of England in the year 1502, there is a period of 205 years. From the individual marriage in 1502 until the final national union of the two kingdoms was celebrated in the year 1707, is an equal period of 205 years.

This year 1502 was also the year of Henry VIII.'s betrothal to his brother's widow, although the marriage was not celebrated till his accession to the throne in the year 1509. The Spanish marriage of Henry VIII. brought about the disruption of England with Rome, and the nation's deliverance from priestcraft. The Scotch marriage of Margaret resulted—first, in the union of the two crowns, preparatory to the two kingdoms entering upon their severest struggle with kingcraft; and, finally, in the union of the two nations, as the consummation of their full triumph over both kingcraft and priestcraft. England commenced her successful contendings with her kings in the year 1327; the advent of the principles by the practical application of which both kingdoms were enabled to resist and overcome the machinations of priestcraft, was in the year 1517. From the commencement of the strife with kingcraft in the year 1327, until the advent of the principles that occasioned the commencement of the strife with priestcraft in the year 1517, there is an interval of 190 years. After the lapse of other 190 years, the con-

summation of the union of the two kingdoms is accomplished, in the overthrow and ruin of kingcraft and priestcraft as prevalent influences within the United Kingdom. The expiring embers of the extinct influence of kingcraft and priestcraft succeeded thereafter in kindling the flame of rebellion twice over in the United Kingdom. The first insurrection broke out in Scotland in the year 1715, and the second in the year 1745. The infatuated reign of the last of the Stuarts, James II., commenced in the year 1685. At the expiration of 30 years therefrom, in the year 1715, his son vainly attempted to regain the throne which the father had lost. And 30 years further on, in the year 1745, the grandson made a similar attempt, which was equally unsuccessful.

When the two crowns were united, in the year 1603, that magnificent colonial empire which Britain now possesses had no existence, with two or three minor exceptions. The monarch's dominion was all but limited to the British Isles. The founding of new colonies commenced at that epoch, more particularly on the continent of America, and among the West India Islands. About the same period the first East India Company was founded by royal charter. So that the extension of British dominion and influence to the east and west dates its beginning from the time of the union of the two crowns of England and Scotland. In America the subjects of the British crown founded the settlements, and constituted the principal portion of the several communities. In India the English originally appeared as a commercial and trading company, and it was not till the middle of the eighteenth century that the first terri-

torial conquests were made, and the foundation of Britain's existing Indian empire laid. There were as many as thirteen American colonies connected with England at the time of the great Revolution. Some of them had been peopled by emigrants from the mother country during the troublous reign of Charles I. They went to seek in a new, and to them unknown continent, that political and ecclesiastical freedom and quiet which they failed to find at home. The emigrants of that century were the pioneers of that great nation which has since arisen across the Atlantic, having a population equal to that of the United Kingdom, of which the United States of America were once colonial dependencies.

No doubt the early leaven of the pilgrim fathers was transmitted to their successors in the States. Their love of liberty, their desire for independence, and their latent aversion for monarchical government, were inherited by their descendants. The task of governing these colonial dependencies was light and trivial so long as the population was small, and the material interests involved inconsiderable. But when the colonists began to increase largely in numbers, and their trading and commercial importance was correspondingly augmented, the British sovereign and people had a new lesson in government forced upon their attention. The inevitable collision between the parent country and the American colonies arose out of the memorable Stamp Act, which was passed in the year 1765. It was followed two years later by the imposition of a duty on tea, paper, and other articles. The discontent of the colonists did not assume a revolutionary form till the year 1775. In

that year, however, the American revolution and separation from England commenced. The first action between the royal troops and the American revolutionists took place on 19th April 1775. Articles of confederation and union were agreed to by thirteen of the States in May following. Washington was appointed to the command of the American army; and on the 4th July 1776 the thirteen States declared their independence. This disruption between Britain and America was to all appearance a disastrous occurrence at the time to the mother country. It has, however, proved not less advantageous for Britain than for America itself, and the world at large. It also forms a link in the great chain of British history. For from the year 1603, the date of the union of England, Scotland, and Ireland under one sovereign, to the great revolution of 1689, is a period of 86 years; and from thence until the American revolution, and the disruption of the empire in the year 1775, is a similar period of 86 years.

These colonial settlements came into existence after the union of England, Scotland, and Ireland under one king, and their connection with England was severed before the legislative union of the three kingdoms was consummated in the year 1801. The sun of their colonial existence had risen, run its course, and gone down in the political world during the interval that elapsed between the union of the three kingdoms under one crown in 1603, and the union of the three legislatures in the year 1801. The first foundation of England's national edifice, in the year 827, is the source of two streams of events previously alluded to, having their termination in the years 1305

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and 1603, and their centre or turning-points in the years 1066 and 1215. It is the source of yet other two streams having their centre or turning-points in the years 1314 and 1327. From the foundation of the united English monarchy in the year 827, until the first attempt to unite the present British empire proved abortive by the reassertion of the national independence of Scotland in the year 1314, there elapsed a period of 487 years. It was not until other 487 years had run their course, in the year 1801, that the dominion founded in 827 reached its political and physical maturity, and was fully consolidated as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, having for its broad and sure basis political freedom, religious liberty, and national independence.

The empire which took its first united rise in the year 827, commenced the third stage of its reformation and regeneration as a dominion of this earth in the year 1828-9, consequently closing its preparatory history in the year 1827. A thousand years were occupied in the preliminary training of this great empire, before it entered upon the era which was to witness its rapid and wonderful growth unto perfection as a political dominion. The centre or turning-point in its long career of mingled humiliation, strugglings, disaster, and gradual success, was the year 1327, in which was evolved the last of the internal elements of strife that were to constitute the essence of the country's history for many centuries thereafter. The deposition of the king in that year was the assertion of a principle, the long resistance to which, and its steady and final practical triumph, constituted one of the leading characteristics of English history. It occupied 500 years, from

the year 827 to the year 1327, to arrive at the epoch in which the principle was first practically enunciated. Other 500 years had passed away in the year 1827; and in the year 1828-9 its full triumph was witnessed in the repeal of intolerant statutes, which had been retained in force more out of deference to monarchical scruples than public opinion; and the empire then entered on its great career of unchecked and unconstrained reformation and prosperity. The disruption of Britain and America occurred in the year 1775, and the final consolidation of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was effected, after the lapse of 26 years, in the year 1801. When an interval of other 26 years had expired, in the year 1827, the career of this great and peculiar kingdom reached the epoch from whence its final reformation and regeneration, as a political dominion, began to be consummated.

The transformation of all kinds in the state and condition of Britain, which has been effected since the year 1827, is truly great and marvellous. Very few of the years have passed away without witnessing one or more triumphs of just and beneficent legislation. So much has been done in the way of redress and amelioration, that it would now be difficult to point out a political evil for which a legislative remedy is required. The tendency of legislation has been in a different direction of late. The voice of the liberal and benevolent statesman does not now cry, saying, "Show me a political wrong, and I will labour to have it removed;" but it rather says, "Show me how a political good may be bestowed, and I will strive to have it conferred." Between the years 1828 and 1858 inclusive, the glorious temple of political liberty, religious

equality, and commercial freedom has been consummated in Britain. Her colonial empire is now governed on principles very different from those which were adopted prior to the American colonial revolution in 1775; and her Indian empire has been reconstructed on a basis and under circumstances which promise speedy and permanent issues of good to all concerned. British territory is an asylum for the politically oppressed and the outcast of all nations. The home and the land of the freest of the free to all who are privileged to live under her sceptre, she sends no wandering refugees abroad as houseless and hopeless exiles on political grounds. How changed the entire aspect of the nation in every relationship of life since the year 1603! how improved her condition since the famous revolution of 1688-9! Even in comparison with the United States of America, how great her stability, how marked her forbearance, how perfect her freedom (whether social, political, or commercial), how united her people, yea, how greatly in advance of the highly-favoured American States in every quality that dignifies, consolidates, and benefits the individual dominion and its subjects, or operates with advantage to the world at large! Britain has had her revolution of 1688-9, and also her disruption with America of 1775. Between the two events there is an interval of 86 years. Britain in the year 1861 was calm, tranquil, and placid; but the revolutionary and disruptive epochs of 1688-9 and 1775 are repeating themselves with wonderful similarity of events and circumstances in America, after the lapse of other 86 years, in the year 1861-2.

Thus, lengthways by direct lines of calculation, and breadthways by cross lines of calculation, has the singu-

lar, the remarkable, and grand political history of the British empire been traced, from the foundation of its dominion in the year 827 until the present year. The dominion, once infant in strength, has become a giant in power. Tyranny and absolutism, once dominant, have disappeared, and justice and freedom now reign in their stead. Superstition and priestcraft, once established, and protected by apparently impregnable fortresses, have lost their sway; and enlightened intellect and the right of private judgment in matters of religious faith are substituted in their room. Internal strife and contention have ceased, and political peace and goodwill prevail. The people of the once-despised British Isles exert a moral influence, which is felt and acknowledged throughout the world among all nations. The Queen, the aristocracy, and all grades and ranks of the people of Great Britain and Ireland, present a spectacle of union, harmony, and mutual dependence unparalleled in the world's history. Her commerce, her industry, and her wealth have increased to an extent that cannot be told, in comparison with its amount a few centuries back. The conclusion is unavoidable, that her mission on earth is one of high benevolence and great blessing to the human race. Whatever be the cause of the division of her past history into so many epochs, connected together by such numerous exact intervals of time, clear it is that she has been raised to a pinnacle of almost giddy height, and has been gifted with an influence exceedingly great and singularly comprehensive in its qualities of beneficial adaptation to the existing state of human society. May the present generation of the people of this great empire prove themselves equal to their apparently high and exalted destiny!

CHAPTER V.

THE proved existence of an empire embodying in its institutions the principles of the Christian religion, and demonstrating in its public acts the prevalent influence of the spirit of Christianity, implies the contemporaneous existence within its territory of one or more Christian churches. A Christian church may have a place in the dominion of an uncivilised and unchristian state. But the bare supposition of a state being Christianised independent of the action of Christian influence exercised through its own proper and legitimate channel, the church, is a self-evident absurdity. Two important questions present themselves for consideration in connection with this momentous subject: First, What constitutes a Christian church? Second, In what circumstances is it most calculated to fulfil the aim of its institution as the proper and legitimate channel of Christian influence among nations and individuals? The replies to these queries that are given by the professing Christian world are both diverse and conflicting. Although there are many shades of opinion and practice prevalent on both points, still for the purposes of the present inquiry it will suffice to classify the first under two

separate heads, and the second under three. According to the theory of a large and numerous section of avowed Christians, *the* Christian church is one and indivisible, and is identified exclusively with a particular visible corporation, in connection with which only are its treasures of grace and blessing attainable by the human race. According to the theory of another section of Christian disciples, also great in number, *a* Christian church is an association of believers in the Founder of Christianity, commissioned by their acknowledged Master to propagate the principles and influence of His religion among their fellow-men; and so far from having or possessing any exclusive right or privilege, there may co-exist any given number of similar but independent Christian associations or churches.

In stating the nature of the replies actually given to the first question, the parties holding the opposite opinions could not be defined under the well-understood names of Romanist and Protestant; for some Protestants entertain the peculiar views of their opponents on this point. But in regard to the second question no such difficulty is experienced, as the three distinct sections of opinion and practice may be readily recognised and properly designated by the terms of Romanist, Protestant Established, and Protestant Dissenter. The Romanist steadfastly maintains not only that his is the true and apostolic church to the entire exclusion of every other, but, further, that his church alone is so constituted as to dispense by its cumbrous machinery the blessings of the Christian religion among nations and individuals of the human race. The admirers of Protestant

establishments contend that the Christian church, when supported and sustained by the state, occupies a position most conducive to the free and successful exercise of its influence for good on human affairs generally, and on men individually; and Protestant Dissenters practically declare that a Christian church, established and supported by the state, forfeits a considerable portion of its freedom, independence, and efficiency, as the inevitable and invariable fruit of such an alliance. The controversy on all these disputed points has been long waged with great zeal and ability. Whatever impression the contest has occasionally made on the spectators, it is undoubted that the converts to either side among the combatants have been few in the extreme.

It would therefore be as unavailing as it would be unwise to reopen the contention in these pages, unless prepared with a new and a very different mode of testing the accuracy of the several views propounded, and the various practices in operation. The irresistible logic of impending events may accomplish for ecclesiastical questions as thorough a rectification of erroneous opinions as recent events have effected for those of a political and commercial character. If, however, any light can be thrown on the direction which these events may probably take, and the influences that may control their results, such an object, if attainable, is deserving of a serious effort. It cannot be disputed that the only internal questions that now present an aspect of seriousness and gravity to British statesmen, have their origin either in social causes, or are mixed up with religion and the ecclesiastical polity of the empire. Religion appears to be

making itself felt throughout the world in a manner unusual and unprecedented ; as if invisible hosts were marshalling their opposing powers and influences for a grand and terrible struggle, having this world for its arena, and the human race for the prize and inheritance of the victors. The history of Christianity and its predecessor, Judaism, is long and checkered, but it is also most instructive. Correctly apprehended, it is fitted to impart valuable and otherwise inaccessible information on many warmly contested points of ecclesiastical controversy. Its arguments are facts and events, and they are invincible weapons of intellectual warfare.

Judaism and Christianity have one and the same origin, and that is alleged to be divine. They are two parts of a single plan. They are two developments of one great purpose. They are in many external characteristics most dissimilar, but throughout both one intention increasingly runs in continuous lines. With strong contrasts, however, are blended striking resemblances. How unlike, in one sense, the conditions of membership in the Jewish and Christian churches ! The Jewish system applied a carnal test, the Christian system supplies a spiritual test. The adherent of Judaism was recognised in his blood, and had to trace his lineal descent from Abraham through Isaac and Jacob : the disciple of Christ is distinguishable only in his heart, but gives evidence in his life of having the spirit of Christ. And yet how similar in another sense are the conditions of membership in each church ! In both a common Head and Founder must be acknowledged. In both a distinction subsists by which they are separated from the outer world.

By both a testimony for one and the same God is maintained among men on earth. By both the same divine faith is embodied, although in the case of the Jewish church it was called the faith of Abraham, and in that of the Christian church it is known as the faith of Christ. This resemblance, combined with dissimilarity, will of necessity be found to prevail throughout all the ramifications of both systems. But the one grand distinction between Judaism and Christianity, which makes them to differ widely even in those respects where most agreement is discernible, is the carnality of Judaism, and the spirituality of Christianity; so that while the same purpose runs unceasingly through both, passing on in its evolution from Judaism to Christianity, yet the manner of its manifestation under Christianity is altogether different from the manner of its revelation under Judaism. And this dissimilarity has its origin in the contrast between the carnal test of Jewish discipleship and the spiritual test of Christian discipleship.

If an individual man's claim to be reckoned a Christian depends wholly on his possession of the Spirit of Christ, then the claim of a human association to be designated a church of Christ must be determined by a similar test. Now, wherever the Spirit of Christ is, there is liberty.* Moreover, in Christ there is equality. All distinctions of race and class and sex are abolished. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." † Two unfailing products of the spirit of Christianity within the Christian church are freedom and equality. It is impossible to peruse

* 2 Cor. iii. 17.

† Gal. iii. 28.

what is recorded of the acts of the early Christian church in the New Testament, without coming to the conclusion that it partook largely of both these characteristics. The freedom of the early Christian churches (for there was more than one) was comprehensive. The liberty of the associated community was founded on the freedom of each of its individual members. The only restraint which the spirit of Christianity imposed on a man was, that he should love God supremely, and love his neighbour as himself. This self-submission to God, and outflow of benevolence to fellow-beings, constitute the invulnerable fortress of Christian freedom. And the true freedom of a Christian man or a Christian church is proportionate to the extent in which either is animated and influenced by the spirit of Christianity. Whether the Christian religion be true or false, there is no question that it supplies a simple test by which each professing Christian can satisfy himself of the reality of his discipleship; and it furnishes a no less reliable standard by which to measure the sincerity of the pretensions of Christian churches. No individual man has any authority, either official or otherwise, for interference with his neighbour on Christian grounds, beyond what is implied in faithful remonstrance and earnest exhortation. To his own Master, Christ, who is over all, every man is responsible, and to no other. Associated Christian communities must be judged of by their visible fruits; for their existence, being in the aggregate, is chiefly an open and a visible influence, giving no uncertain or unintelligible signs of its prevailing characteristics.

The aim of the Christian religion is twofold; the

preparation of the human race as individuals for a future state, and the improvement of human society on earth. In both instances the process is similar—the infusion of good and the eradication of evil—and in each case the promised and expected result is perfection. If Christianity fulfil what its advocates affirm of it, there are to be witnessed, as the fruits of its renovating power among men on this earth, perfect states, perfect churches, and a perfect society in all its ramifications of tribes, communities, and families, and in its manifold grades and conditions of rank and station. With the higher and unending aim of the Christian religion, that which relates to a future state, and the tenets and doctrines connected therewith, it is not proposed to intermeddle in any way. The inquiry will be strictly confined within the limits of the secondary aim of the Christian religion—that which concerns the present state of human existence. When its Founder accomplished His decease at Jerusalem, there were three marked inequalities prevalent among the human race. One was national: the Jews were a favoured race in the sight of Heaven, all other nations were alleged to be cast-away. A second was social—human slavery. The third was domestic and social—women were deemed inferior, and were treated generally as beings far beneath the dignity of men. On that memorable occasion, moreover, all the disciples who had consorted with the Founder of Christianity during the period of His public ministrations forsook Him and fled, so that He was left solitary and alone in the darkest hours of His sore conflict. In that decease, and its consequent resurrection, the foundations of the Christian superstructure are laid. The influence of

that death and resurrection, and their influence alone and exclusively, constitutes the life-springs of the Christian system.

As the sources, so will be the stream or streams, a commingling of death and resurrection. The rivers of Christian influence exhibit this combined action in many ways. Christianity promotes the death of evil and the resurrection of good ; the death of tyranny of every kind and form, and the resurrection of freedom ; the death of human inequalities, whether national, social, or domestic, and the resurrection of a true Christian equality ; and the death of cowardly fears and superstitious dreads, and the resurrection of a courageous spirit and ennobling hopes. In giving life, Christianity inflicts death. How faithful it has proved itself in the altered condition of Jew and Gentile, bond and free, male and female, wherever its power has been exerted ! Christian equality has superseded the national inequality of Jew and Gentile, has emancipated human slaves, and has elevated woman to a high position, socially and domestically. And now the question arises, How have these effects been produced ? By the church, answers a loud chorus of voices. And what is the church ? is the natural retort. Is the church a procuring cause ? or is it a produced effect of the spirit of Christianity ? Is an individual Christian a procuring cause or a produced effect of the influence of Christ's death and resurrection ? And if the Christian church is but an association of individual Christians, it cannot differ from the individual Christian in this all-important though seriously overlooked aspect. What constituted the difference between Peter the timid traitor, and Peter the heroic apostle ?

Was it not the influence of the death and resurrection of Christ? What converted the persecutor Saul into the apostle Paul? Was not the marvellous change wholly attributable to the death and resurrection of Christ? Great and distinguished as Paul's sufferings and labours were to advance the interests of Christianity, did he ever speak of himself as a procuring cause of the extension of Christian influence, or the abounding early success of the Christian religion? Did he not rather declare that "Paul may plant and Apollos may water, but God alone giveth the increase"?*

The confounding of the Divine and the human in relation to the Christian church has occasioned serious mischief. Their thorough and entire separation is absolutely essential to a correct apprehension of the true spirit of Christianity, and a right understanding of the position and office of the Christian church. The theory of the New Testament is both plain and simple: all and everything pertaining to Christianity is from God alone, and through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ exclusively. God is the abounding source; the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ are the availing means. And what position do individual men and associated Christians occupy to this Divine scheme? They are merely the recipients of its spirit and its blessings, without even the power of communicating or transmitting the gifts bestowed upon themselves to a single human being. What, then, is the duty of individuals, and what is expected of them? Simply that they will co-operate with the spirit of Christianity within them for the transfor-

* 1 Cor. iii. 6.

mation of their own natures, and the increasing conformity of their life and practice to the Divine influence working upon them. And what is the office of the Christian church, and what is it competent to undertake and accomplish? The responsibility of its office cannot extend beyond co-operation with its Divine Head in the embodiment in a corporate form of the spirit and principles of the Christian religion, and in the adoption of the most efficient mode of proclaiming and evidencing to the world without the Divine knowledge and blessed effects which have their abundant well-springs in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Whether Christian churches confine their pretensions within these limits or not, they have most certainly not the shadow of a responsibility or a power beyond. The presence of the spirit of Christianity in a man or in a church, given by God alone, wholly and entirely at His sole pleasure, and exclusively through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, is what constitutes a Christian man and a Christian church. It is not more impossible for a man to add to, or subtract from, his stature one cubit, than for all the powers, dominions, principalities, and churches on earth, separate or combined, to communicate or withhold that Divine life which makes or unmakes a single individual Christian, whether he be child, or adult, or priest, or any other or higher sacerdotal dignitary. And if Christianity be true itself, this is, without gainsaying, its cardinal truth.

The spiritual life of Christian churches, or individual Christians, is as exclusively Divine in the manner of its sustenance as it is in the mode of its origin. Its food is Divine knowledge. The church

and the individual "live not by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God."* And so incapable of mutation, either by addition, amendment, or diminution, is this Divine knowledge, through the agency of man or angel, that the apostle declares, "Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed."† Once more, the human agency, by which the church is nourished and instructed out of the written word, is also the gift of God solely. For "He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ."‡ According, therefore, to the teaching of the New Testament, which Christians acknowledge to be the Divine charter of their religion, it is undeniable that in everything essential to the original gift and continual sustenance of that life, without which there can be no Christianity either among churches or individuals, God is emphatically and unequivocally declared to be all in all; and man, whether as the individual Christian, the teacher, the pastor, the evangelist, the prophet, or the apostle, is nothing but the recipient of what the Divine Head is pleased to give. There is, however, one important element of difference between the spiritual life and the Divine knowledge by which it is sustained in healthful and vigorous exercise: the knowledge is communicable to others; for God gave pastors, &c., to edify the body of Christ. But the spiritual life is incommunicable

* Matt. iv. 4.

† Gal. i. 8.

‡ Eph. iv. 11, 12.

except by God : for it is born "not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." *

The agency of man, whether king, pope, bishop, priest, or presbyter, is wholly unrecognised in the New Testament as a medium of correction or discipline in the Christian church. Here again God reserves to Himself all power and authority; for Christ says, "I am the true vine, and my Father is the husbandman. Every branch in me that beareth not fruit *He* taketh away; and every branch that beareth fruit, *He* purgeth it, that it may bring forth more fruit." † Yea, more; the assumption of any kind of human power or authority in the Christian church, whether personal or official, is strictly forbidden and carefully excluded in the clearest language. There was a striving for the mastery among the first disciples. But their Master, instancing His own example, corrected their views and condemned this pernicious principle in these words: "Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant." ‡ So well guarded is this principle of the Christian religion, that in another form, and with reference to a different aspect of it, very clear and decisive information is given in the parable where the kingdom of heaven is likened unto a net cast into the sea. It gathers within its fold men of every kind, good and bad; the fishers being equally powerless either in receiving or rejecting the one or

* John i. 13.

† John xv. 1, 2.

‡ Matt. xx. 25-27.

the other throughout the whole course of the church's earthly history, till the end of the world. Then not men but angels are to come forth and separate the wicked from among the just.*

These are unquestionably the things written in the New Testament concerning the Christian church. With the question of their absolute truthfulness or otherwise, as abstract propositions, the subject of inquiry has no connection even the most remote. The only point of practical moment, and it is undoubtedly a most important one, is whether these are the principles enunciated in the written charter of the Christian religion. Christianity may be founded on truth or it may be resting on fable ; but whether truth or fable, the only thing essential in the prosecution of this inquiry, is to ascertain accurately what are the rules laid down in its authorised and authenticated written code for the guidance and regulation of the practice of its adherents, whether as individuals or churches. It is, therefore, a simple matter of fact that is being dealt with, in relation to which every reader has the means of verification or otherwise within his own reach. Does the New Testament lay down as a principle, or state as a fact, that God has given to one exclusive corporation the spiritual life which constitutes Christian existence, to be dispensed by its dignitaries to those only who form a visible connection with it, or withheld even from such at their pleasure ? Or does it rather inculcate and exemplify by its teaching and records, that there may be any number of Christian churches, having members who are recipients of the spiritual life of Christianity, each direct

* Matt. xiii, 47-49.

from God himself, without any human intervention? Does the New Testament give power and authority of dominion and command to any class in the Christian church over their brethren? or does it rather expressly prohibit any such assumption of ecclesiastical authority, and enforce the principle that self-denying labour and service for the good of the general body are to form the only grounds of honourable distinction among Christians and churches? The replies to these two sets of alternative questions furnish the tests by which the professions and pretensions of all Christian churches are to be judged. There is scarcely room for difference of opinion as to which of the alternative questions in each case the New Testament gives a negative answer, and to which it responds in the affirmative.

In dealing with the second head of inquiry proposed at the commencement of this chapter, it must be confessed that the New Testament is scant of light in respect of all the points involved in it. A careful perusal of the New Testament will speedily disclose the fact that information is not, as a rule, furnished in anticipation of an emergency arising in which it will be required. Human freedom, social, political, and religious, is implied in the manner of announcing principles and doctrines adopted by the Founder and apostles of Christianity. Error in opinion and evil in practice are generally found preceding the declaration of the truth by which they are to be corrected and life given to their opposites. It was the false doctrines of judaizing teachers that extorted from Paul the testimony to the immutability of the terms of the gospel contained in his epistle to the Galatians.

It was the strife among the first disciples that gave occasion for Christ's enunciation of the fact, that in the Christian church the mode of official action was to be precisely the reverse of what it then was among rulers in earthly dominions. And so throughout the gospels and epistles, the prevalence of this plan is clearly discernible. Such questions as the support of the ministry and the appointment of office-bearers are alluded to only incidentally, and in most cases obscurely. But such controversial points as the connection that should subsist between a Christian church and a Christian state, compulsory tithes, investitures, patronage, and disputed settlements, had not then arisen ; and therefore, except by inference or analogy, the New Testament gives no sound whatever respecting them, either certain or uncertain. Even in relation to a form of church-government, it is singularly silent. It gives no faltering testimony as to the spirit by which office-bearers in the Christian church should be animated and influenced ; but with reference to the form of procedure it is positively mute.

It would appear that, except in vital essentials, a large discretionary power was given to Christians as to the manner in which their churches were to be managed and guided humanly ; and also as to the plan they should adopt in propagating and extending the knowledge of their religion. And if the professed aim of Christianity in the present state of human existence be kept in view, and the condition of mankind both nationally and individually at the time of its advent be considered, the wisdom, as well as the suitableness and expediency, of the mode adopted will become self-evident. Both the Roman empire and

the Jewish church were then conducted on principles adverse to human freedom, political and intellectual ; and spiritual influence was a thing unknown. The commission given by Christ to His apostles, was to disciple and baptise the nations, and families, and individuals of the human race into the name of the triune God. And His promise to His followers was and is, "Lo, I am with you to the end of the world."* If Christianity be true, therefore, its Divine Founder has been continuously present in human history, regulating and controlling its diversified phases and epochs, for the accomplishment of His avowed aims. He undertook to baptise nations and to construct Christian states free and united within themselves, and forbearing towards, yet independent of, those without. He engaged to people these states with Christian communities, Christian families, and Christian citizens. He promised to build up a Christian church also, free and united within itself ; and to adorn it with the graces of its individual members, through the gift of His Spirit, and the ministry of the pastors and teachers He was to give them.

If we may so express it, these were the obligations under which the Author of Christianity laid Himself when He offered His religion for acceptance to the human race. He commenced His great career on the day known as the day of Pentecost. As previously stated, the mode of His procedure was twofold ; it combined death with life. The operation is graphically delineated by the apostle Paul in these words : † "I am crucified with Christ : nevertheless I live ; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me : and the life which I

* Matt. xxviii. 20.

† Gal. ii. 20.

now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God." The principle of action was to be the same in the aggregate as it was in the individual—death to the old in the resurrection to life of the new. When the spirit of Christianity was sufficiently diffused to supplant the place occupied by the Jewish religion in the world's economy, its fabric was overturned, its existence terminated, and the people of the Jews dispersed. After the lapse of nearly three centuries from the advent of the spirit of Christianity, the religion of the Cross had made such progress as to indicate its peculiar fitness to supersede the pagan religion in the Roman empire. Then, for the first time in Christian history, the river of political power and the waters of church influence were commingled. Before this happened, the principle of ecclesiastical authority had been largely developed among church dignitaries. The overseers of the flock had in many cases become the lords of the heritage. A popular form of church-government still existed, however. The people elected the clergy, and the clergy and the people elected the bishops. In matters of importance the council and the laity of each church were consulted. But nevertheless a lordly spirit had taken possession of the chief church dignitaries, and their lofty pretensions were at variance with the humility that pertained to their Christian office.

The teaching of Christ in regard to ecclesiastical authority had obviously been overlooked or unheeded. Human ambition had proved itself stronger than Christian principle in the minds of Christian bishops. Among themselves, one, the bishop of Rome, aimed at pre-eminence, and a certain amount of precedence was

accorded to him. But the spirit of declension and destruction had a long career in prospect before the occupant of the papal throne was fully fledged, first as the rival of kings and emperors, and finally as their lord and master. The destiny of the Roman empire and the early Christian churches was overthrow and death. And from the time of their union in the reign of Constantine, the work of mutual defection and desolation made sure and steady progress. If, as is alleged, Christianity was a main instrumentality in effecting the decline and fall of the Roman empire, that empire contributed largely to the corruption and decay of the Christian church. The explanation of this singular process is probably that implied in the saying, "Neither do men put new wine into old bottles: else the bottles break, and the wine runneth out, and the bottles perish: but they put new wine into new bottles, and both are preserved."* The Jewish church was the old bottle into which the new wine of Christianity could not be put; therefore a new bottle was prepared for the new wine. The primitive Christian churches were framed after a model suited to the exigencies of the times of their existence. They were vessels constructed to buffet with the storms of poverty, neglect, and persecution; and the advent of an era of political rest, material wealth, and imperial favour, proved to be their ruin. They then became the old bottles into which the new wine of a state and church, united by the spirit of Christianity, could not be put, without breaking the bottles and spilling the wine.

Imperial Rome was in a precisely similar position as a political power. It had been long the ally of

* Matt. ix. 17.

paganism, and the iron despotism of its civil dominion combined therewith, rendered it a most ungainly and unsuitable political edifice with which to associate the spirit of a free and independent Christian dominion. A very ordinary acquaintance with the more marked characteristics of human nature is sufficient to produce the conviction that it was utterly impossible to transform the Roman empire, with all its peculiar traditional glories and souvenirs, into a dominion thoroughly animated and influenced by the spirit of Christianity. Its overthrow and removal were imperative and unavoidable preparatory to the commencement of the great work of constructing from its lowest basement a dominion of this world, in which, when approaching maturity, the spirit of Christianity would be fully revealed as the animating influence of the national institutions, and the regulating power of its dominion. The Divine potter rejected all extraneous aid. The human clay, unformed and unshapen, was the only substance on which He would operate. The honour and glory of the work He undertook to perform were to be all His own, and were not to be shared by any other. As in His death and resurrection, which are said to be the sources of the power given Him over the human race, He was alone ; so in their glorious fruits, through His mighty working, the praise is His undivided, for of the people there was none with Him. In the human soil of England chiefly, at a very remote period of her history, the first seeds of Britain's political greatness and moral power were sown. Stage by stage has the wonderful process of national regeneration and political reformation advanced, until at length, as the United Kingdom,

she became that new imperial vessel into which the new wine of a Christian dominion could be with safety put, and both be thereby preserved as a Divine model for the imitation of all nations.

What has happened in regard to the state, has also occurred in connection with the church. The primitive Christian churches, like the Jewish church and the Roman empire, had the seed of corruption, decay, and death sown in their system. Their history was not a steady and gradual progress unto perfection ; but, on the contrary, an uninterrupted process of declension and deterioration unto decay and death. And this need not occasion surprise, if the heterogeneous and incongruous elements of their membership be taken into account. The will, the affections, the habits, the pursuits, and the opinions of free and intelligent agents, cannot be moulded to a particular type, and fashioned according to a required form widely different from those to which they have been long accustomed. The members of the early Christian churches belonged previously to other and opposing religious communities. The religions of the Jews, the Greeks, and the Romans, were originally professed by the large majority of them. The New Testament records that to the Jewish section of the new church was accorded the privilege of conforming to the Jewish ritual if their national prejudices could not be overcome. The epistles of Paul disclose what a leaven of gross immorality, heresy, and superstition, the untiring energy and the unflagging zeal of the heroic apostle of the Gentiles (Greeks and Romans) had to contend with. If such was the condition of the churches when under the vigilant care and watchful superin-

tendence of the apostles, improvement was an improbable and not-to-be-hoped-for contingency consequent upon their removal. The elements of confusion and disorder would increase with the continual extension of the churches, and on each new accession to their membership. And the great influence legitimately exercised by the apostolic and evangelist leaders over their fellow-Christians being withdrawn, the downward and degenerate progress would be greatly accelerated.

From the decay and death of the spirit of Christianity in the visible church after its union with the Roman empire in the reign of Constantine, until its resurrection at the era of the Reformation, there was a long interregnum. As in the constitution either of a free state or a free church, an equitable balance is maintained by a system of checks and counter-checks, so in the political and ecclesiastical economy that obtained the ascendancy and prevailed throughout the interval between the time of Constantine and the era of the Reformation, a system of check and counter-check was also brought into operation. In this instance, however, the effect was to balance in action the power of conflicting ambitions and contending tyrannies. Whatever other sources of error afflicted the primitive Christian churches, they practised the principle of self-support, and maintained the form at least of self-government. Amid the increasing lordly pretensions of superior church officers, the inferior clergy and the people had still control in all elections, and in the management of important affairs. But after the union of the churches with the empire, the emperor assumed a power of regulation and direction

in matters ecclesiastical as well as civil. This act of the emperor operated as a check upon the ambitious projects of the bishop of Rome. So long as the emperor held the first place in church and state, there was no place for an ecclesiastical rival in the person of the occupant of the Roman see. When at length the empire of the West fell, and the path seemed clear, the shadow of another rival crossed it, in the person of the occupant of the see of Constantinople.

The see of Rome finally reached the summit of its ambition, and its bishop became a political sovereign as well as ecclesiastically supreme. When he became ecclesiastically supreme, the founder of a new religion appeared in the east, and its adherents soon overran and possessed themselves of the territory sacred as the birthplace of Judaism and Christianity. For centuries the Mohammedans menaced the existence of Romanism in the southern promontories of Europe, and maintained a territorial dominion in Spain until expelled near the era of the Reformation. Their religious confederates in the east, the Turks, had previously in the same century overturned the Eastern empire and possessed themselves of its territory. Since then they have frequently spread terror and desolation among the Roman Catholic nations bordering upon their dominion, and they only ceased to be powerful for evil to Romanism when Rome itself began to show signs of weakness and decay. The events which contributed to the elevation of the bishop of Rome to the dignity of a political monarch, also resulted in the resuscitation of a western empire, of which the first emperor was Charlemagne. The rivalry and contests that ensued between emperor

and pope constitute a leading feature of European history down to the time of the Reformation.

The practice of electing the clergy and bishops, prevalent in the primitive churches, gradually fell into disuse. As the people ceased to support wholly the ministrations of the church, their claim to a voice in the election of church officers, and also their title to a share in the management of the church's affairs, were in course of time set aside. From the era of Constantine, a general system of encroachment came into operation in connection with the government of the church. The emperor encroached upon the power and privileges of the superior bishops of the church. They in turn encroached upon the jurisdiction of the provincial and local bishops. These in succession fell back upon the inferior clergy, diminishing their authority, until at length the action of the spirit of encroachment descended to the great body of the people. The advance of this spirit was unobstructed until it produced that marvellous superstructure of political and ecclesiastical despotism which for centuries has ruled the destinies of European nations. The relations in which emperor and pope stood to each other were frequently hostile, seldom cordial, and invariably jealous and suspicious. And it could not be otherwise, for between them there was a constant striving for ascendancy. During the first period of their co-existence, the pope was the aggressor. The crisis was reached in the reign of Gregory VII. The principal ground of contest between pope and emperor was the then established custom of the civil magistrate to confer the staff and ring of office, or, properly speaking, to name the successor to a vacant ecclesiastical office.

This privilege, originally possessed by the people, became the subject of violent contention between emperor and pope. Each resorted to his peculiar weapons of warfare, and the consequences both to the original combatants and their respective successors were humiliating and disastrous.

The zenith of papal arrogance and power was reached in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Then Pope Innocent III. not only claimed, but exercised a sway, temporal and spiritual, political and ecclesiastical, over all nations and kingdoms. He set up and pulled down kings and emperors at his pleasure; he excommunicated monarchs; he absolved their subjects from their allegiance to them; and he magnanimously professed to bestow their kingdoms upon others who engaged to do perpetual homage to his supremacy in return for the gift. He dealt with the king and kingdom of England after this manner; and the occasion of the dispute between Pope Innocent and King John was similar to the ground of quarrel between Pope Gregory VII. and Henry IV. The archbishopric of Canterbury became vacant by death in the year 1205. Some irregularity in the election of a successor caused a reference to Rome. The pope availed himself of this opening to assert his right to nominate a successor of his own selection to the vacant see. The king resented this aggressive interference; but after a struggle, which was prolonged till the year 1213, he was in the end constrained to submit, and made peace with Rome on terms and conditions that were degrading and ignominious. For nearly a century thereafter the Roman see retained in great measure its political and ecclesi-

astical ascendancy. From the close of the pontificate of Boniface VIII., in the year 1303, the star of Roman ascendancy began to decline, and has continued in a downward course with little intermission ever since. As in the case of Mohammedanism, so in the instance of imperialism, the sun of the rival German empire went down in the beginning of the nineteenth century, accompanied by the temporary overthrow and extinction of the papal dominion.

Of the antiquity of Romanism as an ecclesiastical system there can be no doubt. It manifested unmistakable symptoms of vitality in the days of Constantine. Nay, it is by no means improbable that its spirit was in operation even in the apostolic age. If, therefore, this were the principal, or even an important element, in arriving at a correct conclusion in regard to its exclusive ecclesiastical claims, a verdict favourable thereto would have to be awarded, as in this view it is without a competitor. But unfortunately the exclusive and arrogant character of the pretension set up in behalf of the church of Rome justifies its unqualified rejection, for it is based on a religious principle of a nature the most antagonistic to the spirit of Christianity. Rome alleges itself to be *the* only true church, beyond whose visible pale there is nothing but anathema. An examination of its history, and a knowledge of the spirit of its conduct, will not improve its position. Respecting the Christian church two things in particular are clearly made known for its guidance and direction. The first of these is contained in an explicit statement of the Author of Christianity himself touching ecclesiastical authority; the second is an intimation equally lucid

given by the apostle Paul, explanatory of the reason why God gave some, apostles, &c. The first forbids and condemns the assumption of lordly dominion by any office-bearer in the Christian church ; the second requires these same office-bearers to confine their labours to the work of instructing the members, and propagating the knowledge of Christian truth. Now what are the two things for which the church of Rome has been, and even is yet to the extent of its diminished power, most distinguished ? Are they not the practice to the utmost possible extent of the principle of unbounded lordly dominion and ecclesiastical authority, and the utter extinction of the light of truth, combined with the entire withdrawal from the people of its written record ? The effects produced by the action of the Roman church have been most lamentable and desolating. By its spirit of lordly power it has quenched the influence of the meek and lowly spirit of Christianity ; and by its shutting up the record of Christian knowledge, it has darkened where it was the duty of the Christian church to be a sun of light.

The remaining claimants are of two classes, the Protestant established churches, and the Protestant dissenting churches. Pretensions to a great antiquity in their corporate capacity they have none. The oldest of them has existed little beyond three centuries. As may be inferred from their designation, both sections of churches are living and corporate protests against the system maintained in the Roman church. And among the professed grounds of protest against Rome, two of the chief disqualifications alleged in proof of her unfitness to perform the offices of a Christian

church for the benefit and improvement of the human race, are her arrogant spirit of ecclesiastical authority, and her refusal to circulate the written record of Christian truth, and expound therefrom its doctrines. In this testimony against Rome, both dissenters and adherents of established churches agree and unite. But among themselves there is an important ground of difference. The adherents of established churches hold that it is the duty of a Christian state to make pecuniary provision for the support of the ministrations of the Christian church, and the maintenance of its pastors and teachers of every kind and grade. And some of them go the length of admitting it to be the duty of the civil magistrate to take such a supervision in religious matters as will enforce ecclesiastical order and public morality. Some dissenters agree wholly in principle with the adherents of establishments on the first of these points, and practically on the second; while others repudiate the principles embodied in both propositions, and affirm that the ministrations and pastors and teachers of the Christian religion should be supported and maintained by those who connect themselves with the church; and that the civil magistrate is only under obligation to adopt such measures as will secure to the disciples of all religions alike the safety of their property, protection in their assemblies for worship or church business, freedom in the propagation of their tenets, and full equality of civil right and political privilege. But by their attitude as dissenters from the churches established by law, they all unite in the practical declaration, that in some one or more respects the existing connection of church and state is unsatisfactory, and

to a greater or a less extent injurious to the interests of true religion.

For many years during the currency of this century, the question of voluntaryism (as it was termed) as against the principle of church establishments was discussed with considerable heat and bitterness on both sides. It would probably be difficult to advance anything actually new or original in the form of abstract or theoretic propositions in furtherance of an elucidation of the principles involved in the controversy. But as in the case of the political institutions of the united empire of Great Britain and Ireland, the unanswerable voice and irrevocable decree of history has given forth no faltering or uncertain sound ; so to the question previously proposed—In what circumstances is the Christian church most calculated to fulfil the aim of her institution as the proper and legitimate channel of Christian influence among nations and individuals ?—the same voice of history may give a satisfactory reply. Protestant churches were established in many European countries consequent upon the Reformation of the sixteenth century. In Germany, Switzerland, France, Denmark, Sweden, England, Scotland, and Ireland, this was done. The existence of the reformed cause was all but extinguished in France by violent persecution and the extensive emigration of its adherents. The French Protestant congregations of the present day, either established or disestablished, are far from numerous. In the other countries named, the Protestant cause has continued to maintain its ground ; but, except within the limits of the British Isles, Protestant dissent has made little progress. In England Scotland,

and Ireland the inroads made upon the membership of the established churches by the principle of dissent have been frequent, serious, and extensive. In Scotland it has made the largest breaches ; for of the religious population of that country more than two-thirds have seceded from the church established by law. In England, the proportion of Protestant dissenters to Protestant churchmen probably approximates equality ; and in Ireland, irrespective of the numerous body of Roman Catholic dissenters, there is a large amount of dissent from the church established by law among Protestants.

Numbers, however, do not, any more than might, make right ; the subject will therefore have to be examined from other points of view. In Ireland, the external divisions of Protestantism are so correct a reflex of the state of matters in England and Scotland combined, that inquiry into the causes and consequences of the latter includes of necessity the former. In England, those who dissent from the established church may be divided into three large sections : the Congregationalists, the Baptists, and the Methodists. There are other sects, such as Presbyterians, Quakers, and Socinians ; but the Presbyterians are chiefly offshoots of the Scottish church, so that their history is included in its history ; and the Quakers and Socinians maintain views which separate them almost as widely from Protestantism as from Romanism, although in very opposite directions. In Scotland there are Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Methodists ; but as they are not properly dissenters from the established church of Scotland, but rather importations from England,

they come under the category of belonging either to the Church of England or the dissenters therefrom. In Scotland there are the Established church and two large sections of dissenters therefrom—the Free church and the United Presbyterian church : there is also a third and smaller section of dissenters, the Reformed Presbyterian church. In both countries, and among all the sections included in this inquiry, there is a singular unanimity on most points of importance involving religious faith and doctrine ; but there is as singular a variety of opinion and practice among them on questions involving church government and state connection. The English churches all differ from the Scotch churches in their form of church government ; and they are far from being at one among themselves in this respect. But it is worthy of observation, that among the Scotch churches there is on this question perfect harmony ; for, amid all their strifes and contentions, they have with wonderful constancy adhered to the Presbyterian form of church government.

The field of ecclesiastical disputation and conflict was thereby much narrowed in Scotland in recent times ; and all the energies of the several combatants were directed towards the few points on which they disagreed. The Scotch have always been described as exceedingly turbulent and untractable in ecclesiastical matters ; but the English have equalled, if not surpassed them in restlessness and dissatisfaction on political grounds. The permanent establishment of the Protestant church in both countries was nearly simultaneous. Very early in England the Puritans became an important sect of dissenters from the



established church. The ground of their objection was not so much doctrinal as ceremonial. They at length became so powerful in the state that their principles were dominant in the time of Cromwell's Protectorate. After the restoration of the Stuart dynasty, and the re-establishment of Episcopacy, the passing of the measure known as the Act of Uniformity was the occasion of the secession of two thousand ministers from the then Church of England. Early in the seventeenth century the two sects of the Baptists were founded in England. In doctrine they differed little in what they professed from the Church of England—the time and the manner of performing the rite of baptism were their chief characteristics. The two sects of Methodists did not arise till the beginning of the eighteenth century; and the founders of both—John Wesley and George Whitefield—were ordained clergymen of the Church of England. Their labours were directed to a revival of religion, in order to counteract a prevalent spirit of scepticism and immorality; and did not, strictly speaking, originate in any political or ecclesiastical cause or motive.

With the exception, therefore, of the Nonconformists of 1662, no other of the English dissenting churches was driven by political or ecclesiastical authority from the pale of the Anglican church. The royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, acknowledged and submitted to by the Church of England, exercised a paralysing influence upon its independent action as an ecclesiastical corporation; and it may really be said to have no history of its own apart or distinct from the state with which it is connected. It has always been alleged of the Anglican establish-

ment, that although pure and sound in doctrine, the tendency of its forms, both of worship and government, is to lead the people rather in the direction of Rome than away from it. The characteristics of the sections of dissent that have arisen in her midst would seem to indicate that their existence has been permitted for the very purpose of counteracting this alleged tendency. Does Episcopacy generate the idea of a sacerdotal caste, foster spiritual pride, and engender a lordly spirit of ecclesiastical authority? Then the individual equality and partial congregational isolation prevalent alongside of the Establishment, among the Independent churches, is peculiarly calculated to keep such Romanist tendencies in sufficient check. Does the theory of baptism held by some in the Anglican church savour more of the Romanist dogma of baptismal regeneration than the simple Protestant acceptation of it, as a mere sign without any inherent intrinsic value? Then the Baptist practice of requiring a profession of faith before baptism, operates as a powerful antidote in this respect. Was there a danger in the eighteenth century of the vital power of religion decaying within the church, partly from suffocation under the weight of an undue exaltation of form and ceremony, and partly from the prevalence of scepticism in high places, and the religious neglect of the lower orders? Then Methodism came to the rescue; and all the three sections of dissenters have since greatly contributed, by their example and teaching, towards the accomplishment of a desirable and happy change in this aspect also.

The good fruits of the existence of the English dissenting churches are not less manifest in the political

world. Established churches are, as a rule, highly conservative in their action: their clergy have an instinctive dread of change, and they may be said to be, involuntarily and unconsciously, yet from their position, opposed to all reform. They have set up an ideal of perfection for themselves, constructed after their own ecclesiastical model, beyond which it is difficult to move them. To this rule there are no doubt many exceptions, still the preponderance is largely in its favour; and it is an undeniable historical fact, that except when their own order or interests were endangered, they have uniformly been found ranged on the side of the party of obstruction, and against the party in favour of action or reform. Could they have prevailed, the course of events would have been backward and not forward: the order would have been retreat and not advance. In this they were opposing themselves to the genius of the religion of which they were the professed ministers; for the spirit of Christianity is not a stationary or a retrograde influence, but a constantly and incessantly active, reforming, and regenerating power. They preached the doctrines of repentance and reformation to individuals, but they lost sight of the fact, that churches and states were not less imperfect and human, and stood equally in need of the application of the pruning-knife and the adoption of suitable remedial measures. For the failure of the establishment in this respect the dissenting churches abundantly compensated by their cheerful and powerful advocacy of all those reforms of recent years which have, without an approximation to violence, revolutionised the social, religious, political, and commercial condition of the British empire.

While performing the high services apparently allotted to them in connection with the political destiny of the empire, they have also given forth a distinct utterance on the question of church establishments. In this they are at one with their brethren, the voluntary dissenters of Scotland. On principle they are opposed to all grants from public funds for religious objects ; and they maintain that the main hindrance to the well-regulated freedom and co-operation, if not ecclesiastical union, of all Christian churches within the realm, is the alliance subsisting between church and state.

It has already been remarked, that the New Testament only speaks by inference and analogy, if at all, on this point. In the primitive church the question of state connection was not mooted. And when that alliance was ultimately entered into, the church had become so degenerate as to make its act a most unsafe precedent to follow. What does history say as to this question of state-churchism ? Why, it proclaims with a trumpet-tongue that the principle of a state adopting a religion, whether true or false, and giving its ecclesiastics a privileged political status, has in its practical working been uniformly productive of individual injustice and civil wrong. The principle may be innocent, and the fault may rest with its administrators ; but true it is, beyond all controversy, that history pronounces it to be the prolific parent of persecution and intolerance. It has been tried and tested under every conceivable form of government, and in connection with all kinds of religion, false and true, with a wonderful uniformity of result. The favoured church and religion would be dominant, and

would, if it had the power, punish and suppress dissent. It was so when Christianity commenced its career as the rival of Judaism. The Acts of the Apostles give an account of the treatment the new sect received at the hands of the church dominant. The Roman empire was comparatively a tolerant power in religious matters; but its established pagan priesthood stirred up frequent persecutions against the Christian church. No sooner had the Christian church become the imperial church, than the Christian emperor showed such zeal for its exclusive pre-eminence, that he issued decrees for the destruction of pagan edifices of worship, and the suppression of the old state religion. The states who adopted the Mohammedan religion excelled in cruelty and intolerance. The states in alliance with Romanism, and the Roman dominion itself, have been perfect models, illustrating throughout a long career, and some of them even at the present hour, the practical working of this long admired principle.

What does the history of free and enlightened Britain reveal? Results precisely similar, only much more varied and diversified in the religious sects instrumental in their production. At one time Romanism was the dominant creed, and it persecuted and oppressed. At another time King Henry VIII. was the impersonation of both church and state, and to him was given the unenviable notoriety of bringing out in a new light the revolting character of this state-church principle. For, with an exquisite refinement of unreasonableness and cruelty, he put Roman Catholics to death because they would not acknowledge the

royal supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, and he inflicted a like punishment on Protestants for rejecting the Roman dogmas. When Protestantism became the state religion, it followed the example of its predecessor, Romanism, most faithfully in this respect ; for it persecuted both Romanists and Protestant dissenters. The once oppressed Puritans obtained the mastery for a time ; yet no perceptible difference in action was visible. Still the dominant sect, the state church, would practise intolerance. Episcopacy was restored, but untaught and unimproved by its season of adversity. Again it became the dominant sect, and again it oppressed its opponents. The accession of William III. brought with it an agreeable change ; but the invidious privileges of the dominant church were perpetuated when the persecuting power was abolished. If civil and religious freedom has been happily consummated, and if the tolerant and benevolent spirit of Christianity has become the ruling influence of the British dominion, the nation is not indebted for these things to the principle of state-churchism, for all the triumphs of modern times have been achieved in direct opposition to its influence. True, the people are free, dissent flourishes, and political tranquillity reigns ; and yet there are state churches. Moreover, Britain is perhaps the only dominion on earth within whose bounds there is enjoyed an absolute and unrestrained freedom in the matter of religious opinion. For this, however, humanly speaking, the nation owes no debt of gratitude to the principle of state-churchism, but the contrary. If there had been no statesmen with liberal and comprehensive views of public policy, or if dissenters

had been less numerous and influential in a political sense, outsiders would have been allowed to stand long at the door of the state church, appealing in vain for its aid in the obtaining of equal civil rights with their more favoured Christian brethren.

But in no country has there been greater ecclesiastical contention arising out of this principle than in Scotland. In England, the struggle was chiefly political in its sources and its triumphs. In Scotland, the church was the battle-ground, and the results were ecclesiastical. In the year 1560, the Scottish Estates declared the separation of the nation from the church of Rome. The church of the Reformation was then framed on a Presbyterian model; and what is not a little remarkable, it continued until the year 1567 unconnected in any form with the state. During these seven years the national church was free, self-supporting, and self-governing. The people elected their own ministers, and the church rulers were independent of state control. In the year 1567, however, it became the state church; and from thence originated its troubles and perplexities. Like the political history of the united empire, the ecclesiastical history of Scotland is distinguished by strong and most expressive characteristics. From the year 1567 until the era of its revolutionary settlement, in the year 1689-90, it records a succession of contests with royalty and prelacy, the church's resistance being sometimes availing, but more generally overpowered. It had a short respite after the revolution which expelled the house of Stuart. But the imperial union, effected in the year 1707, and the passing and coming

into operation of the patronage act, which followed close thereupon, in the years 1711 and 1712, sowed the seed of new perils and dangers. This period of Scottish ecclesiastical history extends onward to the year 1833, the commencement of the memorable conflict which terminated, ten years thereafter, in the disruption of the church of Scotland.

The period of Scottish church history which immediately preceded the ten years' conflict was, throughout a great portion of it, as remarkable for exhibitions of ecclesiastical overbearance as the first period had been for the machinations of royal arbitrariness. The contention during the first-named period of Scottish church history was between the royal partiality for prelacy, and the nation's preference for Presbyterianism ; and also between the king's claim to take order in the church, and the church's disavowal thereof. The collisions during the second period were between the subserviency of the ecclesiastical courts to civil interests, and the alleged right of the Christian people to some voice in the appointment of their ministers, even under the law of patronage ; and also between the dominant majority in the church courts, and two distinct classes of clerical objectors to their conduct and policy, both of whom they expelled from the church by a high-handed exercise of authority. The ten years' conflict, begun in the ecclesiastical courts, was carried into the civil courts, and the church's claim of right was, in the end, brought under the consideration of the imperial legislature, and there voted upon adversely. Throughout all the periods, the grounds of contest were not dissimilar, although the

attendant circumstances were different in each of the three. The church's free and independent action, and the people's right to a voice in the appointment of their ministers, were the objects striven for equally under prelatie kings, against despotic presbyters, and by non-intrusion majorities.

CHAPTER VI.

WHATEVER may be the actual relation which the Reformed church planted in Scotland in the year 1560, and established by the state in the year 1567, occupies towards the alleged purpose of the Author of Christianity, that intention, in its ecclesiastical bearings, must sooner or later be made manifest somewhere on earth, if the religion be true. Confusion and doubt will assuredly be displaced by order and certainty. The abiding presence of the great Founder of the Christian religion with His disciples, if real and not imaginary, will, in the lapse of time, disclose the fruits of its divine workings among men. The light of this sun, when it arises upon the human race in its political and ecclesiastical glory, cannot be concealed or obscured, any more than the light of the world's natural luminary can be hid by day. A great era of heavenly light shining on earth among the human race is promised. This is a fact, so far as its oft-repeated announcement in Scripture is concerned. Its intrinsic reliability may be disbelieved by some, questioned by others, and confidently trusted in by comparatively few. Fact it is, nevertheless—as true and

undeniable as is the fact that it is recorded in the New Testament of Christ, that He was born of Mary, was crucified on Calvary, and was raised from the dead. The promise, moreover, is one which time will confirm or falsify. It is difficult at this chronological distance from the career of Christ in this world, to verify and corroborate the circumstantial accounts given of His life in the gospels. But the obligations as to the then future, which He and His authorised ambassadors accepted and undertook on behalf of Christianity, are capable of being tested in regard to their fulfilment or otherwise. Among other things, they clearly held out the hope, that the knowledge of Christian truth and the influence of the spirit of Christianity would make men free; for what does the great Teacher Himself say?—"Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free."* And again, what saith the apostle of the Gentiles?—"Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."†

In addition to commissioning His disciples to labour for the baptism of nations, by the word and spirit of Christianity, into the name of the triune God, He promised to provide the agency whereby, in course of time, aggregate incorporations or churches would grow into existence, as perfect earthly embodiments of the principles and spirit of His religion. For when the apostle Paul states that God gave some, apostles; some, prophets; some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; with a view to the nourishing of the church from age to age, in "the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, and for the edifying of the body of Christ;" he communicates the

* John viii. 32.

† 2 Cor. iii. 17.

knowledge of the fact that the great aim of this divine arrangement would not be accomplished "till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."* But in addition to Christianising states and perfecting churches, this wonderful Being intimated, not obscurely, in the most solemn season of His life on earth, that there would be an increasing extension of His reforming and regenerating influence on this earth, until the world of men believed in Him. And He also, on the same occasion, indicated that one great instrumental cause in accelerating the consummation of His marvellous design would be the union of His professing disciples. For in the record of what is termed His intercessory prayer, which He is said to have offered to His Father immediately before His decease, these words will be found: "Neither pray I for these" (His existing disciples) "alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they all may be one; as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."† Once more, in the apostolic age, in some of the churches the belief became very prevalent that the fulfilment of the purpose of the Founder of Christianity was to be rapid, and that its fruition was near at hand. The apostle Paul, in one of his epistles, devoted his attention to the removal and correction of this opinion; and in doing so, stated that between the primitive Christian age and "the day of Christ," as he terms it, when the triumph of the word and spirit of His religion would begin to be

* Eph. iv. 13.

† John xvii. 20, 21.

witnessed politically and ecclesiastically, and also universally, there would be an interval of declension and decay to His cause. For he says, that day shall not come "except there come a falling away first."*

These statements, made by the Author of Christianity and His chief apostle, are of such a nature that their truthfulness and reliability can be satisfactorily tested by the records of human history, extending over no less a period than eighteen hundred years. It does not require any very profound acquaintance with the records of the world's experience since the advent of Christianity, to enable an accurate opinion to be formed concerning the claims thus set forth on its behalf. It is not difficult to verify and confirm such incontrovertible historical facts as these: that in the primitive Christian churches a corrupting and degenerating influence wrought effectually to the producing of a final falling away; that there supervened thereafter a long interval, during which neither the word nor the spirit of Christianity exercised any perceptible or extensive influence on human affairs; and that, subsequent thereto, an age of Christian truth and Christian life, and, above all, greatly enlarged Christian political and ecclesiastical influence, has burst upon the world, scattering in many places by its benignant power the darkness, gloom, and death which prevailed for so long a time among nations and individuals of the human race. The British Isles are the geographical spot on earth where by far the greatest successes have been achieved by the spirit of that wonderful age in human history that was inaugurated in the sixteenth century. The fruits yielded

* 2 Thess. ii. 3.

have been manifold and of all descriptions, social and intellectual, moral and religious, political and ecclesiastical. All the three kingdoms composing the free and united empire of Great Britain have participated in the benefits and blessings that have flowed from the steady progress and certain growth of reformation and regeneration among their people and within their institutions.

In England, chiefly the freedom and union of the empire politically has been contended for; and among her people a glorious superstructure of incomparable strength and well-regulated human liberty has lifted up its head. Whither shall we turn to search for its perfected ecclesiastical allies? In England and in Ireland there are Christian churches, all of which, including the church established by law, have done good service, each in its own particular and appointed sphere. The church of England is undoubtedly a pillar and ground of truth. It is a reformed church, and the spirit of reformation is not dead within it—rather it rests waiting the dawn of the auspicious day when it shall be aroused from its slumbers, and go forth, to make that church, “as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.”* But it has no separate history. In tracing the political career of England and the united empire, all was included that is as yet discoverable of the influence exercised by the Anglican church in the evolving of new principles of political and ecclesiastical action. Even the dissenting churches, beyond the fact of their rise and the extension of their spiritual influence, have not had contests and struggles, in the course of

* Cant. vi. 10.

which old theories have had to be abandoned and new views substituted. The principles of toleration and civil equality, irrespective of religious faith, were more subjects of political than of ecclesiastical contention ; and the principle of voluntaryism in religious matters grew imperceptibly, in all the three kingdoms, into a ground of difference and a motive of action.

Among all branches of the Protestant church in the united empire there is a happy agreement on one point, probably the most essential to the beneficial existence of Christian churches,—they are all nearly at one in respect of the essentials of faith and doctrine. Now, what was to be the first-fruit, in latter days, of the ministrations of those office-bearers, given in all ages of living Christianity for the edifying of the body of Christ? Eighteen hundred years ago the apostle Paul affirmed that they were to be prolonged “till we all come in the unity of the faith.” The accomplishment of this aim would undoubtedly be the first step towards the acquirement of that knowledge of the Son of God, and the attainment of that human perfection, politically, ecclesiastically, and individually, which are declared to be the ultimate goal to be reached in connection with the alleged purpose of the Founder of Christianity. Among all the Protestant churches, established and dissenting, of the three kingdoms, this essential unity of faith has been long a most marked and undeniable characteristic. It is questionable if, among the very earliest Christian churches planted by the apostles themselves, and even when the articles of faith were few and simple, there was such an amount of unity as is discernible

on this point among the churches of the Reformation in England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The natural and necessary results to be produced by this unity of faith were, a more correct knowledge of the Son of God and human perfection. Here, also, the ripening fruits of both are coming into existence, in the approximating political perfection of the national institutions of the united empire. The institutions are themselves an evidence of the growth of human perfection; and they are, in addition, the handiwork of the spirit of Christianity. That spirit of liberty, we are informed on high authority, is the Lord, the Son of God; so that the study of these institutions, and an enlightened acquaintance with the circumstances attending their rise and revelation unto perfection, must lead to an increase and a correction, where required, of the knowledge of the Son of God. It is not probable, therefore, that beyond the precincts of the British Isles we shall find that approximating ecclesiastical perfection of which we are in quest. If in existence to any extent, it is safe to conclude that it will be found within that dominion which is distinguished by the unity of the faith of its churches, and the approximating perfection of its political institutions. We cannot get anything like sufficient data, in the history of the churches in England and Ireland, on which to found a trustworthy opinion in reference to this subject; and, moreover, the English churches are so divided in principle and practice as to the forms of church government and the ceremonies of religious worship, that if even they each had a history as marked and expressive as that of the church of Scotland, the utterances would be so

conflicting and discordant as to nullify the advantages derivable therefrom.

Being thus shut up in our search for approximating ecclesiastical perfection to the history of the church of Scotland, the first consideration that presents itself is, the remarkable unanimity, among all sections of the Scottish church, in regard to the forms of church government and the ceremonial of religious worship. This removes, in the case of the Scottish churches, that serious stumbling-block which presents itself, in any attempt to study, by the light of an unerring law of clearly defined order and sequence, the course of English church history in Protestant times. The church of Scotland has had its expulsions, secessions, disruptions, and unions; but, amid them all, no section of the original reformed church has departed, either from the Presbyterian form of church government, or its simple ceremonial of religious worship. The Scotch church has had its divisions, but the cause thereof has been one and the same all throughout the church's history. The strifes and contentions which have characterised its ecclesiastical history have all had their origin in the nature and consequences of the church's connection with the state. The church of Scotland was strongly imbued with the spirit of freedom and independence. The freedom which it contended for comprehended both the freedom of its ecclesiastical courts and the freedom of its people. The independence which it asserted was an independence of state interference and state control in the prosecution of its Master's work. And this it claimed, first, from royal aggressors, in determining the form of its ecclesiastical polity; and, finally, from judicial and parliamen-

tary opponents in regulating the manner of the appointment of its ministers, and in the conducting of its ecclesiastical business.

Whatever variety of opinion there may exist as to the nature and amount of liberty and independence that should be conferred by the state upon a church which it establishes and supports, there can be no room for discussion as to the fact that a church largely animated and influenced by the spirit of Christianity must be *free*,—for where that Spirit is, there is liberty. Therefore, if the New Testament speaks oracularly upon this point, the external condition in this respect of a professed Christian church is a true index to its invisible spiritual state. If a church is in bondage, either to a state or to its own rulers, there must be strivings for freedom in proportion to the extent in which it is influenced by the spirit of Christianity. Now, the struggles within the Scottish church have invariably partaken of this character. They had their origin in its establishment by the state in the year 1567; and although the church was frequently overborne by kingly power during the continuance of the first of the three periods into which the history of its contentings is divided, it had, nevertheless, some seasons of rest and independent activity, and its free spirit was never effectually crushed or extinguished. The introduction into its constitution of the element of civil patronage in the appointment of its ministers, became a fruitful source of trouble and perplexity to it; but the disputes arising out of patronage itself were principally confined to the second and third periods of its history. No doubt patronage was an element in the struggles

of the first period, but it was only secondary and subsidiary to the great source of peril and danger springing out of the persevering determination of four successive monarchs to overthrow Presbyterianism, and establish Episcopacy in its stead.

The first of these attempts to set up prelacy in the church of Scotland was ineffectually made by James I. of the United Kingdom, when king of Scotland only. The effort was protracted over several years without any permanent result favourable to the king's design; and in the year 1592 the charter of Presbyterianism, as the form of ecclesiastical polity demanded by the church of Scotland, was renewed by the Scottish king and the estates of the nation. Soon thereafter the crowns of England and Scotland were united in the person of James, and the Scottish court was removed to England. In his new position, the old dislike of Presbyterianism appeared to be increased rather than diminished in the king's mind; for, as early as the year 1606, he commenced anew his schemings for the introduction of Episcopacy, and the overthrow of Presbyterianism in the church of Scotland. On this occasion the royal aggressor experienced a success which was of longer duration than that which attended his previous effort. Bishops were first introduced. Afterwards, in the year 1610, he obtained the assent of a so-called Assembly of the church to a modified form of Episcopacy. And in the year 1612 the Scottish estates passed a series of acts by which, among other things, the functions of presbyteries in the settlement of ministers were transferred to the bishops; and, in the event of bishops and patrons differing in regard to presentees, the

Lords of Council were constituted a court of final appeal, by whose decisions the bishops, at their peril, were to be guided in such an ecclesiastical affair as the settlement of a Christian minister. Presbyteries and people alike disappeared from thenceforth, and were of no account in the administration and management of the church's affairs for many years.

James died, and his son Charles I. succeeded him as king. From this period forward to the great revolution of 1688-9, the ecclesiastical struggles of Scotland are intimately associated and identified with the political troubles of England. Charles soon had his hands full in both countries. In Scotland the impatience of the people broke through all restraint in the year 1637, the year of the famous national covenant; and from that time Presbyterianism once more lifted up its head. In the following year, 1638, the memorable Glasgow Assembly of the church of Scotland held its sittings, and by it was completed what some historians have termed the second ecclesiastical reformation in Scotland. Thereafter the Presbyterian form of government was readopted in the church of Scotland, and remained in force till the year 1662. In the interval, the throne of Charles I. had been overthrown, and his life taken. His son was an exile till after the death of Cromwell, the Protector. With the restoration of the monarchy, the troubles of the church of Scotland were revived. In the year 1662, Episcopacy was again set up in Scotland, and continued to be the form of church government till the accession of William III., in the year 1689. In the following year, 1690, patronage, as it had existed previously in the Presbyterian church of Scotland, was abolished by act of the Scotch estates, only

however, to be re-enacted in a more comprehensive and objectionable manner, by the legislature of the then United Kingdom of Great Britain in the year 1711, and the new law came into operation on 1st May 1712. From the passing and coming into operation of this act of parliament, restoring civil patronage in the church of Scotland, dates the commencement of the second period of Scottish church history.

Before proceeding further with the narrative, it may be as well at this stage to apply the test of that law of regularity and order in the sequence of events, which was found so valuable an assistance in tracing the political currents in the history of England and the United Kingdom. The principal events of ecclesiastical history in Scotland during its first period are few; but they are singularly under the control of a law of exactitude as to the time of their happening. In the mean time, we will go no further back than the year 1612, in which James I. completed his scheme of aggression upon the liberty and independence of the church of Scotland. The state of matters then finally introduced existed for a quarter of a century exactly, or till the year 1637. The period of freedom and independence in the church of Scotland that then followed, was in duration the precise parallel of that time of bondage and subjection by which it was preceded—a quarter of a century—from the year 1637 till the year 1662. These two periods united constitute the half of the time that elapsed between the joint-king's crowning oppressive prelatial acts of 1612, and the coming into operation of the united parliament's enslaving and corrupting civil patronage act in the year 1712. We have here, therefore, a wheel or cycle of connected and

explanatory events within a wheel. There is, moreover, within the quarter of a century, between 1637 and 1662, a smaller wheel. First, from 1637, already described, to the year 1649, when patronage was abolished in the church of Scotland, twelve years; and, second, from the date of the abolition of patronage in the year 1649, until the repeal of the act of abolition in the year 1661, other twelve years.

The evil fruits of the act restoring patronage in the church of Scotland in the reign of Queen Anne did not begin to manifest themselves for many years after it was passed and came into operation as law. The struggle that ensued therefrom was within the church itself. The law of patronage was its cause; and so far parliament and royalty are responsible for the introduction of this source of discord among Scotch ecclesiastics. But unfortunately, along with the adoption of the law of patronage, there came a marked defection in the free and independent spirit by which previous Presbyterian rulers in the church had been invariably animated. The spirit which Knox, Melville, Henderson, and their compeers exhibited in their various contendings, ceased to be the spirit by which the leaders of the church of Scotland, and the majority that supported them, were influenced throughout the entire second period of its history. The first-fruits of the working of the new regime were unfolded in the exalting of the civil rights of patrons in relation to the settlement of ministers, and the corresponding depression of the people's title to an interest therein. A crisis was reached in the year 1732. By the law of patronage, if a patron did not exercise his right of presentation within six months of a ministerial

charge becoming vacant, the presbytery of the bounds were to take steps for the appointment of a successor. Cases of this kind were constantly occurring ; and in the olden times the course would have been to allow the people themselves to elect. But at the time in question various modes of procedure were in use in such cases. The General Assembly of the church of Scotland, with the ostensible object of securing uniformity of action in the several church courts in the treatment of such cases, enacted, in the year 1732, that the election of a minister to a vacant landward parish should belong only to elders and Protestant heritors ; in royal burghs, to the magistrates, town council, and elders ; and if any part of the burgh was landward, the heritors, being Protestant, were also to vote. The people had the power of approval or disapproval—nothing more than they possessed nominally, at least, when a presentation was made by a civil patron under the law of patronage.

No doubt this was not dissimilar to the plan introduced by act of parliament in the year 1690, when civil patronage was abolished. But the cases were very different. In the year 1690, the state was loosening the restraint by which the action of the church was straitened ; whereas, in the year 1732, the successors of those presbyters who, through good and through bad report, unabatingly testified to the people's right to elect their own minister, practically deserted this principle of their church in the year 1732. There was even in that day of retrogression a small minority who lifted up their voice against the church's defection. When the act was passed, or rather when what was termed the overture was

adopted, several ministers and elders intimated their protest. But with a growing disregard of even conscientious scruples, which were accustomed to be protected by the reception and recording of such protests in the Assembly's minutes of proceedings, the Assembly of 1732 refused to receive the protest, and declined to enter it in their minutes. These were the first acts of a series that issued in an extensive and continually increasing secession of ministers and people from the church of Scotland. Among the protesters against the act of Assembly was one named Ebenezer Erskine. He happened to be moderator of the provincial synod of Perth and Stirling in the course of that year. At the October meeting of the synod at Perth in the same year, it fell to him, as retiring moderator, to preach the opening sermon. He selected as a text these words, "The stone which the builders refused is become the head of the corner."* In his discourse,† "he made some pointed allusions to the late transactions of the General Assembly, and to the state of affairs in general throughout the Scottish church."

"Several members of synod were highly offended with the freedom which Mr Erskine had used in his discourse; and after the court was constituted, and a new moderator chosen, a formal complaint was made upon the subject. After a long discussion the synod agreed to take the matter under consideration, and a committee was appointed to collect the passages which had given offence, and to lay them before the court at their next sederunt. The committee, before preparing a report, appointed four of their number to

* Ps. cviii. 22.

† M'KERROW'S *Sec. Ch. Hist.*, pp. 44, 45.

wait upon Mr Erskine, and to tell him 'that some expressions in his sermon gave offence, and to condescend upon some particulars uttered by him in his said sermon that did so; and to deal with him to see if he will acknowledge he was in the wrong in emitting such expressions, and will promise, before the synod, that he will not express himself on public occasions, in time coming, after that manner.' Mr Erskine gave a decided negative to the proposal of the committee, stating his mind was completely made up on these points." By this interference of ecclesiastical authority on the one hand, and Mr Erskine's determination to resist unyieldingly on the other, the collision was completed out of which sprang the secession church of Scotland. From thence a new stream of Christian life began to flow in Scotland ecclesiastically, separate and distinct from the national establishment; not, however, destructive of it, but rather as a religious association destined to assist in preserving from utter extinction the spirit of Christianity to which such violence was then, and subsequently, done by the ruling majority in the parent church of Scotland.

Mr Erskine's case then commenced its round of the ecclesiastical courts. The synod, after considering the report of their committee, came to a decision finding Mr Erskine censurable for the expressions he had uttered in his sermon. Against this decision Mr Erskine protested and appealed to the General Assembly. "The synod followed up this decision by another—viz., 'Rebuke Mr Erskine, and admonish him to behave orderly in the future; and appoint the presbytery of Stirling to inquire anent his after behaviour at their

privy censures, and report to next synod.' Mr Erskine having retired from the house immediately after he had given in his protest, the rebuke could not be administered." * The General Assembly, at their meeting in May 1733, approved of the proceedings of the synod in Mr Erskine's case, against which decision Mr Erskine and other three ministers handed in a written protest. For the contents of this protest the four brethren were called to account ; and as they refused to give the required satisfaction, they were all first suspended from the office of the ministry by the Assembly's commission in August, and subsequently deposed in November 1733. Some ineffectual attempts were afterwards made to heal the breach, but the four brethren were in no mood to entertain the conciliatory propositions made to them. Seven years, however, elapsed before they were finally deposed from the office of the ministry, and their ecclesiastical connection with the church of Scotland declared at an end, by its supreme court, in the year 1740, the sentence of deposition pronounced by the commission of the Assembly in November 1733 having been in the interval reversed by the General Assembly of the year 1734.

The ultimate charges brought against the four protesters and others, and on which the sentence of deposition passed by the General Assembly in the year 1740 was founded, were "the making an unwarrantable secession from the church ; the forming themselves into a presbytery, and exercising judicial presbyterial power ; the emitting an Act, Declaration, and Testimony, condemning the judicatories thereof ;

* M'Kerrow's *Sec. Ch. Hist.*, p. 50.

the leaving their own parishes, and dispensing ordinances to persons of other congregations ; the ordaining elders in other parishes than their own ; the appointing fasts in different parts of the country ; and the taking several persons under probationary trials, and licensing one or more of them to preach the gospel.* From the nature of these charges, it will be observed that the seceding ministers (now eight in number) had constituted themselves into a regular ecclesiastical association. During the next seven years the number of ministers and adherents connected with the new church had largely increased. In the year 1747 their stated ministerial charges exceeded thirty ; but in that year the infant association was overshadowed by a dark cloud. Even as a secession church the shadow of civil questions followed them. An oath was at that time imposed upon burgesses in the towns of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Perth, which contained the following clause :—“ 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 authorised by the laws thereof : I shall abide thereat, and defend the same to my life’s end ; renouncing the Roman religion called papistry.”

The question in connection with this oath, which ranged the seceders on two antagonistic sides of opinion, and terminated in the disruption of their religious association, was this :—“ What is meant by ‘ *the true religion professed in this realm, and authorised by the laws thereof* ?’ One party in the synod interpreted these words to be of similar import with

* M’KERROW’S *Sec. Ch. Hist.*, p. 127.

the true religion as presently professed and authorised ; and maintained that swearing this part of the oath was equivalent to giving a solemn approbation of those corruptions that prevailed in the established church, and against which the secession had publicly testified. Another party maintained that this clause of the oath bound the individual who swore it to approve of *the true religion itself as that which was settled and professed* in this realm, but did not bind him to approve of the *manner* in which it might be settled and professed ; and that, therefore, it did not require of him any approbation of the prevailing corruption in either church or state.* The two sections into which the seceders separated themselves after the disruption of their original association in the year 1747, were designated Burghers and Antiburghers. Instead of holding forth a united testimony against the alleged prevailing corruptions in the established church, they from thenceforth presented the one testimony in two different aspects. In substance, the Burgher section, by their existence as a distinct religious body, testified that the true religion was that which was virtually settled and professed in the realm of Scotland, although the practical defection from its principles was great, and that the burghess oath merely bound those who took it to profess and allow the true religion as originally settled. The Antiburgher section held, on the other hand, that practically the true religion was not presently settled and professed by the church in the realm, and that therefore the taking of the burghess oath imposed an obligation to defend that which the seceders by their act of

* M'KERROW'S *Sec. Ch. Hist.*, p. 210.

secession and subsequent written testimonies had declared to be corrupt and unsound. After the disruption, the Antiburgher synod took the extreme step of libelling (as preferring a charge is called) the parties composing the Burgher section, who were not much fewer in number than the Antiburghers ; and as the result thereof, "all the ministers libelled were deposed from the office of the ministry, and suspended from the enjoyment of their privileges as members of the church."

The existence of the ecclesiastical secession, either in its united or divided form, did not at that time produce any permanent beneficial influence on the dominant party in the established church. Increasing disregard of the will of the people in the settlement of ministers was manifested. Still there was a considerable amount of resistance on the part of ministers to the spirit by which the ruling party in the church was animated ; and in some presbyteries a legal quorum (three) of ministers could not be found to take part in what were called forced settlements of presentees. To meet this difficulty, the majority in the Assembly resolved to deal with such cases themselves. For some years, therefore, the rule was for the Assembly to appoint a committee of their own number, with power to exercise to this extent the functions of any presbytery in which a legal quorum could not be found willing to take part in the settlement of a minister in opposition to the will of the people. But the arbitrary spirit of the ruling authorities in the church increased steadily, until at length it ventured to disregard the alleged conscientious scruples of those ministers who felt precluded from

taking any part in the forced settlement of ministers. The "riding committees," as they were termed, were abolished, and presbyteries were thenceforth required, in every case, to exercise their own functions in the settlement of presentees. Another collision, another deposition, and another ecclesiastical body of secession from the established church were the consequences. Probably the account given by another of what then transpired had better be here quoted :—

"At length, however, moderatism found itself strong enough to dispense with the riding committees. The ruling party in the Assembly began, in the year 1752, to carry their intrusive policy with a still higher hand. They would no longer tolerate the hesitation either of presbyteries or of individual ministers. They insisted not only that the deed should be done, by which a forced settlement was to be effected, but that it should be done by the very persons who most scrupled to do it. This gratuitous tyranny was signally exemplified that year in the case of the parish of Inverkeithing. The person presented to that parish proving unacceptable to the people, and the presbytery demurring to go on with his settlement, they were, upon appeal to the Assembly, commanded to proceed. As three members constitute the legal quorum of a presbytery, and as there were at least as many in the presbytery in question who had no difficulty about the Assembly's sentence, it might have been effected without requiring the direct personal co-operation of those who could not concur in it. But, as if glorying in oppression, the Assembly raised the quorum in the case to six (another account says five), determined to leave no avenue of escape to scrupulous

consciences ; and another breach in the national church was the consequence. When the day appointed for the settlement arrived, three members of the presbytery only were present, and the settlement, by a necessity which the Assembly's own tyranny had created, was again delayed.

“ The presbytery was summoned to the bar of the Assembly, when six of their number gave in a representation, in which they modestly but firmly stated their defence. They reminded the house that, ‘ ever since the act restoring patronages in the end of Queen Anne's reign, there has been a vehement opposition to all settlements by presentations, when there was but small concurrence, which settlements have already produced a train of the most unhappy consequences, greatly affecting the interests of religion.’ They referred to the fact that, so recently as 1736, the Assembly had passed an act against the intrusion of ministers, which called upon all presbyteries, as ‘ they regarded the glory of God, and the edification of the body of Christ,’ to see that no minister be intruded. They declared their solemn conviction that, ‘ by having an active hand in carrying this settlement into execution,’ they should, as matters then stood, ‘ have been the unhappy instrument, to speak the language of holy writ, of *scattering the flock of Christ*; and, finally, they protested that, if on this account they should be ‘ judged guilty of such criminal disobedience as to deserve their censures,’ they would suffer solely ‘ for adhering to what they apprehended to be the will of their great Lord and Master.’ Unmoved by this touching remonstrance, the Assembly resolved to make an example. As if they had been a military commis-

sion sitting upon a case of mutiny, in which scruples of conscience and appeals to the authority of Christ were a mere impertinence, they resolved to select a victim by vote, and the lot of deposition fell to the Reverend Thomas Gillespie, of Carnock. From that single seed sprang the second secession, since known by the name of the Relief Synod, a body which numbered about a hundred ministers before moderatism had lost the reins of church government in 1834. This triumph marked the commencement of the Robertsonian era of moderatism, so called from the distinguished historian of that name." * From thence three streams of dissent from the church of Scotland ran their separate courses throughout the remainder of the eighteenth century, and the calm of spiritual torpor pervaded the history of the national establishment.

We shall now endeavour to apply the measuring-line of time to this epoch of Scottish ecclesiastical history. In the year 1690, civil patronage was abolished as the mode of presenting to benefices in the church of Scotland. After an interval of 21 years, during which the legislative union of England and Scotland was effected, the imperial legislature, in the year 1711, passed the act restoring civil patronage. It required other 21 years to ripen its fruits in the church of Scotland ; for it was not till the year 1732 that the tendencies of the ecclesiastical majority favourable to patronage were revealed, in the act of Assembly of that year, which repudiated the principle long contended for by the church, that the people should elect their own ministers. From the year 1732, dates the era of permanent secession from

* *Ten Years' Conflict*, vol. i. pp. 183-5.

the established church in Scotland. In the year 1592, the church's first contendings with James VI.'s episcopal leanings had a successful termination, and its freedom and independence, barring the existence of civil patronage, were secured, in the restoration of the presbyterian form of ecclesiastical government. In the year 1662, its last contendings with prelacy commenced, and four hundred ministers were driven from its pale, because of their adherence to the presbyterian principles of the Scottish establishment. Between the termination of the first, and the beginning of the last of the church's contests with the royal and parliamentary abettors of prelacy, the years 1592 and 1662, there elapsed 70 years. After an interval of other 70 years, in the year 1732, the first contendings commenced within the church itself, between a dominant majority, who had practically disavowed the church's freedom and the people's rights, and a resisting minority, resulting in a permanent ecclesiastical secession from its communion.

Again, the law of patronage came into operation in the year 1712. Its first-fruits during the second period of Scottish church history were revealed 20 years thereafter in the Act of Assembly 1732, and in the ministerial secession which originated in that year. Twenty years further on, in the year 1752, it produced its final fruit of separation in the proceedings of the Assembly of that year, which resulted in another secession from the church, and the formation of a new ecclesiastical body. The legislative union of England and Scotland, in the year 1707, gave rise to the restored operation of patronage in the year 1712; and the ecclesiastical working of the revived law of

patronage occasioned the secessions of 1732 and 1752. In the year 1662, the last of the contendings and temporary ministerial extrusions during the first period of Scottish church history commenced. In the year 1752, the last of the contendings and permanent secessions during the second period of the same history were witnessed. The act of union between England and Scotland marks the central epoch of the cycle, each extreme being 45 years distant from it. Once more, this law seems to have regulated the brief early united career of the first secession from the church of Scotland. The seceding ministers were deposed from their offices in the year 1733, but this sentence was afterwards rescinded, and it was not till the year 1740 that they were finally deposed, and their connection with the church of Scotland declared at an end by the General Assembly. In the year 1747 the secession church was divided into two distinct ecclesiastical bodies, thus terminating for many years their united existence as a religious association. It occupied seven years to bring their controversy with the established church to a final close. And it only required other seven years to ripen their own internal contention respecting the burgess-oath to the point of disruption and separation.

These were, however, but intermediate steps, between the years 1592 and 1752, in the long and checkered history of the Scottish church. The origin of the strifes dates further back, and their termination is comparatively recent. The first collision between the church of the reformation and the state in Scotland was as early as the year 1581. Between the establishment of the church in the year 1567, and the

year 1581, insidious attempts had been made by successive regents of the kingdom to introduce a modified episcopacy as the form of ecclesiastical government for the church of Scotland. This innovation they were careful in not attempting to effect without the concurrence of the church itself. The regent Morton therefore requested a meeting of superintendents and ministers to consider the question. They accordingly met at Leith in the year 1572, constituting themselves a General Assembly of the church of Scotland, and as such gave the required sanction to the introduction of a modified episcopacy, with this provision, that the bishops to be appointed were "to be subject in all things to the authority of the General Assembly." The bishops were accordingly appointed, but their unmolested career was of short duration; for by a regular General Assembly of the church, convened in the year 1575, episcopacy was abolished, and the bishops were required to resign their offices. The decision of this Assembly does not appear to have produced the desired result, for the same question was the subject of renewed discussion and further resolutions in an Assembly held in the year 1580. By that Assembly an act was passed "declaring the prelatie office to have no warrant in the word of God, and requiring the existing bishops to give in their demission without delay, and to conform themselves to the actual constitution of the church. In the course of the same year all the bishops but five acquiesced in this decision."

This act of Assembly occasioned the first direct collision between church and state in Scotland. As the narrative of the first ten years' conflict, which com-

menced in the year 1581, is so succinctly and accurately stated in the pages that chiefly record the incidents of the last "ten years' conflict," which terminated in the year 1843, it is preferable, in the circumstances, to adopt the account given by another :—

"What, then, did the state actually do on the occasion alluded to? The case of Montgomery furnishes the best answer to that inquiry, and it is full of instruction on the point now under consideration. The light which it reflects on the relations of church and state in Scotland is clear and strong. The state attempted to make the church prelatiic in spite of her presbyterian principles, and attempted it by force. On the death of Boyd, the archbishop of Glasgow, in 1581, a grant of the revenues of the vacant see was made to the Duke of Lennox, the court favourite of the day. To make this grant available, it was necessary to put some one into the archiepiscopal office who would undertake, for some small allowance to himself, to collect the rents, and hand them over to the duke. An instrument mean enough to perform this contemptible function was found in the person of a certain Robert Montgomery, then minister of Stirling. This transaction at once brought the church and the civil power into collision. The whole question of the church's spiritual liberty was involved in it. To suffer her deliberate judgments against prelacy, embodied in her standard of policy, and in the recent enactments of her Assembly, to be set aside by the simple fiat of the crown, would have been to renounce all pretensions to the right of self-government. Fully alive to the evils of a conflict with the state, she spared no pains to arrest the calamity. Montgomery

was dealt with to withdraw from the rebellious position he had assumed, in accepting an office forbidden by the church ; and at the same time earnest remonstrances were made to the king and council, to induce them to alter their course."

The Assembly met in St Andrews in April 1581, and Montgomery was summoned to appear before it to answer for his conduct. "The first movement on the part of the civil power took the form of a letter to the Assembly, under the hand of the king, requiring them to proceed no further in Montgomery's case. . . . The Assembly assured his majesty, in their prompt reply, that they would handle nothing that belonged to the civil power ; but that, in disposing of the great spiritual question before them, they would and must proceed under their solemn responsibility to God. The rejoinder which this called forth was delivered by a messenger-at-arms, who, at the very time when Montgomery's case had just been called, advanced into the Assembly, and, 'by virtue of the king's letters, delivered by the Lords of Secret Council and Session, discharged the moderator, and his assessors the brethren of the Assembly, to direct any citation against Mr Robert Montgomery, to excommunicate, slander, or trouble him in his ministry, for aspiring to the bishopric of Glasgow ; or for calling or pursuing of his brethren for the same, or for any promise made thereanent, or any other thing depending therefrom in the byegone, under the pains of rebellion, and putting them to the horn ; certifying them if they fail he will denounce them our sovereign lord's rebels, and put them to his highness' horn.' The state and the church were now in immediate conflict."

“Overawed, for a time at least, by the firmness of the Assembly, Montgomery presented himself at the bar of the house, withdrew his appeal to the civil power, and, with many professions of sorrow for his offence, and solemnly engaging to renounce the archbishopric, threw himself on the clemency of the church. The contest was by no means at a close. . . . Urged on by Lennox, who was impatient to get possession of the archiepiscopal revenues, and by the court and king, who were not less intent on the maintenance of so convenient a system as the tulchan prelacy, his own weak brain, too, still dazzled by the lustre of the forbidden mitre, Montgomery forgot all his pledges to the Assembly, and once more renewed his acceptance of the illegal office. . . . The metropolitan presbytery pronounced the sentence of excommunication against Montgomery. . . . The privy council, by proclamation, condemned and nullified the sentence of excommunication against Montgomery, which the church had pronounced. This brought matters to a point.”* Substituting the Earl of Kinnoull for the Duke of Lennox ; Mr Young, the presentee to the parish of Auchterarder, for Mr Montgomery, the presentee to the see of Glasgow ; the Court of Session for the Lords of Council,—and we have repeated in substance and essence, in the ten years’ conflict of the nineteenth century, the principles and incidents of the conflict of the sixteenth century.

On both occasions precisely the same principles and issues were involved. The question in each case was the church’s inherent claim of independent action in regulating and adjusting its own ecclesias-

* *Ten Years’ Conflict*, vol. i.

tical affairs, and the state's refusal to abstain from interference. The passing of the veto law and the chapels act by the General Assembly was the source of the recent and final conflict, just as the Assembly's passing of the act prohibiting episcopacy was the cause of the early and first conflict. Civil patronage was the weapon of aggression in each instance. And the leanings of a section of the ecclesiastical community towards the civil side, as in the case of the Leith convention in the original conflict and the moderate minority in the last conflict, gave countenance to the opponents of the church's claim. The contest of the sixteenth century terminated in the year 1592. Presbyterianism was then re-established as the form of government in the church of Scotland. Its restoration was accompanied by a statute ordaining "all presentations to benefices to be directed to the particular presbyteries in all time coming, with full power to give collation thereupon, and to put order to all matters and causes ecclesiastical within their bounds, according to the discipline of the kirk, providing the foresaid presbyteries be bound and astricted to receive and admit whatsoever qualified minister presented by his majesty or civic patrons."

This is not the particular statute which gave rise to the contests that produced the secessions of the eighteenth century and the disruption of the year 1843. Episcopacy had been twice subsequently established in the church of Scotland, once prior to the year 1637, and again after the restoration of the house of Stuart; but the church had a period of freedom and rest from encroachment during the twenty-four years' interval from 1637 to 1661. Mid-

way between these two years, in the year 1649, civil patronage was abolished in the church of Scotland ; but the act of abolition was rescinded in the year 1661. We have thus two notable epochs in the first period of Scottish church history : the first bounded by the years 1581 and 1592 ; the second beginning in the year 1637 and ending in the year 1661. The patronage act, which gave rise to the contentions that brought about the final deposition of the first seceders in the year 1740, the deposition of the founder of another secession church in the year 1752, and which also occasioned the introduction of the veto law in the year 1833, its enactment in the year 1834, and the ultimate disruption of the church by the voluntary separation of its ruling majority as a church from the state in the year 1843, was an act of the imperial parliament of Great Britain that came into operation in the year 1712. We have thus also two epochs in the second period of Scottish church history : one, the year 1712 ; and the other, bounded by the years 1740 and 1752.

It may not now surprise the reader to find these epochs of the first and second periods of Scottish church history connected together, and with the concluding epoch of the long protracted struggle, by that singular law which appears to control and regulate both the character of events and the times of their occurrence. From the year 1592, the close of the first conflict of the first period, until the law of patronage, the source of the final conflict, came into operation in the year 1712, there elapsed 120 years ; and from the beginning of the second period of Scottish church history in the year 1712, till its close

in the year 1832, immediately preceding the commencement of the ten years' conflict, other 120 years intervened. Again, from the commencement of the first conflict between church and state in Scotland in the year 1581, until the close of the last conflict between church and state in Scotland, in the disruption of the church and voluntary separation of its ruling majority as a church from the state in the year 1843, there was an interval of 262 years; midway between the two extremes, the year 1712, there being a space of 131 years each way, the act came into force that was the occasion of the final conflict, which resulted in sundering the connection between the ruling majority as a church and the state.

Further, the events that limit the duration of the second epoch in the first period of Scottish church history, and the events that comprise the second epoch of the second period, are similarly connected together, and also with the closing scene in the several memorable and extraordinary phases of this wonderful conflict. For from the year 1637, the beginning of an era of ecclesiastical freedom enjoyed by the church in connection with the state, until the year 1740, when an era of separation was irreversibly inaugurated by the final deposition of the first seceders from the national church, there was an interval of 103 years. From thence until the great disruption epoch, when the ruling majority in the establishment separated from the state in the year 1843, there was an interval of similar duration, 103 years. Once more, from the close of the era of ecclesiastical freedom enjoyed by the church in connection with the state in the year

1661, until the deposition of the founder of the youngest and last formed of the Scottish secession churches, in the year 1752, there elapsed 91 years. From thence, until the great consummating disruption, and the advent of a *Free Church*, entirely separate from the state, in the year 1843, there was a parallel space of 91 years. Thus, during a struggle the most varied and diversified perhaps on record, and prolonged for nearly three centuries, the question, "In what circumstances is a Christian church most calculated to fulfil the aim of its institution, as the proper and legitimate channel of Christian influence among nations and individuals?" has been proposed repeatedly, and in many forms, in Scottish church history, with one uniform and unvarying result. And the reply given, in a manner most distinct and unmistakable, is, that a state connection, whether the rival authority to the freedom of the church be kingly, as during the first period of Scottish church history, or ecclesiastical, as during its second, or judicial, as during its third, has invariably been aggressive in its action, and most disastrous in its consequences to the interests of Christianity, and obstructive of the faithful performance and fulfilment of the professed purpose aimed at in the original institution of the Christian church, as the proper and legitimate channel of Christian influence among nations and individuals. Three times over has Scottish church history proclaimed the important fact, that a Christian church to be *free* must be separate from and unconnected with the state: first, at the original formation of the reformed church of Scotland, between the years 1560 and 1567; again, at the time of the secessions in the years 1740

and 1752 ; and, finally, and with a trumpet tongue, at the era of the great disruption in the year 1843.

As its name expresses, one of the evidences characteristic of the existence of that kind of institution which Christ and the apostle of the Gentiles promised should be revealed on earth, is found in the Free Church of Scotland. But how are we to connect it with the primitive Christian churches, and identify it as one of their successors, by bridging over the interval of time allotted to the appearing and exhaustion of the influence of that "falling away" which Paul intimated was to separate the early from the latter Christian churches ? This would certainly be impossible of satisfactory accomplishment by any ordinary rule of reasoning and analogy. But what otherwise would have to remain obscure and uncertain is capable of a clear and a certain solution by the application of the measuring-line. The early Christian churches are at one extreme, and the reformed church of Scotland is one of the Protestant churches at the other extreme of the space of time apparently allotted for the "falling away" spoken of by Paul. The first thing, therefore, into which inquiry is demanded, is, Are there any parallels of circumstance or time discoverable between the history of the primitive church and the history of the Scottish church ? The early churches have their period of early simplicity and ecclesiastical equality, followed by their period of budding and flowering ecclesiastical ambition and authority, and crowned by their political enslavement in the era of Constantine. So has the church of Scotland its period of liberating struggles with political bondage ; followed by its period of ecclesiastical overbearance, and the liberating re-

sistance thereto manifested in frequent separations and secessions ; and crowned by its grand liberating disruption, and the advent of a Free Church.

Further, the career of the primitive church began in circumstances peculiarly favourable to a prolonged existence of freedom and independence within its own legitimate sphere. But the prevailing influence that appeared to animate its history was of a deteriorating and degenerating character. It began its existence surrounded by floods of light, and its advent is said to have been accompanied by portentous and instructive signs and wonders. Nevertheless, the course of its history was a falling and a backward one, until it exchanged the liberty wherewith its Founder had made it free, for the material support and political servitude of a state connection. On the other hand, the Scottish church commenced its checkered existence in circumstances the least favourable to any kind of religious freedom and ecclesiastical independence. The truth, as well as the simple forms and the free spirit of Christianity, had been long hid under a load of error and superstition that had been steadily accumulating from the era of Constantine. It was not until the era of the Reformation that partial light dawned upon a benighted world, amid a political and ecclesiastical system of human government the most adverse to any kind of freedom. In such circumstances, the Scottish church arose out of the chaotic mass of unfavourable and hostile influences. Its career, however, as has been seen, was the very reverse in its prevailing tendency to that of the early Christian church. Instead of a spirit of deterioration and degeneracy, there was a spirit of reformation and

regeneration at work in the Scottish church. Its course was not falling and backward to enslavement and subserviency, but ascending and forward to freedom and independence.

To mark the termination of its time of gradual declension, the early Christian church had a ten years' conflict with the political state with which it thereafter became allied, commencing with the Diocletian persecution in the year 303, and ending in its being taken under the protection, and enslaved by the support and patronage, of the Roman empire under Constantine, in the year 313. To signalise the era of its final emancipation from state control, and the full consummation of its long-contended-for ecclesiastical freedom and independence, the Scottish church had also a ten years' conflict with the restraining and clogging influence of the political state with which it had been long connected and allied. The primitive church went down to a bondage that may be called Egyptian; whereas the Scottish church came up to a freedom that may be designated Christian, out of a bondage that had a papal element combined with its Egyptian characteristic. And to complete the parallel, the duration of these opposite careers was precisely equal in respect of time. For as the Christian era is dated in the fourth year after the birth of Christ, it follows that the primitive church was founded in the thirtieth year of the Christian era, or the thirty-fourth year after the birth of Christ. From the year 30, therefore, until the year 313, which embraces the whole compass of the downward career of the early church, from its advent to its union with the state of Rome, there is a space of 283 years.

And from the foundation of the Scottish church in the year 1560, until the year 1843, which embraces the history of its reforming career, from the time of the nation's liberation from Roman thralldom until the separation from the British state of the ruling majority in the national church as a free church, and its entrance on a new career of liberty and independence, there elapsed a similar interval of 283 years.

But this is not all. Between the end of the ten years' conflict that preceded the early church's connection with the state of Rome, and the beginning of the ten years' conflict which preceded the Free church's separation from the state of Britain, there is not one but a threefold link bridging over the intervening space of time in a most singular and remarkable manner. The early church, prior to its alliance with Rome, had no such questions of controversy as those which have prevailed in many state churches respecting the operation of civil patronage in presenting to ecclesiastical benefices ; neither were there any grave disputings in the state-enslaved church between the chief ecclesiastical and principal civil authorities until the advent of the pontificate of Gregory VII., in the year 1073. It was then the first attempt was made by the chief of the church of Rome to wrest from the emperor and kings of the professedly Christian world the right of investiture, or nomination to vacant ecclesiastical offices. The conflict commenced under the auspices of Hildebrand, has been since waged, with little intermission, between civil and ecclesiastical authorities in all Christian nations, under diverse forms of civil and ecclesiastical government, and among the adherents of opposing and antagonistic confessions of faith.

But in no case has the issue been so striking and remarkable as that which the contests on this subject have evolved in the history of the church of Scotland. For, as the result of that church's contendings with the state about this very principle of civil patronage in connection with the presentation to vacant ecclesiastical livings, there is now witnessed a unique and unprecedented spectacle in the world's history—a free Christian church within the dominion of a free Christian state, each following its legitimate mission among men, and thereby largely benefiting and blessing all within the range of their influence. From the first dawn of a church and state connection in Christian times, in the year 313, preceded as it was by a ten years' conflict with the persecuting power of imperial Rome, until the crisis of its history was reached, in the advent of the first of the contests concerning investitures or civil patronage between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of the professedly Christian world in the year 1073, there elapsed a period of 760 years. From the commencement of the long struggle, in the year 1073, until the dawn of the final contention on this point between the Church of Scotland and the civil authorities of the British empire, in the year 1833, succeeded as it was by another ten years' conflict, there was a precisely similar interval of 760 years. Then, for the first time in the history of Christianity, the true relation which a Christian church and a Christian state should occupy to each other was defined, and a way of terminating the long, wearisome, and distracting controversy pointed out for general imitation. This is one of the promised links in the chain of connected and explanatory historical events.

Again, the Christian empire which Constantine attempted to construct out of the union of the Christian church with the Roman state was founded on principles opposed to the spirit of Christianity. The natural results, therefore, of such an amalgamation were, utter corruption of the Christian church, and the certain, if not accelerated, overthrow of the Roman dominion. Constantine was the imperial agent who introduced this new and injurious element into the relations previously subsisting between the Christian church and the Roman state ; and he thereby gave existence to that pernicious and destructive principle that has been the bane of the Christian religion for ages. His handiwork has long outlived himself, both in its political and in its ecclesiastical fruits. The western division of the empire over which he presided, and which he made nominally Christian by imperial decree, disappeared towards the close of the fifth century, leaving behind it what remained of the Christian church to be made the ecclesiastical prey of the bishop of Rome. But the affections of Constantine were drawn more toward the eastern portion of his empire than its western division ; and, before the close of his reign, he founded a new imperial metropolis, to which his name was given—Constantinople. The existence of this eastern Christian empire was prolonged, and its connection with the Christian church continued, till its overthrow in the fifteenth century, when the obnoxious union between the Christian church and the imperial Roman state, formed by Constantine, was at last violently and permanently dissolved. From the commencement of the contentings about civil patronage between the political and ecclesiastical

authorities in the year 1073, until the year 1453, when the last of that empire disappeared in connection with which the Emperor Constantine first gave existence to the state alliance which enslaved and destroyed the Christian church, there intervened a period of 380 years; and from thence until the dawn of the ten years' conflict in the year 1833, which resulted in bringing into existence a free Christian church within a free Christian state, there elapsed a similar period of 380 years. This is the second promised link.

In these two cycles, the one within the other, we have, for the starting-point in history of the first wheel, the beginning of a church and state connection; for its centre or turning-point, we have the advent of those unseemly contests between civil and ecclesiastical rulers to which it gave birth. The commencement of those collisions between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities forms the starting-point of the second cycle or wheel, and its centre or turning-point is marked by the final removal of the last vestige of that imperial state, with whose existence and by whose rulers the objectionable principle was originated and perpetuated, thus terminating the career of the political offender. But the Roman state had an ecclesiastical or religious ally, for the illicit connection could not have been formed without the church's consent. This distinction the Latin church claims for itself, even to the exclusion of its Greek sister, which was in close alliance with the Byzantine empire till the time of its overthrow. The pretensions of Romanism in this respect, however much they require to be insisted on to support its exclusive claims as a pro-

fessed Christian church, will not bear a close scrutiny or favourable interpretation in some aspects. We have the overthrow of the original political transgressor in the year 1453, although unaccompanied by the extinction of its spirit and the principles of its political conduct. This is the starting-point of the third wheel within wheels in this curious chain, connected with the history of this long-dominant principle of human government, and corroborative of the sequence of events in an exact order of time. It is true, ecclesiastical Rome still exists, and exercises no inconsiderable religious influence among some European nations, but its spiritual dominion has been sadly curtailed in many places. Where once the darkness of night and the stillness of death reigned supreme and undisputed, the light of truth and the life of Christianity have for many generations exerted a happy and elevating influence. Among other nations the small and once independent kingdom of Scotland has been highly favoured in this respect. Within its territory the religious faith, termed Protestant, has long superseded the Roman faith; and it has been, and still is, the faith of all sections of the originally united but now divided national Christian church. The Confession of Faith now subscribed and professed by the various Presbyterian denominations, is called the Westminster Confession of Faith, from the fact of its being compiled by an assembly of divines convened by the English parliament, and which met at Westminster in the year 1643. The adoption of this Confession of Faith by the Scottish church, and the adherence thereto of all its sections, have secured permanently that "unity of faith" which was the first thing

to be aimed at, and an indispensable prerequisite to the church's acquirement of "the knowledge of the Son of God," and its progressive attainment of a state of approximating ecclesiastical perfection. This wheel within other two wheels performs a double service of elucidation and explanation; for, in addition to completing the threefold promised link which identifies the church of Scotland as a true successor of the apostolic church, it supplies a threefold testimony, confirmatory of the propositions previously deduced from the sayings of Christ and His servant Paul, that were descriptive of the manner in which the Christian cause would ultimately be made triumphant among men. The mode of its final success was to be, like the foundation and the sources of its great influence, through death and resurrection. Its final fruits were to be approximating political and ecclesiastical perfection, preceded by "unity of faith." In the year 1453, we have final overthrow and death to the political empire which first transgressed in this respect in the year 313; in the year 1643, we have evidence of the death in Scotland of the religious and ecclesiastical system of papal Rome (the ally of imperial Rome in effecting the first union of church and state), in the commencement of the compilation of that Westminster Confession which has secured the unity of the faith of the Scottish church; and in the year 1833 there is witnessed the dawn of that final conflict which has resulted in the resurrection, as it were, of a free Christian church in union with a free Christian state, both being corporate witnesses of the power of the spirit of Christianity, and of the reliability of the contents of its written record, to the extent that they intimate its aim to

be to construct national institutions after a model of approximating political and ecclesiastical perfection. From the year 1453 until the year 1643 is a period of 190 years ; and from thence until the year 1833 is a similar period of 190 years.

The apparent errors into which the Roman state fell in its treatment of the early Christian church, were opposite and antagonistic in their nature. For a long period it regarded the Christian church with aversion and hostility, and persecuted its adherents ; and when the time came that Christianity began to be viewed with a friendly and favourable eye by the Roman emperor, he enslaved the church. Between these two extremes there is a wise and prudent medium. If, when it looked upon Christianity as a hostile religion, the Roman empire had extended political protection to its disciples, and if, when it professed to respect the new religion as true, it had suffered its spirit and principles to influence its imperial conduct, and left the church free, the desolation and destruction that followed in the track of its political career, under both aspects of its history, might have been averted. Seemingly it would be wrong to conclude that the church and state should have no connection of any kind ; on the contrary, their healthy and vigorous coexistence depends on the closeness and intimacy of the union that subsists between them. History condemns unequivocally the improper and illicit alliance formed between the Roman empire and the early Christian church ; but it also points out with considerable distinctness the character of those relationships that should subsist between the church and the state. Their foundation



can only be laid in conjunction with the rise and growth of political freedom in the state ; and, without the influence of the spirit of Christianity, reasonable and enduring civil freedom does not seem attainable. Two important epochs have preceded the revelation of a free church within a free state ; and a leading occurrence in each of these epochs illustrates the manner in which the state as well as the church has been prepared for the advent of the political and ecclesiastical phenomenon. The seeds of English civil and religious liberty were sown in the grant of Magna Charta in the year 1215 ; but it was only the letter of liberty which was possessed by the nation until the advent of its spirit at the era of the Reformation. The act which gave the name to the new faith then inaugurated was not the act of ecclesiastics or representatives of the church. The protest of the year 1529 was the work and deed of the possessors and representatives of civil dominion. In presenting that famous document at the Diet of Spires, they claimed the right of regulating religious matters in their own territories ; and in doing so, intimated their adherence to, and adoption of, the new faith. By the written grant of civil freedom, and by the state's adoption of the principles and faith of Protestantism, through which spirit and life have gradually been given to the great charter of British liberty, has that condition of things been ripened to maturity, which would permit of the united and harmonious existence of a free church and a free state. The measuring-line fits in here also : for from the year 1215 to the year 1529 is a period of 314 years ; and from the year 1529 to the year 1843, when, as it were, a free church was

born in a day, there was a similar interval of 314 years.

This is the political aspect of the resurrection to life of freedom ; but, as the death of enslavement had a religious as well as a political aspect, the resurrection to liberty must have, in like manner, a stream of influence originating in the first act of ecclesiastical or religious emancipation. The papal supremacy was the prevailing despotic religious influence until the era of the Reformation. The English nation had been brought under subjection to it in the beginning of the thirteenth century, previous to the grant of Magna Charta. The papal influence, as a system of national religious bondage, was not formally excluded from England till the beginning of the sixteenth century. The legislative act of separation from Rome, and repudiation of its religious supremacy, was passed by the English parliament which met on 3d November 1534 ; but the same parliament transferred the supremacy in ecclesiastical matters to the reigning sovereign. From thenceforward, commencing with an adherent of the Romish faith, four successive monarchs of England were Romanist and Protestant alternately ; consequently, the faith of the king or queen ruled the faith of the nation for the time being. Following them came the house of Stuart, and a succession of royal rulers whose policy was hostile to civil and religious liberty, terminating with James II., who openly displayed his determination to bring the nation anew under the yoke of papal supremacy, and to restore the Romish faith as the national religion. But he was successfully resisted, and Parliament again interposed, deciding that the infatuated king had

forfeited his right to reign over the nation, and declaring the English throne vacant. The Protestant religion was thenceforth secured against any future similar peril by the passing of legislative acts limiting the succession to the English throne to sovereigns professing the Protestant faith. Religious freedom then also began to be established on a broad and permanent basis. Although the increasing growth of both civil and religious liberty was slow, yet it was certain. The principles of true freedom in both church and state were not fully developed and revealed until the year 1843. Previously, in the year 1828, the state had begun to abandon the last remnant of the intolerant legislation of preceding generations by the removal of civil disabilities that had been imposed on religious grounds; and the British parliament perfected its political edifice of civil and religious liberty in the year 1858 by the removal of Jewish disabilities. We have, in this instance, a double means of applying the measuring-line—one by a direct line, and another by a cross line of calculation. The coming into existence of a free church in the year 1843 is the great event towards which the one series points and round which the other revolves. The two periods of the long calculation appear to agree almost to a day; for, from the 3d November 1534, when the religious supremacy of Rome began to be put an end to by the English parliament, until the 6th February 1689, when the religious supremacy of a Romish monarch was terminated by another English parliament, there elapsed a period of 154 years and 95 days—the termination of other 154 years and 95 days is the 12th May 1843, but, adding the difference between

old and new style of chronological reckoning, gives the 23-24th May 1843, the day on which the seceding ministers from the church of Scotland completed their deed of separation from the state by demitting their parochial charges, and resigning their civil endowments, and constituted themselves a free and self-supporting church within a free Christian state. This act of separation, like the other two separating acts of the cycle, was preceded by a decision of the British parliament, on 9th March 1843, rejecting the Scottish church's claim of right, leaving the ruling majority no alternative but to submit to a moderate amount of bondage, or withdraw from connection with the state. By this act of separation, religious and ecclesiastical freedom was secured to the church. The consummation of religious freedom in the British state, as a political dominion, commenced fifteen years previously, in the year 1828, by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; and was terminated fifteen years subsequently, by the removal of Jewish disabilities, in the year 1858. All the steps in this wonderful and steady progress to perfection of religious liberty in both church and state were facilitated by acts done or resolutions come to by the parliament of England.

CHAPTER VII.

BUT although the Free church may be viewed as a true successor of the early Christian church in respect of freedom, equality, self-support, and self-government, it nevertheless holds by the principle of a church establishment. Were it, therefore, ever to be surrounded by the circumstances of the early Christian church, the operation of that principle might prove as destructive in its case as it was in the other. Moreover, the church that was to precede the world's belief in the Founder of Christianity was also to be a church conspicuous as having been the fruit and effect of corporate ecclesiastical union. There is an absence of this characteristic also in the Free church; for its existence is founded on ecclesiastical disruption and separation, and although it has formed a corporate union with a small ecclesiastical body since its separation from the state, that section of the church in Scotland was itself rent asunder in the effecting of the union with the Free church; so that, in this most important respect, it is defective as a perfect model of what the latter-day Christian church is to be. We must, therefore, turn elsewhere in search of historic light on these two points. The respective claims of the

establishment and voluntary principles of ecclesiastical organisation cannot be decided on in an affirmative manner by a reference to anything contained in the New Testament, or by any facts discoverable in the history of Christianity. A negative opinion is all that can be accurately formed, and it amounts to this, that none of the practical applications of the establishment principle that have yet been adopted have been productive of beneficial results. It may be the correct principle, but its tendencies have been so invariably injurious that we are shut up to the negative conclusion that as yet human experience has not proved it to be so. History condemns and disapproves the present organisation of church establishments with a uniformity that is most remarkable ; and the Free church practically embodies this unequivocal and unfaltering negative testimony of history. But there are modern advocates and also recent embodiments of the voluntary principle. What little is declared in the history of Christianity concerning the voluntary principle is not unfavourable, so that in this respect it contrasts with its rival, the establishment principle.

The difference in the nature of the two principles is as great as it can well be, and it may briefly be described thus : the establishment principle countenances and encourages political compulsion in providing the means for the support and maintenance of the ministrations of the Christian church ; and the voluntary principle advocates the individual freedom of the giver towards this object, and the employment of moral suasion only. For two things in particular provision must be made in some form : first, for the erec-

tion and maintenance of the buildings required for the observance of religious worship ; and second, for the support and sustenance of the Christian ministry. It is unnecessary to go further into detail concerning the various phases of either principle, it being sufficient to define the establishment principle as essentially compulsory, and tending to a system of permanent religious endowment ; and to describe the voluntary principle as based on free-will offerings, making the means of supporting religious services dependent on stated but casual contributions. As we can find no important historical facts having an affirmative bearing upon the point in dispute in Christian times, we are thrown back upon the history of Judaism. The voluntary may complain that this is scarcely doing justice to his principle, because the Jewish religion was designedly framed on principles of compulsion and intolerance. It is admitted that the liberalising tendencies of Christianity had no place in the Jewish system ; they would have been most unsuitable and incongruous accompaniments of Judaism. The rulers of the early Jewish commonwealth were required to punish violations of the third and fourth commandments even with death ; whereas Christian civil authority is restricted in its exercise to the taking cognisance only of offences against persons or property, and has no jurisdiction in cases of violation of the moral law unattended with civil injury to others.

Nevertheless, if the Christian religion be Divine in its origin, then Judaism is also from God ; and if so, the history of the Jewish church must be instructive respecting the Divine intention towards men, not only during the period allotted to its existence, but beyond

it, in all things where contrary principles and motives of human conduct are not sanctioned by the authority of the Christian religion. Moreover, the Jewish church is the only church the form of whose alliance with a political dominion of this world can be directly traced to a Divine source. And as the controversy between the principles of the church establishment and church voluntarism, in respect of the correct mode of supporting religion, is perhaps the only one in the Christian system respecting which there is an absence of clear light, either in the New Testament or the records of Christian history, there is no alternative but to search for information among the facts of Jewish history. The Jewish nation is alleged, in the Old Testament, to have had a divinely founded state and a divinely founded church, and the Divine economy of the church includes provision for the support of the priesthood ; while the history of the church's progress records facts illustrative of the mode in which the means were obtained for the erection of its successive houses of worship.

And in respect to the erection of places of worship, what are the facts recorded ? The first mentioned is the tabernacle in the wilderness. Concerning the manner of procedure in that instance, there is an express Divine command ; and it is in these words : "The Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring me an offering : of every man that giveth it willingly with his heart ye shall take my offering."* The record of Moses' promulgation of the Lord's command is in these words : "This is the thing which the Lord commanded, say-

* Exod. xxv. 1, 2.

ing, Take ye from among you an offering unto the Lord : whosoever is of a willing heart, let him bring it, an offering of the Lord ; gold, and silver, and brass.”* And here is the account of the people’s compliance : “ And all the congregation of the children of Israel departed from the presence of Moses. And they came, every one whose heart stirred him up, and every one whom his spirit made willing, and they brought the Lord’s offering to the work of the tabernacle of the congregation, and for all his service, and for the holy garments.”† The next occasion was the erection of the costly and magnificent temple at Jerusalem, for which provision was made before the close of David’s reign. The plan adopted then was similar to that which it is said the Lord commanded when the tabernacle was about to be erected. There was a king in Israel when the means were provided for the erection of the Jewish temple. And how did he act ? His own statement is this : “ Because I have set my affection to the house of my God, I have of *mine own proper good*, of gold and silver, I have given to the house of my God, over and above all that I have prepared for the holy house.”‡ And what did the princes and rulers do ? “ Then the chief of the fathers and princes of the tribes of Israel, and the captains of thousands and of hundreds, with the rulers of the king’s work, offered willingly, and gave for the service of the house of God, of gold,”§ &c. And what is said concerning the people ? “ Then the people rejoiced, for that they offered willingly, because with perfect heart they offered willingly to the Lord.”||

* Exod. xxxv. 4, 5.

† Exod. xxxv. 20, 21.

‡ 1 Chron. xxix. 3. § 1 Chron. xxix. 6, 7. || 1 Chron. xxix. 9.

In these narratives there is no recognition of the establishment principle, but rather an excellent illustration both of the correctness and power of the voluntary principle; and there is no contrary testimony to be found in Jewish history, in connection with the erection of houses of religious worship, until the national, political, and ecclesiastical institutions were overthrown by Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon. The first appearance of the establishment principle is in the decree of Cyrus, a Persian king, sanctioning the rebuilding of the temple at Jerusalem, and ordering the expense thereof to be defrayed out of the king's house, or by the state. The decree runs thus:—"Cyrus the king made a decree concerning the house of God at Jerusalem, Let the house be builded, the place where they offered sacrifices, and let the foundations thereof be strongly laid; the height thereof threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof threescore cubits; with three rows of great stones, and a row of new timber: and let the expenses be given out of the king's house."* This is as good an illustration of the establishment principle as the two preceding cases are of the voluntary principle. It is obvious, therefore, that the supporters of both principles can quote scripture historical precedent in their favour. But which of these conflicting precedents is entitled to most weight with those who profess to believe in the religion of the Bible,—that alleged to have been originally adopted by God's command, and thereafter exemplified in the conduct of a king, said to have been divinely anointed over Israel, or that contained in the decree of a king alien to the Jewish com-

* Ezra vi. 3, 4.

monwealth? With all such, the command of God and the example of David should most certainly prevail in regulating the appointment of the manner in which means should be raised wherewith to erect and maintain houses of religious worship.

Next, as to the support of the ministry. The first question is, should this be secured by permanent endowment, or left to the operation of stated yet casual contributions? There were two distinct arrangements made in the Jewish church for the support and maintenance of its priesthood. One for the high priest and his family, and another for the Levites; and in both the principle of stated and casual contributions is recognised, and the establishment principle is nowhere visible. Yea more, the idea of a permanent endowment for their support receives no countenance, but is deliberately ignored. Lands, houses, or property of any kind, the Jewish church was not allowed to possess. First, as to the high priest, what is the fact recorded in Jewish history? "And the Lord spake unto Aaron, Thou shalt have no inheritance in their land, neither shalt thou have any part among them: I am thy part and thine inheritance among the children of Israel."* And as to the Levites, the testimony is similar. "Wherefore Levi hath no part or inheritance with his brethren; the Lord is his inheritance, according as the Lord thy God promised him."† The stated and casual offerings of the people in the form of "peace-offerings, trespass-offerings and first-fruits," were the appointed means of supporting the high priest and his household. And of the general priesthood it is said, "the tithes of the children of Israel, which they offer as an heave

* Numbers xviii. 20.

† Deuteronomy x. 9.

offering unto the Lord, I have given to the Levites to inherit."* These tithes were the tithes of yearly products, and also the tithes of triennial increase. A permanent and fixed endowment, in the modern sense of the term, was not secured either for the high priest or the Levites. God was their inheritance. And their maintenance was provided out of the casual and fluctuating, yet stated offerings, of the Jewish people. Among the Jews the mode of supporting the ministry of the church was not by a national tribute to their religion, the gift or grant of their king or parliament; but it was accomplished by the individual offerings of the mass of the people, every man being under an obligation to give a tenth, according as God had prospered him.

If the Jewish plan of supporting the priesthood partook not of the form of a permanent endowment, or an aggregate national tribute to religion, were the appointed individual offerings and tithes compulsory or voluntary? There is not a single instance on record of civil compulsion being ever employed against any individual Jew to enforce compliance with the alleged divine arrangement. Nor is there the semblance of a warrant in the terms of the appointment for the use of coercion when parties failed to comply with its requirements. On the contrary, every man was left free either to fulfil or disregard the obligation, in so far as the appliances of external force to concuss him into obedience were concerned. No other arrangement of the Mosaic economy partook so much of the spirit of Christianity as the one that fixed the terms of the provision for the support of the Jewish priesthood. The nature and extent of each man's obligation were

* Numbers xviii. 24.

fully and expressly defined, and this by divine authority, in the opinion of those who acknowledge the heavenly origin of the Jewish religion. But the only motive or inducement to its fulfilment and performance was a conscientious sense of duty to God, and an enlightened regard to the divine favour and blessing. And the fact is, the offerings and tithes were frequently not forthcoming in times of degeneracy. And how is this dereliction of duty spoken of in the Jewish records? Not as the violation of a compact or agreement between man and man, but as an act of fraudulency and robbery perpetrated upon God Himself. From the whole arrangement, compulsion, whether of a civil or ecclesiastical nature, is carefully excluded. The Levites could remonstrate, and warn, and condemn. Good kings could set a better example for the people's imitation, and exhort to its being followed. But neither by the ecclesiastical nor the civil laws of the Jewish nation were any powers conferred on kings or priests enabling them to resort to compulsion, and to extort by coercion the payment of the appointed tithes. The obligation to give was treated as a religious duty, the performance or neglect of which was a question between God and the individual conscience. And even in those parts of the Jewish records in which God is represented as calling the people to account for withholding the appointed offerings, there is not the most distant allusion to the employment of any kind of compulsion to enforce obedience. Remonstrance, persuasion, and moral denunciation, are alone resorted to, of which we will quote only one specimen, the last in the Old Testament record:—"Will a man rob God? Yet ye have robbed me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed thee? In tithes and

offerings. Ye are cursed with a curse : for ye have robbed me, even this whole nation. Bring ye all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be meat in mine house, and prove me now herewith, saith the Lord of hosts, if I will not open you the windows of heaven, and pour you out a blessing, that there shall not be room enough to receive it.”*

So far, therefore, as the facts of Jewish history are concerned, they are against the establishment principle and favourable to the voluntary principle, in both aspects of the inquiry. Cyrus is the only patron of the establishment principle of whom mention is made in the Old Testament in connection with the history of the Jewish religion. It is remarkable that so many kings and states should have followed the precedent furnished in the decree of Cyrus, and overlooked or disregarded the precedents supplied in the acts of Moses and David. Nowhere in Christian history do we find an embodiment of the voluntary principle, as opposed to the dominant establishment principle, until we reach the nineteenth century. Then, in connection with the civil dominion of Britain, we first light upon a grave controversy of conflicting opinions on this subject. Voluntaryism, as the basis of the support of religious ministrations of all kinds, is now a prevalent principle among Protestant dissenters in the three kingdoms. And, as we have seen, it was the principle authorised in the Jewish church ; and all the arrangements for the support and maintenance of its priesthood were founded on it. Among others, the United Presbyterian Church, one of the three principal Presbyterian churches in Scotland,

* Malachi iii. 8-10.

holds and embodies this principle. It has all the characteristics of the Free Church; such as freedom, equality, and self-government. It is also self-supporting; but it is self-supporting on principle, and not from necessity. It would not accept a state endowment or a state contribution towards the support of its ministers or the erection of its places of worship, on any terms or conditions. It maintains all its fabrics and their religious services by the free-will offerings of the people; and its teachers enunciate in their exhortations the duty of every man to give of his substance for this purpose according to his ability.

This church, as its designation indicates, is also the product of more than one ecclesiastical union or incorporation. It had its rise in the secessions from the Established Church of Scotland, which commenced in the year 1732, and terminated in the year 1752. There was first one small stream. It was divided in 1747, and became from thenceforth two streams, to which the source of a third stream was added in the year 1752. Like the origin of the Jewish church, their beginnings were small; but their separate volumes of living water increased steadily and rapidly. The original units of ministers are now represented by as many hundreds of congregations. The five have become more than five hundred. The burgher, anti-burgher, and relief synods pursued their separate courses till the year 1818, when, on the 7th July, the first re-union of burghers and anti-burghers was effected in those branches of the Scotch secession located in Ireland. This was followed by the re-union of the parent burgher and anti-burgher associations in

Scotland in May 1820. And, finally, the three original streams of secession from the Church of Scotland were incorporated in May 1847; and the amalgamated secession churches have since been known as the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. We have here, therefore, the two additional characteristics of which we have been in quest, viz., a church professing and embodying the voluntary principle; and a church the product of ecclesiastical incorporate union. In respect of the voluntary principle, the United Presbyterian Church occupies the same relation to the Jewish church that the Free Church appears to hold as the successor of the primitive Christian church. And in addition, it possesses that characteristic of the Christian church, which was to be peculiar to ecclesiastical associations immediately preceding the time of the world's belief in the Founder of Christianity. It is also a branch, or rather three branches, of the Church of Scotland united in one; and, like the Free Church, is a free Christian church within a free Christian state. So that connection with a state under the influence of the religion it professes, is a privilege equally shared by it and the Jewish church.

The general history of Christianity in connection with Scotland, commences in the year 563, when Columba and his monks founded permanently a Christian church in Iona, which island from thenceforth became, and for many centuries continued to be, the ecclesiastical metropolis of Scotland. At what particular date the Scottish church was made subject to Rome, nothing certain is known, but it is believed to have occurred early in the eighth century. Its first independent existence dates from the year 563;

and the resurrection of that independence after it was suppressed by Rome, did not take place till the year 1560. When the Scottish church's independence as a reformed church was restored, it remained in a position of isolation from, and disconnection with, the state until the year 1567. At the time of the restoration of the house of Stuart, there was a temporary secession or expulsion of nearly four hundred ministers from the Scotch establishment; and also a permanent secession or expulsion of about two thousand ministers from the English establishment, in consequence of the Act of Uniformity coming into operation in the year 1662. Further on, in the year 1728, John Wesley, the founder of another sect of dissenters, was ordained a clergyman of the Church of England, and became the agent of setting up a rival ecclesiastical institution. In the year 1732, the epoch of permanent secession from the Church of Scotland was evolved, and one of the foundations was laid of a church, which has since espoused the voluntary principle, as practised by the Jewish church; and which, being the product of repeated ecclesiastical unions, also possesses the peculiar characteristic that was to distinguish a latter-day Christian church. Secession and separation were the prevalent fruits of the establishment principle; but union has been in Scotland the accompaniment of the espousal of the voluntary principle. Moreover, in Scotland at the present hour the only cause of the divisions in the national church is the adherence of the Free Church to the establishment principle in theory, and the adoption of it by the Established Church in practice. In colonies where there are no state churches, all the sections of the

Scottish national church have, in some instances, united. So that, state-churchism is not only chargeable with being the prolific cause of all past persecution and intolerance on religious grounds; not only has it to account for enslaving the Christian church and preventing the exercise of that freedom which it is the peculiar office of the spirit of Christianity to generate and foster; but it is, in addition, responsible for the separations and divisions that have disturbed and perplexed the Protestant adherents of the Christian religion in Great Britain and Ireland; and its influence is, moreover, the main hindrance to the re-union of the Christian churches in each of the kingdoms, and is, therefore, a formidable obstruction in the way of the realisation and fulfilment of Christ's professed and avowed aim—the world's belief in Him as the Son of God and the Redeemer of the human race.

The integrity of the Jewish church was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in the year B.C. 606. The religion of the Jews and its principles could not, therefore, be practised thereafter, so that the practical enunciation and embodiment of the voluntary principle, and every other principle of an associated religious community, in union with a state influenced by its teaching, of necessity fell into desuetude. The decree of Cyrus, which contained the first and the only recognition of the establishment principle recorded in the Old Testament, was issued in the year B.C. 536. Two sections of the Christian church, in which the disastrous effects of the adoption of the establishment principle have been witnessed in latter days, were originally founded—the English in the years A.D. 596-8, and the Scotch in the year A.D.

563. Between the issuing of the decree of Cyrus, embodying the establishment principle, in the year B.C. 536, and the foundation of the Scottish church in the year A.D. 563, there elapsed a period of 1099 years; and from thence until the destructive fruits of that principle were witnessed in the temporary expulsion of four hundred ministers from the Scotch Establishment, and the permanent expulsion of two thousand ministers from the Anglican establishment in the year A.D. 1662, there was a similar interval of 1099 years. Again, from the time of issuing the decree of Cyrus until the foundation of the English church in the years A.D. 596-8, there are periods intervening of 1132 and 1134 years respectively. After the expiry of 1132 years from the year A.D. 596, the founder of Methodism, and of a new separation from the Church of England, appears in the year A.D. 1728. And after the expiry of 1134 years from the year A.D. 598, the foundation of a permanent secession from the Church of Scotland was laid in the year A.D. 1732. So that both in England and Scotland joint and simultaneous fruits of separation and secession were witnessed; and they were twice repeated in duplicate, at distances of time, from the first foundation of the two churches, equal in duration to those periods which intervened between their rise and the first enunciation and practical application of the establishment principle which is alleged to have been their sole cause. But the permanent Scottish secession, begun in the year A.D. 1732, in addition to testifying against the injurious character of the establishment principle, has also become a corporate embodiment of the voluntary principle, and bears witness to its ecclesiastical

reuniting power. We may, therefore, expect to find the end of the Jewish testimony for the voluntary principle in the year B.C. 606, connected with the foundation of the Scottish church in the year A.D. 563, and also with the origin of that secession from its communion, among whose adherents the practical adoption and theoretic embodiment of the voluntary principle were again to be witnessed. And so it is. For from the year B.C. 606 to the year A.D. 563 is a period of 1169 years; and from the year A.D. 563 to the year A.D. 1732 is a similar period of 1169 years.

The Jewish church was also a united church in connection with a state that was influenced by its religion. But this twofold characteristic of its existence was also destroyed in the year B.C. 606. The Romish church professes to be framed after a divine model, and claims to inherit the privileges and characteristics of Judaism in this respect. The external unity, or rather ecclesiastical uniformity, of Romanism, is undoubted; and it also was and is allied to a civil dominion. But unfortunately the uniformity of Rome is compulsory, and is associated with official tyranny and human enslavement, social, religious, and political, whereas the unity of Christianity is voluntary, and is associated with official gentleness and human freedom, social, religious, and political. The dawn of that supremacy in religious matters which gave the see of Rome the power to enforce its peculiar unity and uniformity, was witnessed in the year A.D. 606. From the destruction of the Jewish church, and the permanent defacement of its divine features in the year B.C. 606, until the rise of the spurious and counterfeit image in the year A.D. 606, there elapsed

1212 years. Other 1212 years had to run their course ere the appearance of a small ray of light and hope was discernible in the accomplishment, in the year 1818, of the first ecclesiastical union within the British Isles, which combined all the social, political, and religious requirements of a true and substantial Christian union. The political and legislative union of the three kingdoms terminated with Ireland. The beginning of ecclesiastical union has been witnessed in Ireland. But there is a wheel within a wheel here. Papal supremacy dawned upon the church in the year 606. It reached the zenith of its compulsory uniting power in the beginning of the thirteenth century. Its last and greatest triumph was the compelling of England to become one of the federal nations united under its spiritual sceptre. This it accomplished in the year 1212-13, after a seven years' struggle, during which the whole spiritual armoury of the papal system was exhausted, and finally the pope had to summon to his aid the political and material power of France, ere the desired union was effected by the degrading submission of the King of England. Between the rise and zenith of this spurious and compulsory unity there elapsed a period of 606-7 years. When other 606-7 years had passed away, the beginnings of ecclesiastical union on a true Christian model were witnessed in Ireland in the year 1818, and in Scotland in the year 1820.

We found an exact parallelism of duration subsisting between the time occupied in the descent of the early Christian church to bondage, and the ascent of the Church of Scotland to freedom. There is also a remarkable instance of similarity, although of a dif-

ferent kind, between the history of Judaism and the history of Christianity. There are several points of striking resemblance. First, there are three distinct and separate chambers or divisions in the history of each. In that of Judaism, the first commences with the call of Abraham, and ends with the exodus from Egypt. The second commences with the beginning of the conquest of the promised territory under Joshua's leadership, and ends with its completion by King David. The third begins with the full conquest of the land of Palestine, and ends with the Jews being dispossessed of it by Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon. From thence the Jewish church and state ceased to exist as an independent nationality, according to the pattern said to be given by God. In the history of Christianity, the first chamber dates from the commencement of the Christian era, and closes with the assumption of supremacy by the see of Rome. The second comprehends the space of time occupied in subjugating the professed Christian churches and states of Europe, and bringing them under the united sway of the pretended chief of Christendom. The third witnesses the gradual decay of papal power, and terminates in the re-appearance on earth of an ecclesiastical organisation, seemingly the first of those Christian communities which are to combine in their existence all that was voluntary in the principles of Judaism, and all that is free, equal, and promotive of union in the principles of Christianity.

The next point of resemblance is in the duration of these chambers in respect of lapse of time. The three Jewish chambers are each equal as to measurement of time. The first, we are told, occupied a

space of 430 years, and the fact is thus recorded in Exodus : " And it came to pass at the end of the four hundred and thirty years, even the self same day it came to pass, that all the hosts of the Lord went out from the land of Egypt."* The second chamber also measures 430 years, for it commenced in the year B.C. 1450, and terminated in the final conquests of David in the year B.C. 1020. The third, moreover, measures 430 years from the full conquest of the promised territory, B.C. 1020, till the Jews were entirely dispossessed of, and in great numbers expelled from, it in the year B.C. 590. The three chambers in Christian history have also each an equal measurement as to time of duration. The first commencing with the date of the Christian era, and ending with the advent of papal supremacy in the year 606 ; the second commencing in the year 606, and ending with the final conquests of papal supremacy in the subjugation of England in the year 1212-13 ; the third commencing in the year 1212-13, and ending with the dawn of a new model of Christian organisation, based upon all that was worthy of Christian imitation in the Jewish church, and embodying to the full the true characteristics of a Christian church, in the years 1818 and 1820. The three chambers of Christian history measure each 606 years.

Again, the first chamber of Jewish history is divided into two periods of equal length, the first ending in Jacob and his family going down to Egypt, B.C. 1706 ; and the second terminating in his descendants coming up out of Egypt in the year B.C. 1491. The distance of time is 215 years each way between the centre or

* Exodus xii. 41.

turning point of this chamber of Jewish history and its commencement, the call of Abraham and his separation from his kindred and country in the year B.C. 1921; and its termination, the exodus from Egypt in the year B.C. 1491. The first chamber of Christian history is similarly divided into two equal periods; the first terminating in the year 303, in the last persecution of the Christian church under the Roman empire, which ended in its Egyptian enslavement; and the second finishing with the advent of a power destined to dispossess and supersede the authority of the political enslaver of the Christian church. The distance is 303 years each way from the central point to the beginning and to the end of the chamber. Further, the second and third chambers combined give one continuous view of Jewish history, having two periods of equal duration, and each presenting decided characteristics of its own. The two chambers united have a beginning in the commencement of the conquest of the promised inheritance, and an end in the nation being entirely dispossessed of it. The centre point is remarkable and unmistakable, being the era of the meridian of the existence of Jewish nationality as a territorial dominion. Its sun rises in the year B.C. 1450, and continues ascending in the world's political firmament till it reaches its zenith in the year B.C. 1020. A short period of unprecedented national prosperity is granted under Solomon, during whose reign, however, the action of the waning influence is revealed. Its course is then downward until the sun sets in the overthrow of the commonwealth, and the captivity and dispersion of the people. The sun of Jewish nationality occupied 430 years from its rise

in its ascent to its meridian ; and a similar period of 430 years was occupied in its descent from the time of its meridian to the time of its setting. The second and third chambers of Christian history also, when united, form one continuous chamber, and it is in like manner divided into two equal periods. The first period begins with the advent of papal supremacy, and is famous for the steady progress made by Romanism in the conquest and subjugation of Europe, until its zenith was reached in the subjugation of England in the years 1212-13. So far, however, as the spirit of Christianity was concerned, the gradually ascending power of Romanism was the outward and visible evidence of the gradually descending influence of the spirit of Christianity. The epoch of Rome's highest exaltation was the period of its lowest depression. So, in like manner, as the sun of Romanism began to descend in the European hemisphere, the life of Christianity began to ascend ; and not until Rome's ecclesiastical fabric had been violently overturned in France, the territory of its so-called eldest son, and Rome's political dominion in Italy had been suppressed and annexed by the founder of a new French imperial dynasty, was there witnessed in Scotland and Ireland (now integral portions of that political dominion whose subjugation constituted Rome's crowning triumph) the dawn of the rising of that sun of Christian union, freedom, and equality, by whose influence the Founder of Christianity has promised to emancipate and bless the human race, and also to subdue all nations, and kindreds, and tongues, and peoples, to the faith and power of what is called "the everlasting gospel." The joint ascent and descent occupied 606 years ; and the

joint descent and ascent occupied other 606 years. The parallel of contrast found existing between the early Christian church and the church of Scotland is here maintained. The primitive church went down to bondage while the church of Scotland travelled upward to freedom. So the Jewish system first ascended and then descended even to overthrow and death, political and ecclesiastical; whereas the spirit of Christianity descended to apparent extinction, but ascended once more by resurrection unto national life, political and ecclesiastical.

The religious life imparted to Great Britain and Ireland by the spirit of Christianity is largely and pre-vaillingly discernible in its varied aspects, politically, ecclesiastically, and socially. England was the chief theatre for the operation of its reforming power, politically; and Scotland has been the principal scene of the action of its liberating ecclesiastical influence. The removal of the social inequalities of bond and free in the abolition of human slavery, was the correction of a colonial rather than an imperial effect of an antichristian spirit. The three great characteristic fruits among nations and churches of the working of the spirit of Christianity, are a well-regulated freedom, a properly organised system of voluntary union, and a condition of substantial, yet reasonable and comparative equality. The existence of all these in the political fabric of Britain has been already traced. And their existence, to some extent, among its ecclesiastical associations has also been disclosed. But in the case of the civil dominion there is an approximation to perfection throughout its entire political fabric; whereas among its numerous ecclesiastical sections there is an

absence of harmony and unanimity. The fact that divisions of a very serious nature exist in the British ecclesiastical world, even among Protestants, is an undoubted evidence of the proportionate prevalence of influences hostile and obstructive to the working of the spirit of Christianity. Therefore, in the elucidation of ecclesiastical history, there is required line upon line, fact upon fact, and cycle upon cycle, to throw full light on the true and actual condition of religious affairs within the British Isles.

Three remarkable starting-points in the history of the united empire, both politically and ecclesiastically, are, first, the permanent introduction of Christianity into Scotland in the year 563 ; second, the Norman invasion and conquest in the year 1066 ; and, third, the reconquest of Scottish national independence in the year 1314. The two starting-points in the history of the reformed church of Scotland are its foundation in opposition to the church of Rome in the year 1560, and its union with the state in the year 1567. Between the church of Rome's history of state alliances, and the church of Scotland's history of state alliances, there is a resemblance, differing, of course, in accordance with the manifested spirit and apparent destiny of each church. The church of Rome has been allied with three successive imperial regimes. The first, ancient Rome from the reign of Constantine ; the second, the Carolingian empire founded by Charlemagne ; and the third, the imperial dynasty of Napoleon, to whose army the chief of the church and its metropolitan administrators owe their possession of the so-called eternal city as the seat of papal government. With its two last imperial allies the relations

of the church of Rome have been more frequently of a jealous character, when not openly hostile and antagonistic, than of a confiding nature producing cordiality and friendliness. The reformed church of Scotland has also had three political allies: first, Scotland; second, England; and, lastly, Ireland. But instead of three successive separate alliances, the church of Scotland formed one originally, which, by increasing union, has become a threefold territorial dominion, combining therewith freedom, unity, and strength. Each change in the imperial associate of Rome gave rise to a change of historical experience in the church. To the encroachments of the first the church was required to submit; with the second it struggled for pre-eminence, at first successfully, but at last unavailingly; and of the third, nothing need be said beyond the mention of the fact that, so far as evolved, the problem hastening to solution seems to be whether the Napoleon dynasty is to be the death of Roman power visibly, or Roman influence is to overwhelm the Napoleon dynasty. Scottish church history exhibits the same variations of experience. Prior to the revolution of 1688-9 and the union of England and Scotland in the year 1707, the encroachments were monarchical, thereafter they were ecclesiastical, and, subsequently to the union of Great Britain and Ireland, they were judicial. Once more the parallel holds good in respect of ecclesiastical divisions. The church of the Constantinian era is divided into three large sections, the Latin, the Greek, and the Protestant, with some smaller offshoots. So also is the church of Scotland, founded at the Reformation era, divided into three large sections—the Established church,

the Free church, and the United Presbyterian, also having some smaller offshoots.

As previously explained, the completion of the material or physical edifice of England's dominion by the Norman conquest in the year 1066, the last year of Scotland's national subjection to England in the year 1313, and the separation of the church of Scotland from Rome in the year 1560, are connected together as a chamber of British history, having two well-defined periods, each extending over an equal space of 247 years. But in addition, the first permanent introduction of Christianity into Scotland in the year 563 ; the last year of England's incomplete physical state as a political dominion, the year 1065 ; and the year 1567, in which the union of the reformed church of Scotland was effected with the state,—form another historical chamber of connected events, divided into two distinct periods, each measuring 502 years. Since the union of church and state in 1567, national union has been the prevalent political fruit, first between England and Scotland, and latterly between Great Britain and Ireland ; whereas separation and division have been the principal ecclesiastical products. The three separate kingdoms of the year 1567 are the united empire of the year 1862 ; and the united church of the year 1567 has become the three separate churches of the year 1862. Even the Scottish revolution settlement of 1689-90 did not preserve the unity of the original reformed church of Scotland. But it accomplished what was perhaps a much more desirable result ; for it introduced the practice of the principle of religious toleration, which had not previously been much respected by any of the parties of church

and state in either kingdom ; and thereby prepared a wide field for the growth and enlargement of those liberalising secessions from the church of Scotland which were produced by the ecclesiastical overbearance of the eighteenth century. Out of these secessions there ultimately sprang that united church in Scotland to which such full allusion has already been made.

The act of ecclesiastical union was twice repeated ; once in Ireland in 1818, and again in Scotland in 1820, between the burgher and antiburgher successors of the first seceders, whose final separation from the church of Scotland was decreed by the general assembly's act of deposition in the year 1740. The act of ecclesiastical union was also twice repeated in Scotland itself, once in the year 1820, between the two sections of the first secession, and again, in the year 1847, between the united sections of the first secession and the synod of relief or second secession. The year 1560, in which the church of Scotland was separated from Rome, and the year 1689-90, in which the Scottish revolution settlement was effected and the unity and freedom of the Scottish church provided for, are distant from each other, 129-30 years. This settlement was followed by an act that produced lamentable divisions and ecclesiastical enslavement. But in the years 1818 and 1820, after the lapse of a similar period of 129-30 years, an institution appears in Scotland having all the characteristics of a free and a united Christian church. From the first temporary separation and secessions from the church of Scotland in the year 1662, the consequence of royal intolerance and parliamentary obsequiousness, until the final com-

pletion of the first permanent secession in the year 1740, the result of civil patronage and ecclesiastical overbearance, there elapsed a period of 78 years. From thence until the beginning of the liberating fruits of entire separation from state influence is witnessed in the ecclesiastical union of the year 1818, there intervened a similar period of 78 years.

Further, the union of church and state in Scotland was effected in the year 1567. The two kingdoms of England and Scotland, the physical edifice of the first of which was completed in the year 1066, and the national independence of the last of which was reconquered from England in the year 1314, were voluntarily united on a basis of national equality in the year 1707. Between the union of church and state in Scotland in the year 1567, and the union of England and Scotland in the year 1707, there is an interval of 140 years. The results of this political union were the restoration of civil patronage in the church and forced religious separations. During the next 140 years, three several ecclesiastical associations had asserted their independence of the state, and organised themselves as Christian churches, self-supporting and self-governing; and at their termination in the year 1847 the three separate streams were all conjoined in the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland as a living corporate embodiment, explanatory of the only way in which the freedom, the unity, and the equality are attainable, that are indispensable to a condition of approximating ecclesiastical perfection in the Christian church. Moreover, the first half of this chamber constitutes another chamber of history by itself, and it is also divided into two periods of equal duration. Mid-

way between the union of church and state in the year 1567, and the union of England and Scotland in the year 1707, the commencement of an attempt to secure the freedom and independence of the church, without an abandonment of state support, is witnessed in the year 1637. The effort obtained a temporary success, being favoured by the confusion of political influences and the disorganisation of civil authority prevalent for many years at that time. But the restoration of the royal house soon dispelled the vain hope; and all subsequent Scottish church history has contributed to demonstrate beyond cavil the fact, that a church, to be free and independent, must dis sever its connection with the state; and further, that the severing of this injurious union, and the abandonment of the church establishment principle, will remove the only obstacles in the way of the accomplishment of a comprehensive scheme of ecclesiastical union. Such a union of Christians, if the words of the great Master are to be received and credited, must precede any enlarged extension of His cause, and must also be the precursor of the world's belief in Him.

There is yet another series of parallel and connected events illustrative of the position which the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland occupies in the evolution of the history of Christianity, and confirmatory of the groundless nature of the claims set up by the Roman church, based upon its spurious Christian unity and enforced ecclesiastical uniformity. The three great epochs of early Christian history in connection with the primitive Christian churches, with Scotland, and with Rome, are the years 303, 563, and 606. The year 303 was the great turning-point of early Chris-

tian history, and from thence the church ceased to be self-supporting and free from state influence and control. Christianity was permanently introduced into Scotland in the year 563; and in the year 606 the head-stone of Rome's ecclesiastical supremacy was brought forth, and the foundation laid of that coercive power by which the spurious unity and ecclesiastical uniformity of the Roman system have been enforced and preserved, wherever the influence of the papacy has been paramount and unrestrained.

The central epoch in British and Roman Christian history is marked by the struggle for ascendancy over England, commenced between Pope Innocent III. and King John of England in the year 1205. Three leading events in latter-day Christian history connected with Rome and Scotland are:—Luther's collision with the pope in the year 1517; the separation of Scotland from Rome, and the founding of the reformed church of Scotland, in the year 1560; and the advent in Scotland of a free and self-supporting Christian church, the first-fruit of an ecclesiastical union of incorporation, in the year 1820. The early Christian church gradually forsook its free and self-supporting principles, and descended to a state of political and ecclesiastical bondage, between the years 303 and 606. The external unity and ecclesiastical uniformity which began to prevail in the Roman church from the year 606, were founded on the extinction of individual religious freedom, and were maintained in existence by outward force and political compulsion. This was not the kind of ecclesiastical union which was to be produced among communities of men by the operation of the spirit, and the practice of the principles, of

Christianity. On the contrary, the enforced and compulsory uniformity of Romanism to the extent of its prevalence, was an evidence of the proportionate powerlessness in action for good of that influence, by which the latter-day union of Christian churches was to be gradually effected and visibly revealed.

The first extensive breach in the unity of the Roman system was inaugurated in the year 1517. The right of private judgment, or the freedom of individual men in matters of religious faith and doctrine, was thenceforth asserted as a principle of human action, in opposition to the enslaving theory of the church of Rome. In Scotland, the war between the new and the old theories was conducted with great energy. Among its people various and diverse phases of the conflict were manifested. At one time the struggle was between the religion of Rome in its entirety and the newly enunciated tenets of Protestantism; at another epoch the contention was between royal or kingly aggression and the asserted religious independence of clergy and people. A third form assumed by the strife was within the ecclesiastical community itself; but on all occasions, and in every aspect, the contest was one in which ecclesiastical bondage was the thing resisted, and religious freedom the result sought to be achieved. This long protracted war of opposite and antagonistic principles was a necessary precursor of the manifestation of the power of the spirit of Christian union. The ecclesiastical unity which the Christian religion produces is based on the freedom and equality of all who are parties to it, whether they be individuals or associations. It is also voluntary in the manner of its accomplishment; and the application

of force or compulsion of any kind, either to effect or maintain it, is utterly inconsistent with its vital principle, and destructive of its very spirit. This kind of Christian union was not exhibited by the primitive Christian churches even prior to the year 303. It formed no part of the constitution of the Christian church during the progress of degeneracy between the years 303 and 606. The uniformity which began to be enforced by the see of Rome in the year 606, and continued unbroken and unchallenged till the year 1517, was the fruit of a spirit and principles virulently hostile to human freedom, and violently opposed to the spirit of Christianity. From the year 1517 preparation commenced to be made for the advent of the ecclesiastical incarnation of that spirit of Christian union, the ripened fruits of whose mighty working were to be visibly revealed on this earth as the harbingers of a wide extension of the knowledge of Christianity, and the forerunners of the world's belief in Christ as the Son of God.

The early Christian church descended from freedom and equality to ecclesiastical enslavement and hierarchical arrogance ; the reformed Christian church ascended from the bondage and degradation of Romanism to the liberty and independence of Protestantism. The fruits of the descending process were the spurious Christian unity and enforced ecclesiastical uniformity of Romanism ; the issue of the ascending process in latter days has been the corporate incarnation of the spirit of true Christian union. The space of time occupied in each instance is precisely parallel ; for from the year 303 to the year 606 there elapsed a period of 303 years ; and from the year 1517, until

the first-fruits of the corporate incarnation of the spirit of Christian union in its ecclesiastical aspect were revealed in Scotland in the year 1820, there intervened a similar period of 303 years. Further, the Christian religion was permanently introduced into Scotland in the year 563, or 43 years preceding the laying of the foundation of Rome's ecclesiastical supremacy in the year 606; and the reformed church of Scotland came into existence in the year 1560, or 43 years subsequent to the laying of the foundation of an extensive secession from Rome, and a successful resistance of papal supremacy in the first enunciation of the liberalising principles of Protestantism in the year 1517. Consequently, the space of time which elapsed from the year 303 until Christianity was permanently introduced into Scotland in the year 563, is precisely parallel to the number of years which was occupied from the separation of Scotland from Rome and the setting up of the Scottish reformed church in the year 1560, until the first-fruits of the corporate ecclesiastical incarnation of the spirit of true Christian union were revealed in Scotland in the year 1820, the intervening period in each case being 260 years.

But the ecclesiastical union of incorporation, the first manifestation of which was witnessed in Scotland in the year 1820, was not fully matured until the year 1847. In the latter year all the sections of secession from the church of Scotland which came into existence about the middle of the eighteenth century were united into one ecclesiastical community. The union was voluntarily effected, and was based on the religious freedom of every individual adherent of the separate ecclesiastical communities,

the absolute independence of state control in the management of the affairs of the united association, and the theoretic embodiment as well as the practical application of the voluntary principle in connection with the manner of the support and maintenance of religious ministrations and ordinances. It occupied 642 years from the time of the permanent introduction of Christianity into Scotland in the year 563, until the full extent of the compulsory power of enforcing a spurious Christian unity, permitted to be exercised by Rome, began to be revealed in the year 1205, in connection with Pope Innocent III.'s ecclesiastical aggression upon England, with the view of bringing it forcibly into the fold of Roman uniformity. It required other 642 years from thence, until the year 1847, to prepare for the full revelation of a Christian church within the dominion of Great Britain, possessing all the characteristics of the early Christian churches, in addition to being the first corporate ecclesiastical incarnation of that spirit of Christian union whose influence was to prevail in the latter days of the Christian period of human history, and whose triumph was to precede the world's belief in the Author of the Christian religion. Before the king of England yielded to the arrogant pretensions of the Roman see at the beginning of the thirteenth century, the pope had to summon to his aid the political and military power of the king of France. How different the ecclesiastical unity effected by Innocent III. then, and the union accomplished in Scotland in the year 1847, both in the character of the union itself and the means employed to bring it about! The successful completion of the corporate ecclesiastical incarna-

tion of the spirit of Christian union in the year 1847, was immediately followed by the revolutionary commotions of the year 1848, in which the thrones of France and Rome, among others, were overturned and cast down. Thus, by affirmative historical testimony given in the successful operation of the spirit of Christianity producing the principal characteristic that was to distinguish the Christian churches of latter days, and by negative historical testimony given in the overthrow of the thrones of the political and ecclesiastical embodiment of a spurious Christian unity and a compulsory ecclesiastical uniformity, light and information are given concerning the amount of present progress attained in the propagation of the principles and incarnation of the spirit of Christianity, and the probable direction of coming events is indicated in a manner that is neither obscure nor unintelligible.

CHAPTER VIII.

THAT the completed political and ecclesiastical effects we have endeavoured to trace throughout the various windings of their history, in the united empire of Great Britain and Ireland, correspond in the most perfect manner with the principles and the spirit of Christianity, and also with the results promised by its great Founder, is a proposition which cannot reasonably be disputed. We shall now proceed a step further, and quote another of the sayings of this most wonderful Personage, and which is thus recorded in the New Testament. "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all (men) unto me."* It is not indispensable to this inquiry that the precise meaning, in all their bearings, of these few words, of almost inconceivable import, should be accurately determined. The only interpretation we shall put upon them is one so obvious that there is no room for controversy. Whatever is meant by His lifting up, whether the manner and the fact of His death, or these including His consequent resurrection and subsequent ascension, it is plain that, among other promised results, the drawing

* John xii. 32.

or attracting of all pertaining to the human race to Himself, at some particular stage of its history, is implied and expressed. The British empire is not to be the only field in which His influence is to triumph. Neither will its victories be confined to civilised Europe or the once United States of America. For *all*—or the whole human family of every nation and kindred, and tongue, and people—must be drawn or attracted to Him, ere the words He spake, and just quoted, can be said to have received an adequate and perfect fulfilment.

Hitherto we have been dealing with facts connected with the action of influences in human history, apparently limited to the accomplishment of definite objects and complete effects. The political constitution of Britain is one of these complete effects. The Free Church of Scotland is another. The United Presbyterian Church of Scotland is a third. The abolition in many states of the social distinction between bond and free is a fourth. The widespread influence of the spirit and power of Christianity over so large a portion of the once Gentile world, is a fifth. And the social and domestic elevation of woman wherever the Christian religion has been adopted, is a sixth. These are, moreover, all historical testimonies of a positive and affirmative character in favour of the truth of Christianity, and in confirmation of the claims of its Founder. We have in these evidences a broad and deep foundation on which to rest an implicit confidence in the accomplishment of all He has promised to perform. And as our investigation henceforth will, in most instances, embrace historical facts indicating the action of influences, the strong tendencies, but not the com-

pleted effects, of which are as yet traceable, it might be justifiable in such circumstances to reason from the analogy of the completed and perfected effects now existing. But it will be much more satisfactory to adhere strictly to the mode of procedure followed up to this point, and offer nothing for consideration that is not based on accomplished and incontrovertible fact.

The course of investigation must now take a wider and much more comprehensive range, embracing the *all* which the Author of the Christian religion has promised to draw or attract unto Himself. And we shall commence with the Reformation epoch—the first great era of beneficial change to the human race. America had been recently discovered, printing was a new invention, the Mohammedans had just been driven from southern Europe, the Roman church was the dominant and prevalent ecclesiastical system, and of all the powers of Christendom Spain ranked first, and her people were the most enterprising. Amid such circumstances the Reformation was inaugurated in Germany, and from small and insignificant sources—the scandalous sale of indulgences, and Luther's indignation thereat, producing as its first result the nailing of his famous written propositions or theses to the door of the church at Wittenberg—that mighty movement waxed stronger, and the area of its resistless influence increased, until it threatened the very existence of Romanism itself. The entire overthrow of the Roman church does not appear to have been the intended aim at the era of the Reformation, but the design seems rather to have been such an extent of secession from its communion as would give political

security to the new faith, and furnish a safe abode for the nourishing and fructification of the admirable principles of human action which it inculcated. This territorial protection was provided for it chiefly in Germany, in Switzerland, and in the British Isles.

The next great European epoch was evolved towards the close of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century. In addition to the great English revolution and the accomplishment of the union of England and Scotland as Great Britain, other changes then began to reveal themselves among the political states of Europe. Spain had descended from its high pre-eminence among the nations of Europe; France and England were competing and contending with each other for political supremacy; and the balance of power was threatened with a still further disturbance by the erection of a new kingdom out of the duchy of Prussia, and by the first appearance of Russia as a dominion claiming to be ranked among the European family of great powers. All the manifested tendencies of this epoch were strongly unfavourable to Romanism. Spain had been the steady and unflinching political adherent of Rome in every emergency, and that most faithful state was more papal in the enforcement of the visible unity of the national faith than Rome itself. But, unfortunately for Rome and happily for Europe, Spain, instead of exercising the influence of a first-rate power beyond its own dominion on the course of European affairs, had become of little or no account in the scale of nations. France, always a rival worthy of England, was not the subservient political ally of Rome, but rather directed her growing energies and increasing influence to the ele-

vation of the French nation among the kingdoms of Europe. In Germany, Romanism divided with Protestantism the influence over its petty principalities, but the advent of the Prussian kingdom gave birth to a dominion which has since taken its place as one of the great European powers, thereby adjusting favourably to Protestantism the preponderance of German adhesion to Rome occasioned by the leanings of the house of Austria. Italy, priest-ridden, disjointed, and oppressed, exerted more of a depressing than a beneficial influence on Rome's ecclesiastical history, because of the striking contrast its condition presented to that of those nations who had thrown off the papal yoke. In Russia Rome saw with dismay an imperial dominion arise which was to give new and unprecedented influence in Europe to its ancient ecclesiastical rival, the Greek church. And, turning to Britain, there was exhibited the unfolding political greatness of the most uncompromising and unyielding national resistance to the principles and practices of Romanism. So far, therefore, as the visible tendencies of this important epoch of European history are concerned, the balance is strongly against Romanism, and in favour of its opponent.

In approaching the extraordinary era in which we live, of what shall we speak?—the wonderful advancement of science, the rapid increase of every description of knowledge, and the accelerated progress of human improvement? Or, shall we allude to the comparatively luxurious physical enjoyments brought within the reach of all classes of society? or to the enlargement of the range of intellectual study and research in the heavens, under the earth,

and among the waters of great oceans, even to such an extent as to engender sceptical thoughts and infidel doubts as to the suitability and adaptation of so simple a religion as that of the Cross to the minds of an age so enlightened as the present? Or, shall we refer to those inscrutable moral influences that appear to operate with a singular uniformity, producing hitherto, as if by electricity, the simultaneous revolutionary action of large masses of men, at different places, and giving to modern history all over the world the aspect of a continued succession of social, political, and ecclesiastical volcanic eruptions? All these things are undoubtedly moulding the spirit of the age, and are as certainly the precursors and harbingers of greater changes yet to come.

The commencement of this age of revolution dates as far back as the disruption of the bond of union between England and America. For the first time under Christian auspices, the experiment of a federate republic of independent states was attempted on a large scale by the seceding colonies. And notwithstanding the dark cloud which presently overhangs the once United States of America, the attempt has been attended with an unwonted measure of success. We shall dispose of the incidents connected with each power separately, before proceeding to the consideration of the next in order. America is the first, and it is unfortunately, in its present circumstances, the last in the evolution of the historical chambers. The first chamber of its history is of necessity connected with Britain. As in the history of the Jews and the general history of Christianity there are three separate chambers of equal duration, so in the joint history of

Britain and America there are the same. The first of these dates from the year 1603, when, as English colonial dependencies, the once United States of America, were united under one monarchy with Scotland along with England and Ireland. This chamber occupies a space of 86 years, reckoning from the crowning event of the Reformation epoch to Britain and its dependencies in the year 1603, until the advent of the next important era of change to all of them, witnessed in the great revolution completed in 1689. The second chamber commences with the Revolution epoch in the year 1689, and terminates 86 years further on, in the beginning of the war of independence between Britain and America, the eventual political disruption of the empire, and the erection of the United States of America into an independent civil dominion. The third chamber commences in the year 1775, with the war of independence between Britain and America, and the disruption of their political union, and ends in the year 1861, with another war of independence within these very American states, and a threatened disruption of their political union. This chamber is also 86 years in duration.

Preserving the parallel between American history and that of Judaism and Christianity, two of the chambers, when united, constitute one chamber of continuous British and American joint-history; and the remaining one is a complete chamber of American history, divided into two periods of equal duration; the only difference being, that the two chambers united into one appear first, instead of last, as in the cases of Judaism and Christianity. The two chambers in one begin with the union of America with Scotland

as well as England and Ireland under a united monarchy in the year 1603 ; and they terminate in the disruption of that union in so far as America is concerned in the year 1775 ; the central epoch being the year 1689, in which the change of the monarchical dynasty, under which all were united, was effected by the great revolution. This turning-point in the joint-history of Britain and America is 86 years distant from the beginning and the end of the united chamber. The beginning and the end of the single chamber are wonderfully alike in their characteristics and incidents ; and the scene of conflict is the same—America. But here we have no completed effect, only a strong indication of tendencies. It will be remembered that the three equal chambers of Christian history terminated in the year 1818. And the distinguishing event was the dawn of the spirit of ecclesiastical union. The year 1818 is the central point between the years 1775 and 1861. The history of what preceded that union among the predecessors of those who effected it was, ecclesiastically, precisely analogous to that which has occurred in the history of America, politically. The predecessors of those who formed that ecclesiastical union had first a war of independence and a disruption with the parent ecclesiastical institution ; and after separating from the Established church, they had a strife and a further disruption among themselves. The act of the year 1818 was a beginning of the reunion, among themselves, of the divided secessionists from the parent establishment. Up to this point, but excluding the act of the year 1818, the American political parallel holds true and is complete. Nay, more, the great revolution of the

year 1689, the commencement of the ecclesiastical secessions in Scotland in the year 1732, and the beginning of the American political secession from Britain, in the year 1775, form a chamber of history having two equal periods of duration of 43 years each. So that we have in this important but as yet incomplete phase of history, wheels within wheels so far as it is developed.

One thing is certain ; the cause and the intended aim of the ecclesiastical secessions in Scotland are not the cause and the intended aim of the political secession of the year 1861 in America. State-churchism occasioned the secessions in Scotland ; but such a principle is unknown and unpractised in the United States of America. Moreover, the American disruption is social and political. The Scotch disruption was also social but ecclesiastical. If, however, the event of the year 1818 points to anything, it is to the improbability and impracticability of reuniting the dismembered sovereign and independent political states of America by military conquest, and yet retaining to the vanquished states their freedom and sovereign independence. It is just the contest so long waged in Britain between the adherents of the voluntary principle and the advocates of the establishment principle in ecclesiastical matters, transferred to America in a political form. The union of the American states is, from the very fact of their individual sovereignty and independence, a voluntary union ; and the federal act of employing force either to prevent its disruption, or to compel the return of the confederate secessionists, is as destructive of the original principle of the union, as the act of the seceding states is demonstrative of the extinction of its actual

existence. Whichever party gains in the bloody and fratricidal strife now waging, the union, as it was, can never be restored, except by mutual arrangement and accommodation, and by the unconstrained, free, and voluntary assent of all the states, and in the total absence of any kind of force or compulsion.

The history of the once United States of America is a continuation in a separate and independent stream of the history of Great Britain. There is a difference in the form of political government adopted in each empire ; but it is somewhat analogous to the difference in the form of ecclesiastical government existing in each of the two churches of England and Scotland. Britain has a political monarchy and an aristocracy, and England has an ecclesiastical hierarchy ; whereas America is politically republican and Scotland is ecclesiastically democratic. The action of the influence of each upon the other should be, and has been, favourable to the stability and progress of both. British freedom has been considerably aided in its development by the example of America ; and American republicanism has experienced a wholesome restraint from the influence of the existence of that perfect freedom which is enjoyed under the monarchical institutions of Britain. Both empires, each in its own sphere, are performing important service towards the ultimate regeneration of the human race. In both one spirit animates and regulates the national destinies, although it operates by means of widely opposite forms of government in each. There is nothing antagonistic to the spirit of Christianity inherent in any of the forms of government named, whether monarchical or republican politically, or

hierarchical or democratic ecclesiastically. The form is comparatively unimportant; it is the spirit that gives life and motive power. When there is no principle directly or indirectly involved, nations and individuals are not under any restraint. Monarchical and aristocratic institutions are not divinely appointed, in the sense of being the only form of human government allowable among nations. And republican institutions have no special heavenly warrant for their adoption, or the reverse. In fact, the only supposed theocracy that has ever existed combined both characteristics at different periods of its history; for the form of the Jewish government was first a democratic theocracy, and afterward a monarchical theocracy. It is recorded in Scripture that the Divine Ruler complied with the wish expressed by the chosen nation to change their democratic form of polity into that of a monarchy, after pointing out some of the effects it would produce in their government relationships. Whatever, therefore, does not interfere injuriously with the active influence of Christianity upon the national edifice, either politically or ecclesiastically, is left to the discretion and determination of men themselves.

The two leading aims which are said to be contemplated in the action of the spirit of Christianity among men are freedom and union. The freedom of the *all*, and the union of the *all*, which Christ has promised to draw unto Himself, are to be the final consummation of this world's history. Politically, Great Britain has reached the desired haven, for it is an empire based on freedom and union. Britain has had two voluntary political unions during the course of its history—

one between England and Scotland, and another between Great Britain and Ireland. Ecclesiastically, models of freedom and union have also been revealed within its territorial dominion ; but ecclesiastical bondage and disunion are still prevalent. Now it is not Episcopacy, or Presbyterianism, or Congregationalism, or Methodism that is responsible for the obstruction offered to the progress of the spirit of Christianity in promoting ecclesiastical freedom and union. All the forms of government are probably useful and beneficial in their operation ; and like the political monarchy of Britain, and the political democracy of America, they may exercise a desirable influence in the way of check and balance, preventing excess in all, and averting the appearance of hurtful extremes in any. Moreover, there are Free and Independent Episcopal churches in America, in Scotland, and elsewhere ; there are also Free and United Presbyterian churches scattered all over the world now ; and there are free and united independent individual associations confederated in the Congregational Union. But in every instance they are disconnected with and separate from the state.

The once United States of America had at one time apparently reached the goal of national approximating perfection, both politically and ecclesiastically. State-churchism or the establishment principle is disavowed in their constitution, and their churches are therefore free. But ecclesiastical union has never been prevalent, and the States are menaced with political disruption and disunion, if it may not be said that the separation of the Confederates from the Federals is for the present, and under existing circum-

stances, an irreversibly accomplished fact. Democracy cannot be made responsible for this unhappy schism ; universal suffrage and vote by ballot will not account for it ; a removable chief of the state elected at short intervals (although a questionable feature of the American constitution on grounds of policy and expediency alone) is not chargeable with it ; and the absence of an aristocracy militates in no way for or against the preservation or restoration of the severed political union. Monarchical institutions and a limited parliamentary franchise could not have prolonged the existence of the union for a single year, although there is no doubt the manner in which the disruption would have been finally precipitated would have been very different. Still the result would have been substantially the same under a monarchy as it has turned out under a republic. And why ? Because the source of disunion lies in the incorporation with the American federal constitution of a principle that occupies the most palpable and direct attitude of antagonism to the spirit of Christianity, and which is also hostile to the unfolding and practical application in human affairs of the principle enunciated by Paul in these words, "In Christ . . . there is neither bond nor free." Slavery is the cause, the sole and only cause, of the present unhappy state of affairs in America ; and the manifestation of a sincere desire to promote negro emancipation with prudence and discretion, will alone bring the national spirit into harmonious action with the spirit of Christianity, and lead to a termination of disunion and secession.

In order to arrive with some degree of accuracy at even a limited knowledge of the great power and exten-

sive influence which Christianity by its spirit is now exercising on human affairs, and particularly in regard to the unprecedented national crisis in America, there must be furnished an accumulation of facts and influences historically interwoven in an unusually clear, convincing, and conclusive form. The inquiry in this instance will embrace the whole three periods of human history ; the threefold relation which Christ is said to occupy to the human race ; the three parts of national humanity ; the mode in which it is said the regeneration and perfection of each is attainable, and the provision made towards the accomplishment of these objects ; and the history of the incarnation of the great scheme, so far as unfolded, up to the present time. And, first, as to the large periods into which human history is divided. They are three in number—the Adamite or Noachian, the Abrahamic or Mosaic, and the Christian or Romanist and Mohammedan. As to the relation in which Christ stands to humanity, these are His own words, “I am the way, the truth, and the life.” And further, “No man cometh unto the Father but by me.”* Two things among others are intimated in these two disconnected sentences of one saying. It is obvious that Christ presents three thresholds or avenues of access to the human race. And it is also stated that these three thresholds are all united in Him as the exclusive medium of approach to Him whom He calls His Father. Taken in connection with His promise to draw all unto Himself, two of the conclusions to which these conjoined passages point are to the effect that Christ will draw or attract all unto Himself through the thresholds named, “the

* John xiv. 6.

way, the truth, and the life ;” and that in the act of attracting to Himself, the effect on all will be “their coming unto the Father.”

If the distinctive characteristics of each of the three large periods into which human history is divided be examined, there will be found a remarkable harmony and identity between them individually and the three-fold description which Christ has given of the relation in which He stands to humanity. In the Adamite or Noachian period, mere animal existence appears to predominate ; and little or no evidence is recorded to show that any provision was then made for the cultivation of the human intellect, or the training and discipline of the human spirit. The facts, so far as known, point in quite another direction. Prolonged physical existence, to an extent almost incredible, was the peculiar privilege of the human race during that period ; and it may have been bestowed as a compensation for the absence of intellectual and moral gifts, these being withheld because of the incapacity of the human race, during its childhood, either to use them beneficially or appreciate them properly. There “were mighty men of old, men of renown,” but they were the progeny of the giants, famous only for their physical or animal strength. Noah was the last of the long-lived antediluvian race ; and the termination of his life closes this first period of human history. The second period is distinguished by a remarkable change in human experience, both physically and intellectually. The span of man’s animal existence was greatly abbreviated ; but the means of his intellectual development and enlightenment were provided, sparingly at the outset, but more

profusely towards the close. From Abraham to Moses the plan of communicating and acquiring knowledge was by oral tradition ; from Moses to Samuel by written history ; and from Samuel to Malachi by precept and prophecy. This state of matters continued till the advent of Christianity, when, for the first time in human experience, it is affirmed, invisible spiritual life was given to men, in conjunction with a wonderful increase of light and knowledge concerning the divine purpose and the destinies of the human race connected therewith. The physical powers of men alone were the objects cared for during the first period ; the physical powers and intellectual faculties both were attended to in the second period ; but all three, physical, intellectual, and spiritual, have been highly and increasingly developed throughout the third period.

Viewed in this light, Christ's saying will read thus : "I am the way" of regeneration to the animal or physical existence of man, "the truth" of knowledge and enlightenment to the human intellect, "and the life" of the spirit or moral nature of mankind. In relation to nations the passage will take this form, "I am the way" of the reformation and regeneration of the political edifice, "the truth" by which the unity of faith and freedom of the church's action are effected, "and the life" by which the spirit of the whole social fabric should be animated and influenced. It is the history of the incarnation of "the way, the truth, and the life," in connection with the physical or political edifices, the intellectual or ecclesiastical organisations, and the moral or spiritual existence of humanity, that we have undertaken to trace through each successive stage of human experience, forward to the present

epoch. To effect this in a satisfactory manner, we must have recourse to the parallels of time and chambers of history. There is a mysterious statement in the first epistle of Peter, which we certainly have no intention of discussing critically or examining analytically. One of the facts it announces is all we purpose quoting, and this by way of direction to the great lesson taught in the principal event of the first period of human history. The violence abounding among the antediluvians led to the destruction of the whole race by a flood, Noah and his family alone being saved alive in an ark. It is to this transaction the remarks of Peter have reference. Speaking of the few who were saved in the ark by water, the apostle goes on to state that it is "the like figure whereunto baptism doth also now save us, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." * If these words are true, they point to an obvious conclusion. If there be a supreme and overruling purpose in human history, there can be no doubt that the overwhelming of the early human inhabitants of this world by a flood of water was intended to teach some important lesson, and also to disclose some particular feature of the great plan. And the apostle Peter supplies the means of apprehending the lesson, and of ascertaining the feature, when he states substantially that the flood in Noah's time was an illustration of the way of the regeneration of the physical or political edifice of human existence. The death or destruction of individual bodies and aggregate political embodiments, must precede this perfect regeneration by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Human physical perfection is therefore unattainable by individuals in this life ;

* 1 Peter iii. 21.

not so political, ecclesiastical, and social approximate perfection.

The great event of the second period of human history—the dedication of the temple at Jerusalem—stands out so strongly that no other can be mistaken for it. Among other things it declared the completion of an ecclesiastical fabric in conjunction with political institutions, calculated to promote and improve the social happiness and intellectual enjoyment of those within the range of its influence, and that in a manner suited to the circumstances and exigencies of the age. Still, the act was but the complement of the past and the closing of a phase of history; of itself it inaugurated nothing new, but rather signified the accomplishment of a portion of the great plan. From thence, however, the real characteristics of the second period began to be fully revealed; for the writings of the prophets, not so much in their predictive parts, as in their preceptive and reasoning portions, appealed to the intellectual faculties of those who were addressed. The great fact of the third period is the advent of Christ himself, followed as that was by His life on earth, His public teaching, His death, resurrection, and ascension. If what is said of Him be true, His birth was the incarnation, in a single human body, of the essence and the substance of “the way, the truth, and the life.” He combined in His own person the animal existence, the intellectual faculties, and the moral properties of humanity, in union with “the way, the truth, and the life” of their regeneration, enlightenment, and influential moral action. Be it observed that He gave confirmation new and strong to the manner of the

accomplishment of the alleged divine plan in all its phases. By His life of devotedness and submission of spirit to the divine will ; by His teaching and the truths He proclaimed for the nourishment and enlightenment of the human intellect ; and by His death, more particularly in the manner of it—humiliating, tedious, and painful,—He proclaimed “the way” of political regeneration, “the truth,” which enlightens and liberates ecclesiastically, and “the life” of the spirit that should influence human society in all its aspects.

Now the triumph of this scheme in even one individual man, so long as he dwells in a corrupt body on this earth, is a simple impossibility. The spirit of a man may be brought into a high state of power and purity, and even draw nigh unto perfection in this life, after a long course of severe moral training and self-subjection. The human mind may expand its knowledge illimitably while resident in its frail and corrupt tenement. But the body itself will retain its passions, its cravings, and appetites, until the hour of its dissolution. The finer the intellect, and the more gentle and chastened the spirit with which the body is associated, the more humiliating and painful will be that process of crucifixion which the united man will be required to endure. It is different with aggregate humanity, or political institutions, ecclesiastical incorporations, and social arrangements. In these, perfection is not only attainable, but is actually promised as the consummation of all things. A state, although a physical and territorial dominion, is absolutely under the control and regulation of principles ; whereas a human body, as an existence apart from the mind and spirit, is hostile to their enlightened in-

fluence, and retains that hostility with unabated and unchangeable inveteracy. Its freedom, when it is permitted, or its tendency, when not kept under powerful restraint, is to produce moral ruin and intellectual desolation, accompanied by lawlessness and violence. And this is the great truth historically proclaimed in the scripture record of the Adamite or Noachian period. The physical properties of a state offer no effective resistance to the action of intellectual and moral influence. The material power which a state wields cannot thwart or oppose those who have the direction of its affairs. It is inert until called into operation; and, when working, it is passively obedient in the hands of those who employ it. Numbers and territory are elements in the relative strength and comparative importance of a political dominion; but neither the one nor the other is of any account in estimating the true properties and qualities of a state. The child is as much a human being as the giant; so a country of a million inhabitants and a hundred square miles of territory, if organised as a dominion, is as much a state as a colossal empire. It is the structure and organisation of the frame which constitutes alike the human being and the political state. Even national existence does not of necessity imply and involve the erection and maintenance of a political edifice as its exclusive or even united physical embodiment—as, for example, the Jews, the Italians till recently, the Hungarians, and even the Germans at the present day.

A state is a thing that grows, it may be, in connection with one nation, as in the case of the Jews; or, it may be, in conjunction with the amalgamation of

many races, and the union of several nations, as in the case of Britain. But in either case, the political edifice has a structure and organisation of its own, within which, as it were, all the elements of human existence connected with its dominion, are in constant motion and action. A state is in fact a house, a temple, framed after a distinct plan; and the materials out of which it is constructed are laws, precedents, traditions, immemorial usage, and historical experience. It is the product of intellectual activity and moral influence. Thoughts, equally with deeds, are essential to the rise and revelation of any kind of state, great or small, free or despotic; and principles and doctrines, moreover, are the very life and spirit of its existence. But, like the human body in one respect, it must have an intellectual ally, otherwise it will never attain to anything approaching to progress or improvement. The office of the church is to embody truth, and therewith to cultivate and enlighten the national mind. The state provides the external political framework, within which the church finds protection, and is secure from molestation. But inasmuch as the church is an aggregate incarnation of the truth, and inasmuch as Christ is "the truth," of which it should be an ecclesiastical embodiment, it cannot derive any power or assistance, or even influence, in the prosecution of its work from any other. The functions of the state and the church are as distinct and separate as their peculiar structure and organisation are different and dissimilar. Both are intended to influence spiritually and morally the social arrangements of the community among which they exist. But to the state belongs the care and regulation of all external things, and to the

church is intrusted the cultivation and enlightenment of the intellect. The state administers law and justice; the church teaches truth, and exhorts to its practical reception; and both combined exert a spiritual and moral influence over all social arrangements among the people with which their existence is connected.

It was these particular elements of structure and organisation that were extinguished among the Jews, both at the time of the Babylonian captivity, in the year B.C. 606, and of the Roman destruction of Jerusalem subsequent to the advent of Christianity. The early Christian church did not possess this peculiar structure and organisation within a political state until after the era of Constantine; and therefore its labours produced only individual and not national results until the close of the third century. The imperial state with which it became allied perished, thereby proving a confirmation of "the way" in which a Christian state would have to be reared if done at all—viz., by the destruction of the old, and an entire reconstruction of the new, from the very beginning. The first step would be the sowing of the seed of a growing perfection, which comprehends a union in one of "the way, the truth, and the life" with the political, ecclesiastical, and social among nations, in the rise and growth of a Christian state, a Christian church, and Christian social arrangements. The seed, like all other seed, would first die after being cast into the human soil, and afterwards revive. This process has already been traced in the history of England, commencing with the sowing of the seed of Christianity in a corner of its territory in the year 596, and through its several

stages of development onward to the revelation of its approximating political perfection in the present century. So also has its ecclesiastical aspect been traced from its beginning in the year 563 in Scotland, throughout its checkered career forward to the appearance of two corporate witnesses, testifying to the manner of the attainment of approximating ecclesiastical perfection.

The present series of parallels should not only furnish a confirmation of the previous conclusions, but ought to include a distinct testimony in respect of existing social defects and mal-arrangements, combining also an illustration of the mode in which they are to be remedied. The principal characteristic of the Noachian age was unrestrained physical violence because of the absence of intellectual enlightenment and moral culture. It is recorded that it was "in the six hundredth year of Noah's life, the second month, and the seventeenth day of the month,"* that the crisis of the physical age of human history was reached, and the first great lesson given to humanity, in the destruction of men by the breaking up of the fountains of the great deep, and the opening of the windows of heaven, to pour forth that flood of waters in which their animal existences were engulfed and overwhelmed. Noah and his family became the new seed of the human race, and the sources of repopulating the habitable parts of the earth with men in lieu of those destroyed by the flood. It is immaterial whether the reader believes in a partial or a universal flood, as the fact of a flood destroying human life and the time of its occurrence, whatever its geographical

* Genesis vii. 11.

extent, are sufficient for the purpose of the present investigation.

In proceeding to the second period, we find that the dedication and opening of Solomon's temple was effected in the year B.C. 1004. That event completed a long series of past historical incidents in connection with the plan of human history, if there be any such plan. From thence commenced the accumulation of those writings which are emphatically designated the scripture of truth. There is no doubt "the vision," as it is called, was closed, and the testimony of written truth sealed up, when the book of Malachi was indited; and this happened somewhere about 400 years before the incarnation of Christ. That it occurred B.C. 404 is capable of actual demonstration, without the aid of conflicting human chronologies. From the dedication of the temple at Jerusalem, B.C. 1004, to the death of Christ, A.D. 30, there elapsed 1034 years. This is a certainty. Well, there is a statement in the book of Daniel, which is admitted on all hands to apply to the death of Christ. It is thus written, "After threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off."* Whether, in the opinion of the reader, this is a sentence interpolated after the event, or recorded at the time it professes to have been, is of no consequence to our present purpose. The simple fact is stated, that after threescore and two weeks, reckoning, according to scripture warrant, a day as a year (which is 434 years), the great decease was to be accomplished at Jerusalem. And from what epoch are these 434 years to be calculated, if not from the completing of that testimony which pre-announced

* Daniel ix. 26.

His coming and death at the time appointed? The scripture of truth and the Word of life are intimately connected together, for the volume of the one is the testimony of the other. This gives a chamber of 600 years in connection with "the truth" in the second or intellectual period of human history, as distinguished from the first or physical period, in which there was also a chamber of 600 years connected with the life of Noah and "the way" of the regeneration of the human body individually, or, in the aggregate, politically.

We come now to the third, or the period of spiritual influence. And let it be remarked here that the Christian era is dated, not from the incarnation of Christ, but from the fourth year thereafter. Although this in no way affects the principle of the chambers of history or their accuracy, it is singular to find that the continuous lines of history (until exhausted in good during this century) connected with erroneous principles, declensions, and apostacies, take their rise, not from the incarnation of Christ as their starting point, but from the date erroneously accepted as the commencement of the Christian era; whereas, as shall presently be demonstrated, all the lines of English history have their rise in the actual sources and foundations of Christianity. In the third or spiritual period, but not to the exclusion of the political and ecclesiastical, there is also a chamber of 600 years, dating from the incarnation of Christ, B.C. 4, and terminating in the sowing of the seed of "the life" (which Christ says He is) in the human soil of the English nation in the year A.D. 596. But in further corroboration of the fact that the permanent introduction of Christianity into England in the year 596,

irrespective altogether of the known results, included the physical, or "the way;" the intellectual, or "the truth;" as well as the spiritual, or "the life"—we shall offer several confirmations. Beginning with the dedication of the temple at Jerusalem, we are brought into connection with a representation of the physical or material period of human history which preceded that in which it was erected. The termination of the 600 years' chamber of the intellectual period brings us forward to the year B.C. 404, in which the scripture of truth contained in the Old Testament was completed. The scripture of truth contained in the New Testament was completed by the apostle John in the Isle of Patmos in the year A.D. 96. Between the completion of the Old Testament scripture, in the year B.C. 404, and the completion of the New Testament scripture, in the year A.D. 96, there was an interval of 500 years. From thence until the divine seed, which included "the way, the truth, and the life," was sown in the human soil of England in the year A.D. 596, there elapsed other 500 years—thus connecting all three with the political, ecclesiastical, and social history of the British empire.

But again, as previously alluded to, the permanent introduction of Christianity into England, in the year A.D. 596, is historically connected with prior epochs, remarkable either for the restoration, the advent, or remaining existence of true religion. The era of the decree for the restoration of the temple (which, by the way, had one root of bitterness in it—the establishment principle—of which Britain is not yet wholly purged ecclesiastically), and the commencement of a time of reformation and restoration, B. C. 536; the advent of the Christian religion amid powerful demon-

strations of the spirit of its life, A.D. 30, and the sowing of the seed of "the way, the truth, and the life" in English human soil, A.D. 596, constitute a chamber of human history having two equal periods of 566 years each. The last half of this chamber forms a cycle within a cycle, having for its central point the termination of the early church's freedom from state control in the year 313, the distance in time being 283 years each way. So that, with the appropriation of all the good of preceding periods and churches, it inherited one source of perplexity—the establishment principle—from the year B.C. 536, and state-churchism from A.D. 313.

The first point to which attention will now fall to be directed, is the length of time occupied from the received commencement of the Christian era, till the full revelation of a united Christian empire as a political dominion. On the principle of the parallels of time in human history, it should have taken 600 years thrice repeated, neither less or more ; in all, 1800 years. And what is the fact ? Why, that precisely at the expiry of the 1800 years, "even the self-same day," as was the case with the exodus from Egypt, the united Christian empire of Great Britain and Ireland was fully revealed as a political dominion, the union of the three kingdoms having taken effect from the 1st January 1801. This event was, in a political and aggregate sense, the full incarnation of the spirit of Christianity, of which the incarnation of Christ, in an individual man, was the source, and the rise and revelation of the British empire one of its intended aims. Again, the seed, after being sown in the year 596, died ; for in the year 615-16 the king and

people of Kent forsook the religion of Christ, and relapsed to heathenism. The union of the three kingdoms was preceded and followed by great European convulsions and overturnings, as if to indicate the pregnant character of the great result that had been achieved. Every throne in continental Europe was menaced, and many were cast down, by imperial France. Even the United Kingdom, although its territory was uninvaded, felt constrained to combat the pretensions of the French emperor; and in the year 1803 a war was commenced between Britain and France, which was terminated in the twice-repeated overthrow of the French empire in the years 1814-15. The lowest point of depression and humiliation in the history of England, after the union of the heptarchy, was witnessed in the year 1003, as already explained. It also was preceded by a twelve years' war with the Danes. As one of the results of the Norman conquest, a large portion of existing French territory—Normandy—became a province of England; and, in the middle of the sixteenth century, a marriage was effected between the dauphin of France and Mary queen of Scotland: the first occurrence promising a territorial connection and political union between England and Normandy and the second event intended to bring about the union of the crowns of France and Scotland. The war which severed Normandy from England, and reunited it to France, commenced in the year 1203; and, notwithstanding the French and Scotch royal matrimonial alliance, the union of the crowns of England and Scotland was effected in the year 1603. From the lowest point in English history—the year 1003—until, as a united empire in the year 1803

Great Britain and Ireland entered upon the great struggle which ended in the overthrow of the French empire, there elapsed a period of 800 years; and, 200 years on each side within the two extremes, there was, after the beginning, the severance, in the year 1203, of that which was not to be united as a part of the great Christian dominion; and, prior to the end, there was the union with it, in the year 1603, of that which was not to remain separate from it.

The lowest epoch of depression and humiliation to England as a political dominion after the union of its heptarchy, was the year 1003. But the most helpless and degraded condition of England subsequent to the introduction of Christianity, was witnessed in the years 615-16, when the king and the people of Kent, the only one of its disjointed provinces that had embraced the Christian religion, lapsed from it. The United Kingdom in the years 1814-15 was so great and powerful as to prove itself the arbiter of the destinies of Europe, by the twice-repeated triumphant conclusion of its mighty struggle with that imperial power that had for twelve years set at defiance all the restraints by means of which the other European powers had attempted to limit its ambitious progress. And what was the great source of Britain's incomparable and invincible strength as a political dominion in the great crisis of European history that was terminated in the years 1814-15? The germ of it was contained in that seed of "the way, the truth, and the life," which was sown in her history in the year 596. Death and humiliation commenced their work in the year 615, preparatory to the resurrection of that fructifying and regenerating process which has made Great Bri-

tain what it is as a political dominion, or a civil state. Step by step, but through a long, a tedious, and a degrading course of experiences, she reached that important epoch in her history in which, by the otherwise humbling event—the Norman conquest—the material or physical edifice of her political dominion was completed in the year 1066. But, as explained previously, within a state there must be a church—the ground and pillar of “the truth”—to enlighten and instruct the national intellect, after “the way” of death and humiliation has been passed through. And “the truth,” by means of which this was to be accomplished, and of which the church was to be the embodiment, did not begin its career of light, as the word of human enlightenment and instruction, till the year 1517. In confirmation of the fact, that we have, in the year 615, the beginning of “the way,” and in the year 1066 the completion of the mere material or physical edifice of the state, uninstructed intellectually, the advent of “the truth,” by which alone the state’s education could be effected, was not witnessed till the year 1517; and these three epochs form a chamber of human history, occupying two equal periods of time in its gradual, precise, and orderly evolution, each measuring 451 years.

But this is not all. There were three historical chambers, of 600 years each, evolved; one in each of the three large periods of human history; the first in connection with “the way,” the second with “the truth,” and the third with “the life.” And all three combined, or 1800 years, were required for the rise and full revelation on this earth of a Christian empire, embodying, as a state or political dominion, the incarnation

of "the way, the truth, and the life." In addition, however, there are three distinct chambers in British and Christian history in connection with the incarnation of each of the three, terminating in a convincing demonstration of the invincible and irresistible material and physical strength and high political influence they have unitedly conferred on Britain as a civil state or political dominion. The two last chambers, moreover, form one united chamber, having two periods, each measuring 600 years each. As we remarked previously, the state is not composed simply of numbers and territory ; but is rather constructed out of "laws, precedents, traditions, immemorial usage, and historical experience." It is a material edifice ; but without the intellectual influence exercised in the action of laws, precedents, &c., upon its history, there could be no state, in the proper acceptation of the term, but a mere accumulation of brute force. "The way" of the resurrection and regeneration of a human political embodiment of the spirit of Christianity commenced in the years 615-16, in the death of that seed of life which was sown in the human soil of England in the year 596 ; and the last acts of humiliation to which the nation was subjected in the history of "the way" of its regeneration, was the loss of Normandy, reconquered by France, and the compulsory handing over of the kingdom to the supremacy of the Roman see under the threat of a French invasion to accomplish it by force. Immediately thereafter, the history of "the truth," or the instruction of the intellect of the nation as a state or political dominion, commenced ; and the foundation of its subsequent constitutional and liberating civil history was laid in the grant of

Magna Charta in the year 1215. As was done during the second of the large periods of human history, its course being half evolved before the scripture of truth, as contained in the books of prophecy, became the pillar and ground of the higher intellectual training of the Jewish nation, so in English history the half of the 600 years devoted to the operation of "the truth" had expired before the advent or resurrection of the scripture of truth, which was to inaugurate the more lofty branches of England's national intellectual enlightenment and instruction as a state. But to complete the parallel, England, through the grant of Magna Charta, and subsequent additions to it, entered upon a course of intellectual training, similar to that which was given to the Jewish nation prior to the dedication of the temple at Jerusalem and the introduction of the era of scripture truth during the second period of human history. This chamber of "the truth," forming the last half of the united chamber of Britain's political history, which dates from the years 615-16, begins in the year 1215, and terminates in the years 1814-15, accompanied at both epochs by circumstances astonishingly similar, except in so far as the spirit of Christianity had operated to produce a difference. France and the see of Rome had both come into collision with England during the twelve years which intervened between 1203 and 1215. And by both England had been defeated and humbled. France and Britain again came into collision in the year 1803; and at the twice-repeated close of the struggle in the years 1814-15, Britain is, by the greatness of her power, instrumental in rescuing her two opponents and antagonists of the thirteenth cen-

ture—the French monarchy and the Roman see—from the fatal grasp of their modern enemy. Thus manifesting the very perfection of a Christian spirit, in returning good for evil—both the French monarchy and the Roman see having been for centuries the hereditary and almost implacable enemies of the British dominion—the one politically, and the other ecclesiastically. The measurement of “the way” in English political history was 600 years, from the years 615-16 to the year 1215. And the measurement of “the truth” was also 600 years, from the year 1215 to the years 1814-15. Then Britain was revealed as a state, giving practical demonstration of the political power and strength imparted by the regenerating operation of “the way,” and the christianising energy of “the truth,” as witnessed in the spirit which influenced the conduct of her civil dominion. The 600 years’ chambers of the Noachian and Mosaic periods were thus repeated in the Christian period in the history of the British empire, but with abiding and permanent results of true glory and unbounded blessing to humanity.

In all this wonderful career of Britain the once United States of America have a real and substantial interest; for it is their own history up till the year 1775. But even in their act of separation from Britain they could not be deprived of their portion of the rich inheritance. Those principles of freedom and truth, which were given life to in British history by a process so slow, so tedious, and so humiliating, became the animating influences of the American constitution. And two great empires of freedom and truth have sprung from the parent stem. But painful and grievous though the fact be, yet fact it is beyond

the reach of controversy, that human perfection, whether individual or national, is only attainable by "the way" of destruction and humiliation. If any nation seemed likely to falsify this alleged universal law of human existence, it was the United States of America. Blessed with a success and a prosperity without a parallel or a precedent in human history, in so far as regards the rapidity of its development and the fancied permanence and inviolability of its freedom and union, the hour of its trial, accompanied by destruction and humiliation, has apparently come. This is not a question of comparison between British institutions and American institutions. Between the two empires, in this respect, there can be no unfavourable or unfriendly comparisons instituted with justice. For the general spirit of the one is the general spirit of the other. If anything, however, was required to demonstrate unanswerably the wisdom and the necessity of that law by which the attainment of human perfection is regulated either individually or nationally, the history of the United States of America furnishes it in abundance.

Side by side with her expanding territory, her increasing population, and her augmenting political power and commercial wealth, there were experienced the growth of an empty and boastful inflation of the national mind, and the development of an egotistical, overbearing, and unseemly spirit. Perhaps the worst and most condemnatory feature of American history has been the apparently studied and prolonged offensiveness, jealousy, and childishness of her political attitude and diplomatic relationships with the very empire from which her own existence has sprung, and to

which she is placed under an everlasting debt of obligation. The political ingratitude exhibited towards Britain in the spirit that has directed American statesmanship, was unworthy so great a nation as the United States of America undoubtedly is, and proved the unhappy prevalence of a puerile, rather than a magnanimous, spirit in the conduct of her high affairs of state. Combined with this manifestation of an unforgiving and unforbearing temper in the history of her foreign procedure, so far as Britain was concerned, there was at work within her own dominion two sinister and deteriorating influences, undermining her boasted freedom and all but adored union. Corruption grew steadily in connection with her political system, until the self-denying and patriotic example of the wise and good founders of her great commonwealth found few imitators. The best and purest minds of the nation either withdrew voluntarily from contamination with the unclean thing of politics, or were excluded compulsorily by the unprincipled coteries of self-seekers and place-hunters. Humiliation and discredit were thus heaped upon her unsparingly, but without signs of an awakening to improvement. Her acknowledged freedom began to degenerate into a licentious exercise of numerical and unreasoning power; and any checks provided by the constitution of the empire were originally devised more with the view of protecting the cherished freedom of the many from being encroached upon by the aggression of the few, than to place restraint upon the unbridled exercise of popular political power.

In addition to all this, the evil genius of human slavery had a place in its social arrangements, and

exercised a large amount of influence on the home policy of the United States. For a time North and South contended eagerly—the former for the limitation, and the latter for the extension, of the territorial area and locality of slave existence. But devotion to the American Union exerted a predominating bias, resulting in compromises generally in favour of the extension, rather than even the mere limitation, of the superficial surface of territory within which the debasing and inhuman institution of negro slavery was to be legally sanctioned and politically protected. But so exacting were the slave states—impelled by an indescribable dread of a latent spirit working out at some distant date a reasonable scheme of slave emancipation—that they hesitated not to avow their intention to destroy the much-prized union of the American states, if pro-slavery principles ceased to be the rule of conduct professed by those who were intrusted with the executive administration of the nation's affairs. Faithful to their threat, the slave states separated themselves from the Union on the accession of a president of the republic, elected in opposition to their nominee. Having constituted themselves into an independent confederacy, they committed the first act of military hostility, which originated that fierce and embittered contest that is now waging between the federal states of the North and the confederate states of the South—states which were so recently the component parts of the now apparently extinguished, yet once much belauded, Union.

America's hour of destruction and humiliation has undoubtedly come. The higher cause we have traced to the existence of that inscrutable and inevitable

law which makes the attainment of human perfection, either individual or national, an impossibility, unless preceded by a process of destruction and humiliation. The Union has been cast down ; it may be restored again ; but scarcely by force. The people of America have fallen upon evil and degenerate days ; yet a happier and a brighter career may await them in the not-distant future. Upon two points we may speak with an unhesitating certainty. The Union, when restored, will be purged of the element of slavery. Its pernicious influence has been the chief and prolific secondary cause of America's trouble and perplexity ; so that, whether suddenly and by force, or gradually and by legislation, the principle of negro emancipation will in all probability have to prevail as a preliminary, or an accompaniment of the reunion of the once United States of America. And further, the inculcation of a kindlier spirit and a friendlier policy towards that empire to which she owes so much, will have to supplant that foolish and fanatical feeling of conjured injury and cherished revenge, to which, as if in the madness of despair, some of the public writers of her federal section have given a rash and hasty expression, ere she will give satisfactory evidence of the beneficial influence of the present heavy hand of chastisement that lies upon her, and thereby prove her superior fitness to be intrusted once more with the benevolent and profitable wielding of that united power which, could she now regain possession of, she intimates in a manner too plain to be misunderstood, she would employ to the injury of the interests, and molestation of the peace, of the British empire.

In corroboration to some extent of these views of

America's condition and duty, and Britain's security, we shall again resort to the illustration furnished by means of the historic chambers. And first, the history of Britain as a political state, has also an ecclesiastical and a social aspect. Further, above and beyond the influence of "the way and the truth," there is also the influence of "the life" in the perfecting of an empire politically, ecclesiastically, and socially. Now the principle of slavery combines essentially the three elements of direct antagonism to "the way, the truth, and the life" of Christianity. "The way" of Christianity destroys the passions of the human body for the purpose of promoting freedom, political, ecclesiastical, and social. But "the way" of the principle of slavery is destruction, with the view of retaining humanity in bondage; and the effects of the yoke it imposes are experienced by its victims in all the three aspects of their existence, political, ecclesiastical, and social. Christian men are not their own, they are bought with a price incalculable beyond all conception. Their mind, body, and spirit are the legitimate property of another, and their willing subjection to Him is their reasonable service. But where the spirit of His yoke is fully revealed, there is liberty of the most perfect and absolute description; freedom of body, freedom of mind, and freedom of spirit to the individual; and political liberty, ecclesiastical independence, and social freedom in the aggregate to empires and dominions. The principle of slavery, however, dispossesses man of that peculiarity which exalts him above all other earthly created existences, and deprives him of that characteristic which constitutes his special resemblance to God,

the one Creator of all men of one blood. Free agency belongs not to the slave. His body is the property of an evanescent creature like himself, who uses its strength and capacity of labour for his own mercenary ends. His mind is intentionally, and with cruel and wicked deliberation, left a blank, so far as enlightenment and instruction are concerned. His social feelings and domestic affections, when occasion seems to demand, are not allowed to stand in the way of the bartering necessities of the institution. Of everything which God gave him, the principle of slavery defrauds the man, and in doing so, commits an act of robbery upon God whose inalienable right of property is alone worthy of recognition in all the human race, whether Jew or Gentile, bond or free, male or female. If men desire to behold the most perfect development of the spirit of Antichrist that ever has been or can be witnessed on earth, they will not find it in the multifarious forms of paganism, or in Bhuddism, or in Mohammedanism, or in Romanism, or in any other supposed religious enormity or deformity, where men have in general puzzled themselves in searching for it. Let them rather examine the principles and practical working of the monstrous, inhuman, and blasphemous institution of negro slavery, which has defiled, defaced, and destroyed the glory of the United States of America, and they will there see Antichrist embodied in all the nakedness, the shame, and deepest degradation of his unholy, destructive, and rebellious spirit.

If the same parties desire to discover the act or the fact that most perfectly embodies the kind, the gentle, the humane, the self-denying and liberating spirit of Christ, let them follow the course of those chambers

of history now to be traced, pointing in their united termination to that great deed. We have already disposed of the chambers connected with "the way and the truth" of Christ ; and there remains only the chamber of "the life" of the spirit of Christ to be followed to the epoch of its complete national development. It will be remembered that the 600 years' chamber connected with "the life" of the spirit of Christ commenced with the incarnation of Christ, B.C. 4, and terminated in the sowing of its seed in the human soil of England in the year A.D. 596. To this year 596 all the preceding chambers of influence for good to men point. The 600 years' chamber of "the truth," commencing in the year B.C. 1004, and ending in the year B.C. 404, is connected with it by another chamber of two equal periods of 500 years, that traces the revelation of the scripture of truth, and all find their termination in the year 596. So do the epochs of the restoration of the Jews from Babylon ; of the advent of the spirit of Christianity, preceded as it was by the death and resurrection of Christ ; and of the close of the early church's existence separate from state control : all terminate in the year 596. It would appear that all the preceding good fruits of human history were gathered together into one, and cast into the human soil of England, there first to die, and afterwards to spring up in everlasting stores of blessing, freedom, and happiness to the human race, through the gradual development unto perfection of the British dominion. And the results are a wonderful fulfilment of the high and heavenly purpose. For it occupied 619 years, from the year 596, in which the seed was sown, to the year 1215, when the first bud of human freedom ap-

peared in the nation's history. And exactly at the termination of other 619 years, in the year 1834, there is witnessed the fully matured fruits of that seed in the extinction of the spirit of Antichrist and the full manifestation of the power and prevalence of the spirit of Christ. For in that year slavery ceased to exist within the British dominions; and the long down-trodden and oppressed sons of Africa found a Christian home of freedom and equality. From thence Paul's saying was entirely accomplished, for the distinction between "bond and free" in Christ, or a Christian kingdom, was abolished. It was also accompanied by the resurrection and assertion of ecclesiastical freedom in the church of Scotland; and it had been just preceded by the triumph of political liberty in the passing of the Reform Bill. So that we have every characteristic, political, ecclesiastical, and social, marking the termination of the long history of the progress of national regeneration, through the operation of "the way, the truth, and the life" of Christ. And in the foreground, as the then only actually perfected and accomplished effect, there stands prominently out the abolition of human slavery in the accomplishment of the act of negro emancipation.

But again, there is a parallel between the life of the individual and the life of the national incarnation of the spirit of Christ. In the thirty-fourth year of each a great epoch in the world's destiny was reached. The first, influential among individuals; the last, to exercise an influence among nations. And what does this act of the British empire say to America? We found a chamber beginning in the American disruption and war with England in the year 1775, ending in the

American disunion and war of 1861, and revolving round the ecclesiastical union in Britain, which had also been preceded by two ecclesiastical separations or disruptions. A further and final ecclesiastical union of all the seceded sections that separated from the Scotch church in the eighteenth century, was accomplished in the year 1847. The act of negro emancipation was passed by the British Parliament in the year 1833, although it did not come into operation till 1st August 1834. What, then, is the reply? From the year 1833-4 to the year 1847 there elapsed 14 years; and at the conclusion of other 14 years, in the years 1860-1, the voice seems to say to the once United States of America, Go thou and do likewise, and then peace, union, wisdom, and freedom shall abound in all thy borders; and the bonds of brotherly kindness and charity shall draw closer the cords of unity and strength between Great Britain as the highly honoured parent, and America, the once haughty and self-willed child, but then loving and beloved imperial offspring.

CHAPTER IX.

WHEN the American disruption with Britain occurred in the years 1774-6, and during the war which followed, France did not remain a silent and neutral spectator. In the course she pursued she swerved not from that policy of opposition to England which up till that time at least appeared to be almost hereditary in the governments of the old French monarchy. This rivalry and antagonism between France and England had been of long continuance, and may have arisen wholly from the conflicting influences of the antagonistic political and ecclesiastical systems of each country. So early as the era of the introduction of Christianity into Kent by Augustine, the then king of Paris comes conspicuously into view. What were then small and inconsiderable fractions of the two great dominions of France and Britain, were allied by marriage, the king of Kent having married Bertha, the daughter of the king of Paris. The king of Paris and his daughter were both accessory, if not greatly instrumental, in securing the original success of Augustine's mission. So far back, therefore, as the close of the sixth century influences are visible, the tendency of which should have been to unite more closely than they have been

the political and ecclesiastical destinies of France and England. The cause of the divergence in the policy and experience of the two countries is no doubt written in their respective histories, and appears to be attributable to the Romanist tendencies of the one and the anti-Romanist leanings of the other. There is scarcely an important stage or epoch of papal history in which the French power, in some form, is not actively revealed influencing the issue ; and this more particularly in modern times. Pepin, a Frankish king, made the first grant of territorial possession towards erecting the papal see into a civil dominion. His grandson Charlemagne, by whom the German empire was founded in the year 800, confirmed, and, it is also alleged, increased the original donation. When the papal power reached its highest point, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and was crowning its arrogance by the compulsory subjection of England to Romish supremacy, French military force was about to be resorted to, and, alarmed by this prospect, King John yielded. It was the King of France, during the pontificate of Boniface VIII., who, by his successful resistance of papal pretensions, and the ultimate transference of the Pope's residence from Rome to Avignon in France, gave an irrecoverable shock to the influence previously claimed and exercised by Rome over things temporal. From the close of Boniface's reign, in the year 1303, the power of Rome in the political world was shaken, and began to decline perceptibly. For seventy years Rome was without the presence of a pope ; and during that time the papacy appeared to have been transformed into an appendage of the French monarchy.

At the epoch of the Reformation, Spain made its appearance as the ally of Rome conjoined with France; and the two powers vied with each other in the eagerness of their zeal to uphold Romanism and suppress Protestantism. The massacre of St Bartholomew's day in France had its counterpart in the sanguinary efforts made by Spain to extinguish the new faith in the Netherlands. Spain also participated adversely to Protestantism in the struggle with Romanism in England, by supplying a husband to Mary, the English queen of evil renown. And after her death and the accession to the throne of her sister Elizabeth, Philip of Spain resolved upon a last desperate but unsuccessful attempt, in the year 1588-9, to re-establish the power and influence of Romanism in England. At the epoch of the great English Revolution, the English Romanist king appeared to be principally under the guidance of the French king, Louis XIV., who professed to be his firm ally and supporter in his futile efforts to bring back the English nation to the fold of Rome. The whole course of history proves that, under the old French monarchy, the uniform tendency of French policy was to aid and protect the see of Rome, except on those occasions when the occupant of the pontifical throne placed himself in direct antagonism to the cherished desire of the French government. France, as a political dominion, generally maintained an attitude of independence; but in matters of religion the dominant influence of Romanism was, with rare exceptions, fostered and encouraged. No two things, therefore, could be more incongruous and discordant than the prevailing spirit which guided and directed French policy, and that

which regulated and controlled the course of English history. From causes so different operating upon the constitution of each kingdom, there could not fail to spring effects correspondingly diverse. To England the issue has been freedom, union, strength, and the prevalence of a spirit producing peace and goodwill among all ranks and conditions of her citizens. The national institutions in their political aspect have been preserved and consolidated by timely reforms, well-matured, after long discussion. Even ecclesiastically, wherever there have been disruption and separation, the effects have been not destructive but restorative.

The very reverse has been the case in France. Not long after the acquirement of independence by the United States of America, the whole fabric of French society, political and ecclesiastical, was overwhelmed and engulfed in one dire catastrophe. The church was a principal object of assault, and, step by step, it was stripped of its wealth and its ecclesiastical influence, until at length, as its representative, the bishop of Paris, accompanied by some of the clergy, had the effrontery to appear at the bar of the French assembly and abjure the Christian faith. The monarchy and the aristocracy both went down with the church; and a more thorough and entire destruction of the state as it had subsisted for centuries in France is inconceivable. But the surging waves of revolution and republicanism did not exhaust their force and energy until in Italy, and by his own subjects, the civil dominion of the Roman pontiff was also overturned. The revolution commenced in France in the year 1789; the church and the monarchy both disappeared in the year 1793; and in the year 1798 Pius

VI. was a fugitive, and his dominion transformed into a republic. Soon thereafter a strong current of reaction set in, which culminated in the elevation of Napoleon to the imperial throne, and the prior restoration of the Christian religion. But the tide which brought reorganisation of the state to France, and consolidation of the nation's political power, overflowed most destructively to the other dominions of Europe. There was a revolutionary and a reactionary period. The revolutionary tornado swept away in one decade of years every vestige of the ancient French regime, and expended the excess and remainder of its force on the head of the papal system, and the political organisation connected therewith.

In the year 1804, the setting-up of a French empire, and the installation of a French emperor, indicated the full flow of reactionary influences ; and their vitality was not materially weakened until the termination of another decade of years. The French monarchy and the pontifical throne were then restored and reconstructed in the year 1814. The reaction in France which reconsolidated its national dominion under the first Napoleon, operated with a contrary effect on other continental thrones. In succession, one after another, they were all menaced without exception ; and as regards those that were not subverted and cast down by Napoleon, their occupants were seriously molested and sadly humbled by him. What the revolution did for the monarchy of France, the reaction accomplished for several other thrones of Europe ; and the unfortunate pontifical throne was the victim both of revolution and reaction ; for after the pope had assisted at his coronation, Napoleon committed a new aggression

on the pontifical states in October 1805, the end of which was the annexation of the papal kingdom to France in the year 1808, and the compulsory removal of the pope as a captive from Rome in the year 1809. The monarchies of Spain, Naples, and Holland were also overthrown; and the dominions of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, were invaded by the legions of France. Napoleon was at last vanquished and driven into exile, and the European breaches he had made were repaired and restored so far as possible, with one notable exception. The German empire, founded in the year 800, fell in the year 1806, and has not since been revived. The famous Rhine confederation, negotiated by Napoleon, was the immediately procuring cause of the extinction of the German empire. The non-restoration of the German empire is one of the few historical occurrences of the nineteenth century that express completed events. All the overturnings of thrones and dynasties have been repeated in Europe since their restoration in 1814; and, in the case of France, this has happened twice, once in the year 1830, and again in the year 1848.

It would have been impossible to devise a more confirmatory series of testimonies in support of the fact of Britain's approximating perfection as a state, politically, ecclesiastically, and socially. Of all European nations, the institutions of Britain alone have acquired an increased solidity and indestructibility; and this while other dominions were seething in the vortex of revolution. They have been casting down, she has been building up. They have been exposed to a shaking that has threatened to break them into pieces, she has experienced the powerful operation of an influence

that has imparted new principles of cohesion and unity throughout every part of her marvellous system. They seem, in many instances, to have descended to the lowest depths of political degeneracy and governmental degradation ; she, on the contrary, has been ascending to the high altitude of political perfection and governmental rectitude. They, with rare exceptions, till very recently, have, when free to choose, adhered pertinaciously to a policy of retrogression. She has, on the contrary, with unvarying consistency, pursued a course of progressive reform in every possible direction. Their peoples are, in not a few instances, the victims of political oppression or ecclesiastical tyranny, and sometimes both. But the people of the British empire enjoy the perfection of freedom, both civil and religious. And what has made Great Britain to differ so incalculably from every other continental state, if it be not the prevalent influence of the spirit of Christianity throughout her history, and its powerful action upon her institutions ? If the words of Christ, "I will draw all unto me," are to receive a fulfilment, it must include states as well as individuals ; and in what other way can the nations of earth be drawn unto Him than by the utter destruction, and the entire elimination from their political systems, of all that is opposed to His just, gentle, and supremely benevolent and self-denying spirit.

It would savour of wilful blindness to attempt to shut out from one's mind the irresistible conclusion, that there is a wisdom and a beneficence above all human comprehension displayed in the plan of this world's history, the consummating phases of which appear to be overtaking the kingdoms of the earth.

Blot Britain out of existence even in imagination, and how dark and dismal a prospect presents itself to mankind. And Britain's state is not the lucky or adventitious creation of an epoch. It is not the work of even a few centuries. But it is the elaborate production of nearly thirteen centuries, preceded by upwards of other thirty centuries of human history, throughout all the periods of which the workings of that influence by which the dominion of Great Britain has been finally evolved on this earth as a model state, have been ceaseless and incessant. The time occupied has been long, and the process apparently tedious. But the magnitude of the work to be accomplished demanded the application of every year of time, and every particle of energy, that have been expended upon it. So exquisite, and yet so grand and powerful, a piece of mechanism, constructed out of such intractable material as free human agency, is a sufficient vindication, if such were required, of both the time and mode of procedure adopted. The approximating completion of the national edifice of Britain was of necessity incompatible with the prolonged existence of any other system on this earth, whether political or ecclesiastical. The nations have not been, neither are they to be, assailed by Britain's physical force. She maintains a naval and a military strength sufficient to give her a high place in the councils of continental nations. But her power has not for many generations been exercised among European kingdoms for purposes of aggression. She has been involved in wars with continental states, but not one of them was a war undertaken with a view to territorial conquest. Her internal dominion, embracing as it does several

nations, has been chiefly the product of unions effected by mutual consent. And her exerted influence upon other nations, to be beneficial, must be moral and spiritual. It is diametrically opposed to the spirit of her entire system to seek the furtherance and extension of its influence among others by external force. Such a line of conduct would prove a positive obstruction instead of an assistance ; and its adoption must remain the exclusive privilege of those with whose system it harmonises.

All other systems appear to be effete and worn out. They seem to have run their several courses. They are dying of inanition. They are perishing by degrees ; but unhappily accompanied by violence and bloodshed. The ordeal through which Europe has been passing since the year 1788-9 is a severe but a profitable and renovating one. Peoples and governments, kings and emperors, popes and priests, have each and all been subjected to the scorching and destructive but purifying heat of revolutionary and reactionary fires. It is not humanity that is the object of apparent retributive vengeance, but principles of human action and systems of human government. Who will venture to dispute that the individual persons of European population are regarded with as much benignity, and their happiness desired with as much intensity, by the great Founder of Christianity, as are those of the British population ? There are as good individual Christians among continental nations, according to their light and advantages, as there are in Britain. And there are as vicious and vile individual specimens of humanity to be found in Britain as are discoverable among continental nations. There

are faithful disciples of Christianity among the adherents of Romanism. And there are, no doubt unhappily, time-serving and self-seeking followers of Christ, destitute of the spirit of Christianity, among the professors of Protestantism. And if it were possible to dispense with individual suffering in the uprooting of erroneous and antichristian systems, it would certainly not be permitted. But the great Founder of Christianity, although provided with a sinless human nature, was Himself made perfect by obedience and suffering, even unto death. By His extraordinary example He declared "the way" of human redemption, whether individual or national, to be by humiliation, suffering, and even death. In the history of Britain for centuries the same great lesson is taught. And if Romanism and despotism are to be supplanted by the spirit of Christianity working out the political, ecclesiastical, and social emancipation of the nations subject to their sway, "the way" must be through great tribulation, ere they are prepared for the reception of the enlightening knowledge of "the truth."

It need not excite surprise, therefore, if it be found at the termination of seventy years from the commencement of the great era of continental revolution, that little permanent fruit of the right kind is yet visible in the political, ecclesiastical, or social arrangements of most European dominions. It is yet the time of "the way" with them; and the season for the operation of "the truth" which makes free, and the influence of "the life" of the spirit of liberty is yet future. Their advent cannot be accelerated before "the way" has accomplished its appointed and preliminary work in their case, any more than it was in Bri-

tain's. They have the living and almost perfect political model of Britain placed before their eyes; so that her long previous course of training and discipline through suffering and humiliation is to them a source of considerable advantage and great gain. In Britain the edifice had to be reared out of nothing, as it were; a new thing had to be created on the earth. In their experience it is to be a mere case of transplanting the thing created after the human soil is carefully prepared for its reception and preservation. Instead of centuries, the whole work may be completed within as many decades of years. If, therefore, the spirit of Christianity is destined to prevail in all nations, then, preparatory thereto, all systems, of whatever description, that are opposed to it, must be cast down, and every vestige of them removed out of "the way." It is not a question of reform or amendment; but it assumes the more decided shape of utter extinction and annihilation. Romanism and despotism, to the extent of their power, are destructive of human freedom, and positively obstructive of its growth, so that it is a simple impossibility for the spirit of Christianity to co-exist nationally in conjunction with them. Go down they must, and that unavoidably and inevitably from their very nature, with great violence. But there is room for congratulation that apparently so large a portion of the season of destruction is past to many continental nations, and that probably its termination may be experienced by some of them at no very distant date.

France undoubtedly is in the van of all other continental states in this respect. With many remaining grievous defects, she is nevertheless far in advance of

any other nation that acknowledges the sway of Romanism. And so she ought; for she has suffered more severely, and has been convulsed more frequently and more violently than any of them. She, therefore, must be so much nearer the end of "the way" of destruction and humiliation. Her close and friendly alliance with Britain for many years in the midst of much misgiving, and probably, in the circumstances, not unnatural suspicion on the side of Britain, is a remarkable and extraordinary reversion of the French government's hereditary policy. Perhaps more credit should be given even to the first Napoleon's expressed, but unattained, desire, of being on friendly and cordial terms with Britain. But whether or not, a new and additional evidence of the third Napoleon's sincerity has been given on the occasion of Britain's recent difficulty with the American Federal Government, that should tend to strengthen confidence in the French imperial dynasty's amicable spirit towards Britain. True, imperial France is apparently as firmly a devoted eldest son of the Romish church as ever monarchical France was; but the foreign policy of the imperial government otherwise does not coincide with the act of retaining the pontiff at Rome by the presence of a French army in the eternal city for that object.

The nephew has been much more successful than his uncle was in maintaining friendly relations with Britain. He has, moreover, been the chief human instrument in effecting the resurrection of Italian nationality and its revived unity, with the important exceptions of Rome and Venice. And although he has tarnished the fame of that great historical act of liberation by the paltry annexation of Savoy and Nice

to his previously grand dominion ; yet, if the principle of compensations is admissible in the review of large political transactions, the balance in his favour on the side of freedom, as against oppression in the Italian case, may be placed against the entry on the debit side of the account in connection with the famous *coup d'état* of December 1851. There is nothing in the third Napoleon's career inconsistent with the existence of a strong desire on his part to govern France after the model of Britain's constitution, he being still an emperor, if that could be done ; and there is much in his career corroborative of the opinion, that the modified despotism of his government arises more from the necessities of his position than the choice of his will. He has all the peculiar ambition that would prompt him to become a great and popular constitutional sovereign ; but the means are as yet denied him. He is so surrounded by political factions as to preclude the possibility of his making any very extensive experiments in constitutional government with a reasonable prospect of success ; and even if the factions had all abandoned the hope of reviving or restoring any of the defunct dynasties or regimes, there would still remain the giant obstruction of ecclesiastical alliance with Rome to render ultimately abortive for the present the attempt to introduce any extensive scheme of constitutional government.

In the endeavour to throw some light on the tendencies of the unfinished history of continental nations, the first step will be to connect together the Reformation era, the English revolution epoch, and the modern time of European revolution. Britain, because of her separation from Rome and resistance thereto, was

threatened with aggression from without in the interest of Romanism when the Spanish Armada, which failed in its intent, was despatched against her in the year 1588-9. She was again threatened by aggression from within by the reigning monarch, on the same grounds and with the same object, but with a similar absence of success, in the year 1688-9. Between these two occurrences there elapsed a period of 100 years. Exactly at the expiry of another century, in the year 1788-9, a successful aggression commenced on the entire system of Romanism in France; and by the action of its revolutionary and reactionary influences combined, overturned the entire structure of the French state, including monarchy, aristocracy, and church; overturned twice the pontiff's civil dominion; overturned the thrones of those kingdoms in alliance with him; and invaded the territories of most other continental states. The revolutionary period was brought to a close in the first overturn of the pontiff's civil dominion in the year 1798. This revolutionary period has every appearance of being the inauguration of that time which was to be given for the preparation of "the way" of restoration and regeneration among continental nations, in the near prospect of all being drawn to Christ. When the kingdom of Judah had finished its course, Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, commenced to overturn it in the year B.C. 606; and when the time for England's entrance upon "the way" of national reformation and regeneration arrived, a Christian church was planted in Kent, in the year 596. Between these two great landmarks of human history there elapsed a period of 1202 years. It appears to have occupied other 1202 years to ripen the destructive

fruits of Romanism ; for it was in the year 1798 that the revolutionary whirlwind, which originated among the people of France, seized hold of the people of Rome, and overturned the political throne of the chief of Romanism.

From the evidence of the ripening fruits of Romanism witnessed in the revolt of the pope's subjects, and the overturn of his throne in the year 1798, until the evidence of the ripening fruits of Protestantism is witnessed in the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in Britain in the year 1828, there elapsed 30 years. The last remnant of Romanism in its political aspect, as a system of religious intolerance, was not removed in Britain till the year 1858, by the practical abolition of Jewish civil disabilities that had been imposed on religious grounds. The events indicating the ripening of the Romanist and Protestant systems, the one to destruction and the other to perfection, form a chamber of history having two periods of equal duration. Moreover, it is connected with a long chamber of human history, also connecting Judah, Britain, and Rome together. Thus the two chambers joined together begin and end with events in relation to Jews ; the first, their removal into captivity ; the last, their restoration to full civil and religious liberty. Immediately succeeding the first evidence of the ripening fruits of Protestantism in the year 1828, there followed the political emancipation of Romanists in Britain in the year 1829, and the second overturn of the Bourbon dynasty in France in the year 1830. And in like manner, immediately succeeding the perfecting of Britain politically in the year 1858, there followed in the year 1859 the political emancipation of Roman-

ists in their native land, Italy, and the second overturn of the Bourbon dynasty in Naples in the year 1860.

But in addition to all this, these events are connected by two chambers of history with the era of the advent of Protestantism. The Protestant religion first became the national religion of England after the death of Henry VIII. In the year 1547-8 the infant cause was launched upon the troubled sea of its reforming and regenerating existence. In the year 1688-9 it was for the last time exposed to serious peril; but it was saved, and as the result of the struggle which overthrew a Romanist dynasty, it gave birth to those principles of religious toleration that began to ripen so perfectly in the act of Romanist emancipation in Britain, in the year 1829. Accompanying it there was the ripening of the fruits of Romanism in the overthrow in France of another Romanist dynasty in the year 1830. Thus we have the advent of Protestantism and the accession of a Protestant king to the throne of England in the year 1547-8; the first triumph of religious toleration as a principle of Protestantism, combined with the final overthrow, in the person of a Romanist king, of the Stuart dynasty in England in the year 1688-9; and in the years 1829-30 the final ripening of the fruits of the Protestant principle of religious tolerance in the act of Romanist political emancipation in Britain, accompanied, as it was, by the final overthrow, in France, of the dynasty which had been the faithful and steadfast ally of Romanism throughout its career; all these events being connected together as a chamber of history, having two equal periods of 141 years each. Again, from the advent of the principles of

Protestantism through the instrumentality of Luther in the year 1517-18, until their partial political triumph in England in the year 1688-9, there elapsed a period of 171 years; and from thence until their partial but not complete political triumph among Romanists in Italy in the year 1859-60, through the instrumentality of the imperial dynasty of France, and the second overthrow of the Neapolitan Bourbon Romanist dynasty, there intervened a similar period of 171 years. This chamber terminates in circumstances corroborative of the fact of a great change having passed over the reigning dynasty of France favourable to freedom and adverse to Romanism, and which also indicate the progress that France and Italy have made in "the way" of appointed suffering and humiliation, preparatory to their full emancipation as political dominions.

But the effects produced in France and Italy are far from complete. In France, the adherents of the overturned political dynasties, and the prevalence of ecclesiastical Romanism, are obstructive of the growth of full civil and religious freedom. In Italy, the territorial and national unity of the state is prevented by the retention of Venice within the dominion of the Austrian empire; and also by the exclusion of Rome from its civil jurisdiction. In each case there is a political obstacle, and also an ecclesiastical hindrance. In France, there is territorial and national unity; but the growth of full civil and religious liberty is prevented. In Italy, there is free scope for the development of civil and religious liberty; but the territorial and national unity of the state cannot be effected. In both cases the antagonistic influence

is exerted by the hereditary opponents of national unity and civil and religious liberty—the old monarchical and ecclesiastical systems; and the headquarters of the one are at Vienna, and of the other at Rome. It requires no great amount of penetration to perceive which is to be triumphant in the end; for all the tendencies of the age are towards the destruction of all kinds of bondage, and the full fruition of every kind of liberty. Both nations—France and Italy conjoined—presented, in the years 1859-60, very much the spectacle that Britain presented in the years 1800-1; with this distinction, that the disunion in Britain thereafter was ecclesiastical; whereas in Italy it is territorial, and therefore political. The obstructive influence to political unity exercised in Italy in the years 1859-60 originated in Vienna and Rome; and in Britain in the years 1800-1, the hindrance to ecclesiastical unity sprang from state-churchism and the remaining influence of the spirit of Romanism within the national institutions. The same causes operated to delay the full manifestation of the power of civil and religious liberty in France in the years 1859-60, and in Britain in the years 1800-1. The sign of the beginning of the removal of the influence that prevented the growth of ecclesiastical freedom and unity in Britain, was witnessed in the year 1818 in the rise of that united church which, in the year 1847, was completed in its structure and organisation. From thence it became a corporate witness embodying liberating principles, opposed to state-churchism and Romanism.

The historic parallels of resemblance between the leading features of the Church of Rome and the

Church of Scotland in relation to the number of their respective political alliances, and the number of ecclesiastical sections that have appeared within the original territory of each, were narrated in a previous chapter. The two first imperial allies of the Roman Church, the Roman and the German empires, were cast down—the one towards the close of the fifth century, and the other in the year 1806. The new imperial ally of Rome was erected in France in the year 1804. But although it was Pepin, the founder of a new French dynasty, who in the years 754-6 conferred the grant of territory that gave rise to the pontiff's elevation to the rank of a civil sovereign; and although it was his grandson, Charlemagne, who founded the German empire in the year 800, and, as it is alleged, confirmed and increased his grandfather's grant of territory to the Roman pontiff; yet it was a successor of theirs in the French monarchy, Philip the Fair, who resisted the pretensions of the see of Rome, disavowed its assumed political supremacy, and originated the weakening and decline of pontifical power as claimed by the popes from the time of Hildebrand. The facts connected with this turning point of papal history are thus recorded by Mosheim: "In a very haughty letter addressed to Philip, Boniface maintained that all kings and persons whatever, and the king of France as well as others, by divine command owed perfect obedience to the Roman pontiff, and this not merely in religious matters, but likewise in secular and human affairs. The king replied with extreme bitterness. The pontiff repeated his former assertions with greater arrogance, and published the celebrated bull called *Unam Sanctum*; in which he asserted that

Jesus Christ had granted a twofold power or sword to his church, a spiritual and a temporal ; that the whole human race was subjected to the pontiff ; and that all who dissented from this doctrine were heretics, and could not expect to be saved. The king, on the contrary, in an assembly of his nobles, A.D. 1303, through the famous lawyer, William de Nogaret, publicly accused the pontiff of heresy, simony, dishonesty, and other enormities ; and urged the calling of a general council for deposing the guilty pontiff from his office. The pontiff, in return, excommunicated the king and all his adherents the same year." Mosheim prefaces this narration of facts with the following comment : " The commencement of this important change (the undermining and weakening of papal power) must be referred to the contest between Boniface VIII. and Philip the Fair, king of France. This high-minded sovereign first taught the Europeans what the emperors had in vain attempted—that the Roman bishops could be vanquished, and be laid under restraint."*

The resemblance of the incidents of this contest to those of the contest between Gregory VII. and Henry IV., which culminated in Henry's submission in the year 1077, is remarkable. At the earlier date the papal power began to ascend to its highest elevation of political influence. At the latter date it began to descend. The era of the disruption of its political allies dawned, and the separation of the German empire into two distinct camps, the one Protestant and the other Romanist, was witnessed when the famous protest of the year 1529 was presented. The first step

* Mosheim, vol. ii. pp. 606, 607.

towards the rise of the German empire was taken in the year 800, and the last year of its existence was the year 1806. As in the year 1529 there was a disruption and a separation among the states composing the German empire on ecclesiastical grounds, so in the year 1806 there was a similar disruption and separation on political grounds. Protestantism occasioned the first, and the new imperial dynasty of Napoleon effected the last. From the beginning of the German empire in the year 800 until its collision with Rome in the days of the ascending career of the papacy, in the year 1077, there elapsed 277 years ; and from the collision of the German empire with Rome in the days of its descending influence through the disruption of German ecclesiastical unity in the year 1529, until the extinction of the empire resulting from the disruption of its political unity in the year 1806, there was a similar interval of 277 years. Moreover, in the history of the German empire, from its rise to its fall, and also of its connection with Rome, there are two chambers, the one within the other, having a common centre. From the year 1077, when pontifical ambition completed the first successful attempt to become supreme in affairs political as well as ecclesiastical, witnessed in the undignified and degrading submission of Henry IV., until the first successful attempt to resist and overthrow that political supremacy by Philip of France in the year 1303, and the commencement therefrom of the weakening and decline of the pontifical power, there intervened a space of 226 years ; and from thence until the weakening and decline of Rome's ecclesiastical supremacy over the German empire, proclaimed by the protest of the year 1529,

there elapsed other 226 years. Further, from the rise of the German empire in the year 800 until its fall in the year 1806, it being the avowed political ally of the Roman see, there was an interval of 1006 years. The centre or turning-point is the year 1303—the date of the commencement of the decline of Rome's supremacy politically; and the duration of each of the two periods between the beginning and the centre and the centre and the end, is 503 years. This is a completed series of historic chambers terminating in the extinction of the German empire as the political ally of Rome. If ever revived, it is not likely to be so in connection with Romanism.

The new French imperial dynasty so far resembles the old French monarchy in the variation of its modes of dealing with Rome; at one time favourable to Rome's political dominion, at another hostile. The French monarchy was long the faithful political ally of Rome; but the year 1303 witnessed a grievous change; and never since has France been brought under such political subjection to Roman supremacy as preceded that epoch. The influence of the papal see exercised in France has been ecclesiastical chiefly; and even that has not been unfrequently questioned by the supporters of Gallican ecclesiastical independence. The Napoleon dynasty inaugurated its career by encroaching on the existence of the pope's patrimonial civil dominion conferred originally by Pepin; and actually overturned his throne, annexed his territory to France, and carried himself away a captive in the years 1808-9. The papal throne was cast down—the second time by the pope's subjects—in the year 1848, and the pontiff became a fugitive from his domi-

nion. Within a few days of this occurrence the heir of the Napoleon dynasty was elected the chief of a new French republic. The Pope's flight from Rome and overturn of his civil dominion was accomplished on the 24th November 1848, and Louis Napoleon was sworn in as president of the French republic on 21st December 1848, and commenced his rule on 22d December 1848. The decadence of Romanism in connection with the German empire reached a most important stage of its history in the year 1529, when, on the 19th April, the act which separated the German Protestant powers and princes from Rome was completed. Another equally important stage in the continuing decadence of Romanism was evolved when, by a resolution of the English parliament, passed on 6th February 1689, the Romanist sovereign of the nation was declared to be no longer king, the throne was pronounced vacant, and William and Mary were named his joint-successors as king and queen of England. A third and still greater epoch had arrived in the prolonged and protracted decadence of Romanism, when the Pontiff's throne was a second time overturned by his own subjects, and the Pope himself became a fugitive from the territory of his dominion on 24th November 1848. On the 21st-22d December 1848, the heir of the imperial dynastic opponent of Rome who overturned the pope's dominion in 1808-9 became the ruler of France, but only as the chief of a republic whose legislative body controlled the policy and directed the affairs of government. Although Louis Napoleon became the head of the state which, immediately after the pope's fall, despatched an army to overthrow the Roman republic

and restore the pope's dominion, the Romanist policy was inaugurated and acted upon before his accession to office, so that the act is not the act of Louis Napoleon individually, but of the French national republic. Its legislative assembly and executive administration are responsible for the destruction of Roman freedom that followed, and the restoration of the political dominion of that system that is opposed to liberty in every form. The pope returned to Rome in April 1850, and has since been retained there by a French armed force. The counterpart of the act of the French republic to its Roman sister was performed by Louis Napoleon to the French republic in the year 1851, and the French imperial form of government was resuscitated, and Louis Napoleon inaugurated as its emperor on 2d December 1852.

The result has proved that imperialism in France is less Romanist than republicanism proved itself to be; and has supplied another evidence that it is not the form but the spirit which animates a government that promotes or obstructs the growth of human liberty. Imperialism, as recently revived in France, is less hostile to the spirit of freedom than republicanism has demonstrated itself to be. While, therefore, the imperialist dynasty of France, in the person of the third Napoleon, partially inherits the anti-Romanist tendencies of its founder, the French republic revealed the Romanist tendency of Pepin, the earliest donor of territorial dominion to the pope; for, in the year 1850, it restored, against the will of the Roman people, the civil sovereignty which Pepin first conferred in the year 756. In the year 754 the events began which resulted in the rise of the pope's political dominion;

in the year 1303 that universal supremacy, which for centuries had been claimed by the Roman pontiff, was denied by the king of France; and the papal power in Europe was from thenceforth gradually weakened. Between these two epochs—one marking the commencement of the rise of papal political power, and the other the beginning of the descent of that political power—there elapsed a period of 549 years. At the termination of other 549 years, in the year 1852, there is witnessed the overthrow of that form of government in France, under, and by which, the pope's political dominion, established for the first time in the year 756, was restored in the year 1850, in both cases two years within the two extremes. On the ruin of republicanism were resuscitated the empire and the imperialist dynasty, which had proved themselves on a former occasion the opponents of Rome's pretensions to civil sovereignty. The unchecked progress of decadence and destruction to papal civil sovereignty, and the inherent anti-Romanist political tendencies of the third Napoleon's regime and policy, are further corroborated by a chamber of history which commenced on 19th April 1529, in the avowal of the anti-Romanist political spirit of the German states, who adhered to the "protest;" finished the first half of its duration on 6th February 1689, in the declaration of the strong anti-Romanist principles of the English state; and terminated its second half in the twofold historical testimony given in the same direction by the overturn of the pope's civil dominion on 24th November 1848, never to all appearance to be again restored with the concurrence of his subjects, and the accession of the heir of the imperialist dynasty to be

chief of republican France on 21st-22d December 1848. The centre day between 24th November 1848 and 21st-22d December 1848, is 8th December 1848, or 26th November old style. It marks the termination, even to a day, of the historical chamber that commenced on 19th April 1529, and has its central point marked by the event of 6th February 1689, the duration of each of the two periods being 159 years 291 days.

As already stated, the history of the reformed church of Scotland and its political allies presents parallels of circumstance with the history of the church of Rome and its political allies. So also are there parallels of time. In English history chiefly the chambers connected with the growth of the political liberty of Great Britain are found; and in Scottish history chiefly the chambers illustrating the manner of the final realisation of ecclesiastical freedom are observable. The years 800, 827, and 1066, are respectively the epochs of the foundation of the German empire, the foundation of the first united English monarchy, and the completion of England's political edifice in a physical sense by means of the Norman conquest. In the years 1567, 1806, and 1833 respectively, occurred the union of the state and the reformed church in Scotland, the end of the German empire, and the end of the reign of the spirit of obstruction to ecclesiastical liberty in the church of Scotland, combined with the completion of the social and political edifice of British liberty by the passing of the act of slave emancipation. The whole distance of time from the foundation of the German empire, in the year 800, to the completion of

England's national edifice physically, in the year 1066, is 266 years. And from the union of church and state in Scotland, in the year 1567, until the death of the last form of obstruction to ecclesiastical liberty to which that union gave rise, combined with the full triumph of British social and political freedom, in the year 1833, there intervened a similar period of 266 years. The united English state was first founded in the year 827, 27 years after the rise of the German empire ; and in the year 1833, 27 years after the fall of the German empire in 1806, the end of bondage, ecclesiastical in Scotland and social in Britain, is witnessed ; although in the church of Scotland, it will be observed, the ten years' conflict resulting in complete ecclesiastical freedom was then only about to commence.

But in order further to illustrate the unerring and irresistible tendencies of the age, and their special fruits, the destructive character of Romanism and the regenerating influence of Protestantism must be traced through some other chambers. The Roman church in France was assailed by the spirit of violent change and revolutionary overthrow in the year 1789, and finally the Christian faith was abjured and the Roman church destroyed in France in the year 1793. In the year 1806 the imperial political ally of Romanism, the German empire, was also overturned. This is one series of events occupying a space of 17 years. The Bourbon Romanist dynasty, after its restoration, was a second time cast down in France in the year 1830 ; and in Scotland the religious fruits of Protestantism were fully ripened, first in the advent of the Free church in the year 1843, and next in the

final ecclesiastical union by which the several sections of associated Christians that were to constitute the United Presbyterian church of Scotland were amalgamated in the year 1847. This forms a second series of events occupying a similar space of 17 years. The first ecclesiastical union between the once disunited sections of the United Presbyterian church of Scotland was effected in the year 1818. The double series of events above named forms three distinct chambers of modern history, revolving round the year 1818, in which the dawn of approximating ecclesiastical perfection was witnessed. And what do they declare? The inner chamber commences in the year 1806 with the fall of the German empire, one great political ally of Romanism throughout its history; and ends in the year 1830 with the second fall of the Bourbon Romanist dynasty of France; the two periods of the chamber being 12 years each. The middle chamber begins in the year 1793, with the entire overthrow, in France, of the Roman church and the Christian religion as taught by Rome, accompanied by the first fall of the Bourbon Romanist dynasty of France; it ends in the year 1843 in the advent of a free Christian church, within a free Christian state, the fruits of the teaching of Protestantism, in Britain. The outer and remaining chamber begins with the gradual overturning, in France, of monarchy, aristocracy, church, and state, as Romanism had made them, consequent on the action of the revolutionary spirit, which commenced its destructive work in the year 1789; it ends in the year 1847 in the full revelation of a united as well as free church in Britain, testifying against the principle of church and state union, as first practised by Roman-

ism and inherited by Protestantism ; and also bearing witness to the unrestricted civil and religious liberty enjoyable within the dominion of the united empire of Great Britain, whose constitution embraces a monarchy, an aristocracy, and other political institutions, impregnated with the principles of Protestantism, and guided by the spirit of Christianity. The declaration of these chambers appears to be, that utter destruction awaits dynasties (whether imperial or monarchical) and systems (whether political, ecclesiastical, or social) whose existence depends upon their connection with the principles of the Roman religion, and whose conduct is influenced by its spirit. And further, that the principles of Protestantism and the spirit of Christianity will operate successfully to the setting up of dynasties and the reconstruction of states and churches, to supply the void that will thereby be left among the nations and kingdoms of men.

CHAPTER X.

BUT Christ has promised "to draw all" unto Him, and although His preliminary triumphs are being witnessed chiefly among those nations by whom a profession of Christianity has been made, the influence of His truth and the power of His spirit are to increase and extend far beyond the confines of Christendom. We have found the Protestant reformation, the English revolution, and the modern European revolution epochs connected together by numerous illustrative chambers of history. So also are the epoch of the rise of Romanism, the era of its meridian greatness, and the latter-day period of European revolution similarly united by chambers of human history. The dawn of the great central epoch, between the beginning and the apparently approaching end of Romanism, was the commencement of Rome's aggression on England, in the year 1205. It resulted in the completion of Rome's political triumphs, by the subjugation of England. The first event in this long series of large historic chambers was the permanent introduction of Christianity into Scotland in the year 563. The second was the sowing of the seed of Chris-

tianity in England in the year 596. The third was the arrogating of religious supremacy by the see of Rome in the year 606, thereby completing the Romanist edifice in its ecclesiastical aspect. The fourth was the foundation of Mohammedanism, which dates from the year 622. And the fifth was the capture by the Saracens (the adherents of Mohammedanism), in the year 636, of the once sacred city of Jerusalem,—the metropolis of Judaism, and the birthplace of Christianity. In the latter-day epoch the work of disruption and destruction of states, preparatory to their reunion, after reformation in the one case, and reconstruction in the other case, commenced with Great Britain. The last year of the union of Britain and America was the year 1774. The last year of the existence of the ancient regime in France was the year 1788. The first year of the new imperial dynasty of France was the year 1804; and by the emperor Napoleon I. the pope was stripped of his civil dominion. In the year 1814 the pope's civil sovereignty was restored, and Britain was mainly instrumental in effecting its reinstatement. And in the year 1847 the last of two corporate witnesses, embodying an aggregate testimony to the mighty power and true influence of the spirit of Christianity, was matured and revealed in Scotland.

The enumerated events at the time of the beginning are spread over a period of 73 years, from the year 563 to the year 636. Those at the time of the end occupy a similar space of 73 years, from the year 1774 to the year 1847. And the entire series, beginning and end, forms five distinct and separate chambers of human history, one within another, and

all revolving round the year 1205. Each of the chambers has also two periods of equal time measurement between the common centre and their respective extremes. The inner chamber commences with the renewed desolation of Jerusalem in the year 636, and ends with the termination of the union between England and America in the year 1774 ; thus connecting together the two extremes (locally and geographically) within which the primitive and modern influences of Christianity have chiefly exerted their power. From the land of Palestine and the city of Jerusalem the streams of Christian influence among European nations commenced to flow, reaching Scotland in the year 563, and England in the year 596. Romanism extinguished the existence of these influences for good among European nations in the year 606. Mohammedanism has done the same service within the geographical localities in Asia and Africa of the successful labours of the primitive Christian churches. Its desolating career commenced in the year 622, and its first signal territorial triumph was witnessed when the followers of the crescent dispossessed the disciples of the cross of Jerusalem,—the metropolis of Judaism and the birthplace of Christianity. From thence a long night of darkness reigned ; but at length light began to dawn in the separation of America from Britain, preparatory to the union of the latter with Ireland, and the final reformation and regeneration of the united empire as a political dominion. From Jerusalem the influence came westward and northward to England and Scotland ; and while in the course of performing its great work among the people of the British Isles, it was

transplanted still further west in its Protestant form among the inhabitants of the nation's colonial dependencies in America. The termination of the union between the parent country and the American colonies, in the year 1774, completes this chamber of human history. And it has two equal periods of time in its progress from beginning to end—one from the year 636 to the year 1205, 569 years; the other from the year 1205 to the year 1774, also 569 years.

The influence having first travelled in a western and northern direction, from Palestine through Asia Minor, Rome, and France to England, the order of its course is exactly reversed at the time of the end. For the work of destruction, essential as a preparation for the reforming and regenerating influence of the spirit of Christianity, after it had made a beginning in England, passes onward to France on its way to Rome and the Turkish empire, the present possessor of the land of Palestine. The foundation of the desolating religion of Mahomet was laid in the year 622. It appears to have been a religious system that has acted all throughout its history as a check and a counterpoise to the system of Romanism. But for its restraining, and, to some extent, correcting influence in the capacity of a scourge, bad as the state of European nations has been during the reign of Romanism, it might have been incalculably worse. The rise, therefore, of the influence of the corrective and restraining religious system of Mahomet, in the year 622, is the beginning of the next chamber, and the full ripening of the fruits of Romanism in France marks its end. It also has two periods of equal duration—one from the year 622 to the year 1205,

583 years ; and the other from the year 1205 to the year 1788, also 583 years. The middle, and the most conspicuous chamber of the five, begins with the full revelation of Romanism as an ecclesiastical system in the year 606 ; culminates in the commencement of the highest elevation of Romanism, both as a political and ecclesiastical system, in the year 1205 ; and terminates in the virtual close of the existence of the pope's prolonged political influence, whether imperial, monarchical, or pontifical, by the foundation of the Napoleon dynasty of France, in the year 1804. For it was erected on the ruin of the French monarchy, was immediately followed by encroachments on the political sovereignty of the pope in the year 1805, and reached its early climax in the overturn of the German empire in the year 1806, and the annexation of the pontifical territory to France in the year 1808. This chamber has likewise two periods of equal duration—one from the year 606 to the year 1205, 599 years ; and another from the year 1205 to the year 1804, also 599 years.

The next chamber is exclusively English or British and Roman. The pope of Rome in the person of Gregory the Great was undoubtedly the human agent by whose instrumentality the Christian religion was introduced into England in the year 596. But the ambition of the first Gregory, although highly conducive to the bringing forth of the head-stone of Roman ecclesiastical supremacy, contented itself with founding a Christian church in England, to a great degree independent of Rome. His successors gradually improved upon his original scheme, until at length pope Innocent III. became the impersonation of the

pretensions and arrogance of Romanism when at its greatest altitude. As in the days of the consummation of Rome's ecclesiastical claims, so in the days of the full flow of her political and ecclesiastical ambition combined, England was the object, possession of which was coveted and eventually secured. In the year 596 she commenced to plant her ecclesiastical influence in England. And in the year 1205 she essayed, by a new ecclesiastical aggression, to bring England under the sway of the sceptre of her political influence also. In this she was successful. Between these two epochs there is a space of 609 years. When the other period of 609 years in connection with this chamber expired, in the year 1814, how different the relative positions and actual circumstances of the once all-powerful papal empire and the meanwhile weak and humiliated English kingdom! Their relative positions were precisely reversed. The papal government had been made to drink deeply the cup of the fruits of the Romanist system in the entire overthrow of Rome's territorial dominion and the captivity of its chief. Britain, on the other hand, was revealing in the greatness of her strength, as an empire, the fruits of that spirit opposed to Romanism, by which she had been long animated. Britain, further, repaid her debt to Rome of the year 596, by being mainly instrumental in the pope's release from captivity, and the restoration of his civil sovereignty, in the year 1814. Britain, moreover, exhibited the guidance of a spirit in her national procedure, as different as can well be conceived from that by which Rome was uniformly actuated throughout her entire career, particularly in her general treatment of Britain, and more especially in her demeanour during

the struggle that originated in the year 1205. By materially assisting in the liberation of the pontiff and the restoration of his civil dominion, Britain as a state exemplified the noble Christian principle of returning good for all the evil she had suffered, thus heaping coals of fire upon the head of her most inveterate and unrelenting adversary.

The outer and fifth chamber is a Scotch or British and Roman one. As in all the other instances, so in this also, the ecclesiastical aspect is evolved in connection with Scotland, and the political with England; both, however, being component parts of the united empire of Britain. Christianity was introduced into Scotland from Ireland in the year 563, and it brought forth in Scotland the fully matured fruits of approximating ecclesiastical perfection in the year 1847. As in the case of England with Rome, she repaid her early debt to Ireland by planting there, in latter times, branches of her reformed and seceding churches. And to Ireland belongs the distinction of having been the birthplace, on 7th July 1818, of the first corporate incarnation in modern times of the spirit of Christianity, as an influence producing ecclesiastical union among these transplanted sections of the Scotch church. This ecclesiastical union in Ireland was thereafter followed by the ecclesiastical union of the two sections of the sister church in Scotland in the year 1820. The advent of the Free church of Scotland, as of a Christian institution born in a day, was witnessed in the year 1843. And the liberating and reuniting work of the spirit of Christianity brought this stage of its operations to a close in the year 1847, by the further ecclesiastical amalgamation of all the sections of dis-

sent that had their origin, in the eighteenth century, in the ecclesiastical overbearance of the ruling majority of the church of Scotland, from the time of the restoration of civil patronage in connection with the filling up of vacancies in its ministerial charges. This chamber has also two periods, one commencing in the year 563, and ending in the year 1205, with an interval of 642 years; and the other from the year 1205 till the year 1847, being also 642 years.

This year 1847 appears to have finished the term of respite given to Rome and its political allies. For a new revolutionary tornado swept over Europe in the year 1848, commencing in France and ending in Rome and Austria during the same year. By it the political thrones of France and Rome were once more cast down. As already narrated, the pope's territorial dominion was again restored, or rather he returned to it, in the year 1850. He has since been kept in Rome, against the will of his subjects, by the presence of a French army. So that while he nominally reigns, it is virtually by the power of the French army. The empire was resuscitated in France in the year 1852. Immediately thereafter the dark clouds of peril and danger began to overcast the political sky of the Turkish empire, and its integrity and prolonged existence were menaced by Russia. The first political act of the revived imperial dynasty in France was to ally itself with Britain, in a self-denying determination to protect by force the sultan's dominions from Russian domination, and to repel the military invasion of his territory. The governments of both nations exhibited in this policy the guidance of the true spirit of Christianity. Although Mohammedanism, of which the

Turkish empire is the chief prop in Europe and Asia Minor, has persecuted violently and relentlessly all forms of Christianity, and is its implacable enemy ; and although its overthrow would be an unspeakable blessing to the human race, yet the only allowable weapons of Christian warfare in the endeavour to effect this overthrow, are the knowledge of the truth and moral suasion. The employment of compulsion and force would only defeat the attainment of the end desired. In all such cases, Christian states must not interfere with supposed antichristian states, but must leave the dead to bury their dead ; or, in other words, "the way" of destruction to the old must have run its course ere "the truth" can be offered for acceptance with success. In resisting Russia, the governments of France and Britain were avowedly repressing and preventing the perpetration of an act of international wrong, the accomplishment of which would have tended to the undue aggrandisement of Russia, and would have inflicted a corresponding injury on France and Britain as well as Turkey. But, in addition, the two nations were, whether consciously or unwittingly, exhibiting the overruling of that spirit whose principle of action, whether in guiding a nation's policy or influencing an individual's conduct, is equally summed up in the words, "Do justly and love mercy."

France and Britain were successful in their operations against Russia. It is more than even a high probability, however, that they have not added a single year to the political existence of Turkey as a Mohammedan empire. In corroboration of the regular and orderly march of human history, whether the chambers be long or short in duration, and whether

the occurrences be of great or minor importance, there is a chamber of history in connection with these recent events just narrated. In the year 1843 there was an ecclesiastical earthquake shaking all church establishments in Britain, preparatory to their reconstruction as free, and united, and reformed ecclesiastical systems. In continental Europe, within the territory of the German and papal empires, there was experienced in the year 1848 a great political earthquake, shaking all existing systems of civil government to their fall and ultimate removal, to make room for the construction of new political institutions after the model of those that prevail in Britain. Still the course is from west to east and south. For in the year 1853 the prolonged existence of the Turkish empire was assailed and jeopardised. Thus the whole geographical space between Palestine and Britain has been convulsed and shaken, ecclesiastically and politically, since 1843. The first vibrations were felt in Britain, and they have travelled over the very territory that has been the scene of Christian history for eighteen centuries, and have overtaken finally the empire which holds the land of Palestine and the city of Jerusalem, the birthplace of the Christian religion. This chamber of history has two equal periods of five years each—one commencing in the year 1843 and terminating in the year 1848 ; the other commencing in the year 1848 and ending in the year 1853. But "the way" of destruction was again to be arrested for a time. The full revelation of the second corporate witness in Scotland in the year 1847 was another sign of the work yet to be accomplished by Britain. So, until its completion, the hand of the avenger is arrested in Europe in 1850,

when the tide of reaction had reached its full flow ; and in Turkey in 1853, the same year in which it was assailed. This also forms another small chamber, having two equal periods of three years each.

The existence of the Free church of Scotland is a strong testimony unfavourable to the establishment principle or state-churchism in religious matters. Its separation from the state in the year 1843 was a protest against the restraint and subserviency which a state connection imposes upon a Christian church. The just application of the establishment principle (if a wrong thing can be rightly employed) necessitates the meting out of equal measure to all classes of citizens, and all phases of religion. Simple justice demands of such a state as Britain that, so far as grants from the public funds are concerned, that which is done for one shade of religious opinion ought to be done for all. There should be no respect of persons or creeds in the acts of the legislature, or the administration of law, within a free Christian state. Grants for religious purposes made by the state are bad in principle, and pernicious in their effects. Their tendency is to degrade religion and its ministers, and place both in a position most unbecoming the professed ennobling aim of the one, and most obstructive of the successful prosecution of the labours of the other. Nevertheless, there is no middle course open to a state under the influence and guidance of Christian principle. It must either disendow all or endow all, even the most opposite and conflicting religious tenets. It cannot endow Protestants exclusively without inflicting corresponding injustice on Romanists ; neither can it endow believers in Christ's divinity exclusively

without inflicting civil wrong on those who deny it; and no more can it endow Christianity exclusively without a violation of the commonest principle of Christian fair dealing to the injury of Mohammedan citizens. State funds are contributed for the joint and equal benefit of the whole empire, without respect of persons or distinction of creeds. And gloss it as people may, the appropriating of such money to the exclusive use and service of any one or more religious communities, is an act of political fraudulency committed on those who are not permitted, or who conscientiously decline, to participate in the allocation of any grants that may be so set apart.

On the bare ground of political justice, partial and invidious grants of public money to some religious communities, while they are withheld from others, are indefensible in principle, and most objectionable in practice. A Christian state, apart altogether from higher considerations, is shut up to a plain line of duty. It cannot, or it ought not to, commit injustice; and it can only avoid doing so, in connection with this subject, by endowing all religions, or by withholding endowments from all. If the adoption of the former principle is a thing too repulsive to be seriously contemplated, the only other alternative is to withdraw and withhold state grants of support from all alike. And what say the chambers of history on this all-important question, pressing with grave earnestness for an immediate solution in connection with Great Britain as a Christian state? Why, they say that the English nation suffered most severely, both politically and ecclesiastically, at the hands of the most complete embodiment of the establishment prin-

ciple in the year 1213, when the see of Rome subjected its kingdom and church to its supremacy. They further declare that Britain has derived great assistance, benefit, and advantage, in its cultivation and nourishment of civil and religious freedom, from the Protestant movement originated in Germany politically in the year 1529, even although it was trammelled by the inherited influence of the establishment principle in its constitution. And, finally, they show that, in the year 1845, British statesmen of all parties practically acknowledged the civil injustice and wrong perpetrated by the operation of the establishment principle, when they concurred in passing an act endowing permanently, and to a largely increased extent, the Roman Catholic college of Maynooth in Ireland. Between the worst fruits of the establishment principle, or state-churchism, in Romanist times, of which England was the special victim in the year 1213, and its best fruits in Protestant times in Britain in the year 1845, there is an interval of 632 years. The central or turning point between the two fruits, was the origination, in union with civil states in the year 1529, of that Protestantism, by the action and influence of which the result of 1845 was effected in Britain, which result contrasts strongly with the conduct of Rome and its effect in England in the year 1213. The measurements each way are 316 years.

Further, there are two corporate witnesses testifying to the truth in this respect in modern times. The Free church of Scotland holds the establishment principle in theory, although it testifies against the compatability of its operation with the freedom of a Christian church. So far, therefore, it is a negative and unwill-

ing, but nevertheless faithful, witness against church establishments as at present constituted in the three kingdoms. The act of the British parliament in the year 1845 testifies to the legitimate consequence that must flow from the just and equal application of the establishment principle—which is, the indiscriminate endowment of all religions, without regard to their truthfulness or erroneousness, or their beneficial or injurious influence upon the state itself or its citizens. If the religious physician who cures souls is to be paid by the state, so must he who absolutely kills them. If the religious principles that have made Britain what she is are to be endowed by the state, so must those that have brought Rome to what she is. Justice demands these things. And Christianity imperatively prohibits and forbids both the practical adoption of a principle of wrong, and the employment of force and compulsion in the mode of obtaining the funds wherewith to sustain its ministers and propagate its doctrines. The completed existence of the United Presbyterian church, effected in the year 1847, is the third event in this short chamber, having periods of two years each. Its first event, in the year 1843, is an evidence of the practical ecclesiastical results of the working of the establishment principle. Its second event, in the year 1845, is an evidence of the practical political consequences of the same principle. Its third event, in the year 1847, confirms the testimony of its first event ; but, in addition, points to a more excellent way of dealing with this great subject, and in a voice loud and distinct declares in favour of the voluntary principle in religious affairs, and demonstrates that its operation alone will place the Christian church in its

proper and most influential position for good to the nation in all respects, politically, ecclesiastically, and socially.

The great result of the Turkish crisis of the year 1853 was not the preservation of Turkey from spoliation, or the successful resistance of Russia; but it was the cordial and hearty union of policy, and manifest identity of international interest, then for the first time thoroughly cemented between France and Britain. Such a union is fraught with blessing and happiness to the human race; and if the blood spilt and the treasure spent on the Crimean war had produced no other fruit, the union of France and Britain was worth the sacrifice. The tendency of the age is to increase and prolong that union; but ere it can be perfected, both nations will have to abandon entirely their attachment to wrong principles, and their connection with erroneous systems. Britain has only to deal with the question of state-churchism; but France has both political and ecclesiastical evils to remedy in the constitution of her state. Until the French nation imitates the conduct of Britain in developing a constitutional government, and separating itself from Rome, there cannot but be latent causes of disagreement and difference between the two states. Within the domain of Romanism their policy must be divergent, as was witnessed in the affairs of Italy in 1859 and 1860. Britain could not, consistently with her principles, either keep an army at Rome to protect the pope, or enter upon a war with Austria for the liberation and unity of Italy. The only mode of sustaining the Christian religion, of which France acknowledges the pontiff to be the chief, is moral and

intellectual. A religion that cannot be preserved and defended by such means from the hostility of its own adherents, has practically no existence. Military force may perpetuate the unprofitable presence of visible forms ; but it cannot give one scintilla of religious life or influence to them. It may keep on an otherwise unsafe and insecure throne an ecclesiastical prince who presumes to arrogate to himself the dignity of God's vicegerent on earth ; but with all reverence let it be said, the god whose vicegerent he is, is treating his viceroy with no small measure of neglect, and appears to be most indifferent as to what amount of obloquy and contempt is heaped upon the office. Verily the god of the pope of Rome is a hard, and even a tyrannous taskmaster ; for it is undeniable that he has placed his faithful and persecuted viceroy in a position of the greatest earthly eminence, without giving him even a single divine evidence of the commission he holds, in order to establish his authority, or command the respect due to his office. No doubt the pope is great among earthly magnates ; but unfortunately the kingdom of which he professes to be God's vicegerent is not of this world ; so that the larger his accumulation of earthly stores of dignity and honour and power, the greater the amount of evidence destructive to his heavenly claims. In a time of such need, surely if he were the viceroy on earth of Him that is faithful and true, influence would in some way be exerted in his behalf, in order, at the very least, to verify and confirm his claims. It is not recorded in the annals of sacred history of any other previous and specially commissioned servant of the Most High being so dealt by ; for even when they were exposed to degrad-

ing humiliation and violent suffering, the God of the prophets and apostles bore witness to His approval of their conduct and acceptance of their services. And why should the father of the Roman church be subjected to a kind of treatment which the most faithless princes among men would have blushed to have been the instruments of inflicting on their viceroys or ambassadors, if he be really what he alleges himself to be? If he would only sanction the existence of a solitary institution, or the application of a single principle, in harmony with what is revealed of God's Spirit to man, the absurd and untenable nature of his claims would not be so clear and palpable. In no case could Britain unite with France in a policy of action having for its object the compulsory upholding of the throne of a religious chief against the will of his subjects; and if in any case such a union of policy was either permissible or practicable, Rome's chief could not by any possibility be the subject of it.

Although the struggle between France and Austria has resulted in the liberation of Italy, yet neither was it dictated by a policy in which Britain could unite with France. Freedom, to be worth possessing, must be worked out by those who are to enjoy its blessings. If accomplished by external help, to the extent it is so, the independence of those liberated is bartered away. The exchange made may be a favourable and desirable one in many respects; but it is open to doubt whether the present state of Italy is so favourable to the unchecked progress and steady growth of civil and religious freedom as was the condition of the kingdom of Sardinia before the war in Lombardy. If there be any truth in all we have written, the overflow of influence

beyond the energy of the Italian race employed in their liberation must have a corresponding reaction. This is obviously an inevitable law in the history of human affairs. To the precise extent of the military assistance given by France to Italy is freedom an exotic among her people ; and a corresponding amount of reactionary influence must work itself out as a correction, ere a just and enduring national equilibrium is attained. The French emperor's intentions may have been, and no doubt were, friendly in the extreme to Italian liberty ; and so far as good intentions can redeem a course of policy based upon a wrong principle, he is by all means entitled to be credited with them. But the teaching of human history is untrustworthy and erroneous, if, in Italy, the painful and reactionary effects of France's interference directly in her affairs are not witnessed before the final triumph of a true and enduring spirit of civil and religious freedom among the people of Italy. Therefore it was, and is, that Britain is under the necessity of keeping aloof from the policy that has been adopted by France in the affairs of Italy.

With these two exceptions, however, and with a strict and unbending regard to the right each nation must exercise of regulating its own internal arrangements as it thinks best, no other question can arise on which they may not have a united policy of action. And this has been so since the year 1853. For, since the Crimean war, there have arisen the China war twice repeated, and the recent difficulty between Britain and America, on each of which occasions France and Britain adopted the same line of policy. There is, moreover, a testimony in history to the only obstacle

that prevents a thorough union between France and Britain, and also to the fact that true civil and religious liberty must be worked out for themselves by the people of the nation which is to enjoy it. The foundation of the constitutional freedom of Britain was laid in the grant of Magna Charta, in the year 1215. Another great step in the progress of the work was taken in the act of separating from Rome, in the year 1534. And in the year 1853 the only obstruction to the accomplishment of an entire accord between France and Britain is the continued connection of the French state with the Roman see. Before either France or Sardinia (for both were the allies of Britain in the Crimean war) can secure the possession of civil and religious liberty, both nations must sever their connection with Rome, after which there will be no remaining obstacle to their national freedom, and their entire and permanent union with Britain. This chamber has two periods of 319 years each, and it demonstrates what is the only source of peril and danger to the union which now so happily subsists between France and Britain. It also warns Italy of the chief source of immediate danger to the permanence of her free institutions. Yet evil must not be done that good may come. The time is not distant when all things in Britain, France, and Italy will be ready for the full inauguration of civil and religious freedom, international unity, and social happiness among all the three nations. And then, but not till then, the work will be accomplished by Him who has hitherto operated so marvellously in human history, and by means altogether in harmony with the humane, beneficent, and wise spirit of His great purpose.

For what of improvement has been manifested in the relations of France to Britain, let both nations be grateful, and let all peoples and nations rejoice, for their union is identified with the world's progress, and the amelioration and gradual removal of the evils by which the human race is afflicted and oppressed. The incidents and alliances of the war which terminated in 1814-15 were very different from those of the war which commenced in the year 1853-4, so far as France and Britain are concerned. In both countries there have been great political changes in the interval. In Britain only, however, has the institutional framework been remodelled. The culminating point in the reforms that have been introduced, is the year 1834, as already explained. France was an empire till the close of the first struggle; and she had become an empire again before the commencement of the next. Any change in policy at the latter, as compared with the former era, was on the part of Britain towards France. And this was exhibited in a strong light by the prompt recognition of the restored French empire by Britain. The Russian emperor, miscalculating the force, as well as mistaking the nature, of those influences that appear to direct human affairs, found himself unexpectedly confronted with the united hostility of France and Britain. But he had advanced too far to recede without wounding a fallacious sense of unreal dignity and honour. Hence the war, and its tragical accompaniments. Even Austria and Prussia, the allies of Britain in 1814-15, along with Russia, against the French empire, stood aloof; and their sympathies appeared to be more on the side of the aggressor and the disturber of the peace of Europe, than with those

who strove unsuccessfully to maintain it intact. Public policy and sound principle actuated the conduct of Britain on both occasions. The aim was uniform and alike in each case. But her old allies had either forsaken or forgotten their principles of 1814-15. And her old opponent, France, had changed its character. For Russia became the aggressor of 1853; and imperial France was the ally of Britain in resisting and repelling the aggression. Austria and Prussia, if not openly sympathetic with Russia, were not actively engaged in preventing the threatened dismemberment of Turkey, either by diplomatic means or by military demonstrations, clearly evidencing that dynastic and absolutist influences had more weight in the councils of their governments than international law and the world's peace. This chapter dates from the close of the war with French imperial aggression in the years 1814-15, and ends with the commencement of the war against Russian imperial aggression in the years 1853-4; having for its centre or turning event the great atonement made by Britain in name of Divine justice and human freedom, as witnessed in the accomplishment of negro emancipation in the year 1834. On all these occasions Britain appears as the defender of the right, and the repressor of the wrong; whether that wrong be attempted by colossal empires upon weaker states, or be perpetrated by individual citizens on degraded slaves. In each case she vindicated the right at a considerable cost of treasure; and in two of them by the shedding of blood. It is singular that these two conflicts and Britain's recent difficulty with Federal America, should have been the occasion of her appearing for a time as a supporter of systems most repug-

nant to her spirit. Britain's Protestantism is too sound to permit of her making any religious compromise with Rome. Her Christianity is too largely developed to admit of her showing any partiality for the religion of Mohammed, as a religion. And her abhorrence of slavery is too sincere to allow of her sympathies being excited in favour of the accursed thing, as it exists among the Confederate states of America. If she did assist in restoring the pope of Rome, it was as an act of international justice, in no way attributable to a leaning towards Romanism. If she has been mainly instrumental in prolonging the feeble existence of Turkey, it was the result of her determination to prevent the perpetration of a great act of political injustice and aggression. And if she resolved, at the risk of a calamitous war with the Federal states of America, to demand the surrender of the men taken forcibly from under the protection of her flag on board the Trent steamer, it was not because she had any liking either for the men or their principles, but wholly for the purpose of preserving intact, even from the shadow of encroachment, the glory of her national flag, which consists chiefly in the fact, that beneath it there is an asylum and a protection to the persecuted and oppressed ones of the entire world, the sanctity and security of which may be violated only at the peril of a terrible retribution, if reparation and redress are refused.

Once more, there is a chamber having the same central point, the year 1834, indicating a similarity, and yet a remarkable change, between the policy to Italy of the original and the revived French empires. In the years 1808-9, the first Napoleon annexed Rome

to France, and the pope was carried away a captive. Naples was continued a kingdom under Murat, the brother-in-law of Napoleon. Italy was then conquered by France for France. In the year 1859, part of Italy was wrested from Austria ; but it was given to Italy. And in the years 1859 and 1860 the people of the Neapolitan kingdom and of the other petty sovereignties, including great part of the Roman dominion, were not interfered with in their successful revolt and consequent annexation to an Italian kingdom under a national king. But the third Napoleon has further reversed the policy of his uncle ; for instead of forcibly removing the pope from Rome, he is forcibly retaining him there. This chamber, beginning in the year 1808-9, and ending in the year 1859-60, demonstrates the rapid advance of liberal principles of human government among the people of Italy, and also in the successor of the first Napoleon as compared with himself and his time. The centre event, in the year 1834, points to the conduct and example of Britain as the abounding source of the noiseless but mighty influence that is so steadily progressing towards its triumph throughout Europe. In its terminating events it declares further, among other things, that the forcible retention of the pope in Rome is the great obstruction to the work of perfecting the edifice of civil and religious liberty in France and Italy. But the protection cannot be withdrawn with profit or advantage to the cause of freedom,—the time is not yet.

The question may now reasonably be put, Is there any probability of the restoration of the dethroned Bourbon dynasty in Naples ? Let two chambers of history reply to that question. The last year of the

disunited existence of Great Britain and Ireland was the year 1800. The second overturn of the French Bourbon dynasty was effected in the year 1830. And the second overturn of the Neapolitan Bourbon dynasty was accomplished in the year 1860. This is one chamber. Again, the German empire, as the ally of Romanism, was overturned in the year 1806. The culminating act of British civil liberty was passed in the year 1833; and it was also the last year of the ruling power of that spirit of ecclesiastical overbearance which governed the church of Scotland with such disastrous results throughout the eighteenth century. The terminating event is again the second overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty of Naples in the year 1860. The first of these chambers has two measurements of 30 years each; and the last has two measurements of 27 years each. They also include unitedly the fruits both of the destructive and the regenerating influences so largely prevalent in the present age. And what is their voice in reply to the question proposed? They appear to say that when the repeal of the union between Great Britain and Ireland is effected—that when the German empire is restored as the ally of Romanism—that when the French legitimists succeed in replacing the Bourbons on the throne of France—that when the act of slave emancipation is rescinded by the British parliament—and when the Free church of Scotland returns to the national establishment, willing to allow the government of that church to be directed by the principles which regulated its dominant majority till the year 1833,—then, in the event of the decision of history being once more reversed in the case of all, or even one, of the things named, may the friends of

Bourbonism in Naples lift up their heads and look up ; and then also may the friends of human liberty and progress begin to be cast down and dismayed within the old Neapolitan dominion. Let it be noted here in passing, for the purpose of after reference, that the porch of this modern gate of reform and liberty extends over a space of thirty-one years, from its beginning in Britain in the year 1828-9 to its beginning in Italy in the years 1859-60 ; and that there are twenty years between the year 1828-9 and the great European crisis of 1848-9 ; and eleven years between the great European crisis of 1848-9 and the year 1859-60.

“The kingdom” set up in connection with the great purpose that has been evolving throughout human history was taken from the Jews in the year B.C. 606, and was never afterwards restored to them in its original integrity. It was to be set up once more, and to be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof. This accomplished, all other descriptions of power and dominion among men were to be overturned, overturned, overturned, until He came whose right they are, and to Him they were to be given. How far success has attended the endeavours to prove, from history, which is the nation to whom “the kingdom” has been given, where among all peoples its fruits have been most abundantly brought forth, and what are the strongly prevailing tendencies and intelligibly characteristic teachings of passing events, each reader of this volume must judge for himself.

The aim of the writer has been to condense into as brief a space as was consistent with clearness and lucidity the mere literary contents of this volume.

The materials out of which it has been constructed are sufficiently abundant to have furnished subject-matter for many volumes. Probably, in some instances, this intended conciseness has been carried too far. But if it be borne in mind that the historical chambers and parallels are not nearly exhausted by the large use that has been made of them in these pages, the paramount necessity of a strict adherence to a principle of concentration in the plan of comment and explanation will be admitted, as a different method would have increased the illustrative expositions of the entire theory to an extent that might have proved seriously obstructive of one great and chiefly desired object of the publication. This method will not be departed from in the concluding remarks, the substance of which, in other circumstances, would have demanded and also justified more minute and detailed treatment. The connecting together of the principal links in human history made use of in the preceding pages in such a manner as will give one complete view of the great scheme, is the task that must now be accomplished ere the portion of the comprehensive plan under consideration is brought to a satisfactory close.

One branch of these remarks will be explanatory and confirmatory of the continuous and united character of the chain of events which is revealed and disclosed in general human history. In following out this object, we will not require to go further back than the time of the overthrow of the Jewish church and state by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, in the year B.C. 606. Another branch of these remarks will be devoted to a brief illustration of the remarkable manner in which the results and effects produced in

human history have verified the promises made, and fulfilled the obligations undertaken, by the Author and the first heralds of the Christian religion, specially in relation to the growth of human freedom, and the advent of a corporate incarnation of the spirit of Christian union. A third branch of these remarks will treat of the pregnant signs and unmistakable tendencies of the present age, pointing, as without doubt they do, to the not-distant triumph of truth and right, and the utter destruction of error and injustice among all nations, and kindreds, and tongues, and peoples throughout the earth, as a consequence of the action of that powerful and resistless influence by means of which life is to be given to the saying of Christ, which is thus recorded in Scripture: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all (men) unto me."*

Prior to the year B.C. 606, the Jewish church and state were a perfect national model of their kind, and were an authorised practical illustration of an ecclesiastical and political system of human government, suitable to the period of human history in which it was brought into existence. In this respect its overthrow by Nebuchadnezzar in the year B.C. 606 was final and irrevocable, for it was not restored as a complete ecclesiastical and political system. From thence until the nineteenth century no such authorised and united ecclesiastical and political system of human government has had a national existence anywhere on earth. The interval of time which has elapsed from the overthrow of the ancient Jewish pattern, until the revelation of the modern British model, is

* John xii. 32.

divided into four large compartments of general history, one within another. The successive central epochs of these large wheels or cycles of general history are easily distinguishable, for they are the great landmarks which stand prominently out, as unusual and remarkable eras, along the line traced by human events in the progress of their evolution. The great centres or turning-points between the overthrow of the first authorised national system of human government, and the full revelation of another national system of human government based on the principles and animated by the spirit of Christianity, are those events which constitute the sources of modern history. By them a line of demarcation is drawn between the old and the new—the ancient and the modern national systems of united ecclesiastical and political government.

One series of these central events is European chiefly, in its origin and hitherto accomplished results. Another series is Asiatic principally, in its origin and consequent historical effects. The first series comprises the Christian sources of the history of Great Britain as the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; and also the source of the history of modern Rome, as an ecclesiastical and political system of human government. The second series comprises the events connected with the rise and establishment of Mohammedanism as an ecclesiastical and political system. The years 563, 596, and 606, are the central years of British and Roman chambers connected with Christian and European history. The years 622 and 636-7 are the central years in connection with Islamism and Asiatic history. There is thus a series

of five distinct and separate chambers, commencing with the overthrow of the Jewish system of national polity in the year B.C. 606, having for their respective central epochs the permanent introduction of Christianity into Scotland and England in the years A.D. 563 and 596, the foundation of Romanism in the year A.D. 606, and the religious rise and political establishment of Islamism in the years A.D. 622 and 636-7, and having their several terminations in events at the expiry of subsequent intervals corresponding in duration to those which elapsed between the year B.C. 606 and each of the years named. Only four of these chambers are as yet completed, and they are those which revolve round the years A.D. 563, 596, 606, and 622. The fifth chamber—that which revolves round the year A.D. 636-7—is incomplete, and has its termination still future. The large chamber of Mohammedan or Asiatic history, having its centre in the year 622, is the only one, therefore, that can be treated of at present; and on this account we must, except to this extent, confine the illustrations to Christian and European history.

The central epoch of the second series of British and Roman chambers is marked by the commencement of the struggle for ascendancy between Rome and England in the year 1205, its close in the year 1212-13, and the grant of Magna Charta in the year 1215. Round these centres another and more numerous series of chambers revolve, having their sources in the years 563, 596, 606, 622, and 636-7, and their completed fruits in modern and recent occurrences, with the exception of the chamber which begins with the year 563; it being now in process of full evolu-

tion. The years 1205, 1212-13, and 1215 become next the sources of a third series of chambers, having their central or turning era in the leading events of the great Reformation of the sixteenth century. Many of these chambers are completed, but the termination of a considerable number of them is not yet reached. The leading events of the Reformation era, between the years 1517 and 1603, become in turn the sources of a new and fourth series of chambers having their central epoch in the English Revolution of the year 1688-9, and these are all finished and complete. There are thus four successive series of large chambers, the second being half the duration of the first, and within them ; the third being half the duration of the second, and within them ; and the fourth being half the duration of the third, and within them.

The individual chambers of the first and third series are not all complete ; the individual chambers of the second series are all terminated except one ; and the individual chambers of the fourth series are all evolved. The unfinished chamber of the second series, now nearing its completion, defines the limit within which the present intended historical illustration must be restricted. It commences with the permanent introduction of Christianity into Scotland in the year 563, and has its central point in the subjugation of England by Rome in the years 1212-13. Its termination politically is in the year 1861 in the United States of America, once a portion of the British empire ; and its ecclesiastical aspect will probably reveal itself in Britain, after its course is fully run, in the year 1863. Ecclesiastically, America is

free from the taint of state-churchism, and the establishment principle is not recognised in its institutions. Politically, Britain approximates perfection, and the social cancer of slavery is banished from its dominions. Each of the nations which were portions of one empire until the year 1775-6 possesses one of the two essential elements of approximating perfection ; and each is defective in the precise quality for which the other is distinguished. The limits, so far as evolved, therefore, of the four successive series of large historical chambers, one with another, are the year B.C. 606, when the first authorised national system of ecclesiastical and political government was overturned, and the year A.D. 1861, when the process of eliminating the evil from the good in the social and political condition of the United States of America commenced in violence and bloodshed, and which is, in all probability, to be speedily followed by a peaceful and bloodless process of ecclesiastical reformation and regeneration in Great Britain and Ireland.

Beginning, therefore, with the overturn of the ecclesiastical and political institutions in existence among the Jews, there are four successive great epochs of general history, so arranged as to the time of their occurrence that they give one grand and united testimony confirmatory of the regularity and order with which events have happened. Further, each epoch has its own characteristic features and circumstances— one differing from another, yet all combining to bear witness to the successful, though slow and gradual, operation of the law of human progress, whose full fruit, as revealed in Britain, is perfect social and political liberty, and, as disclosed in America, is ecclesias-

tical freedom from state control, and the national embodiment of the voluntary principle in connection with the support and maintenance of religious ministrations and ordinances. All the four series of chambers pour the streams of their fructifying, and in some instances ripened, influence into the present age, as into a general reservoir prepared for their reception. The lines of the numerous individual chambers are all drawn towards the current epoch, and run into it as into a common terminus. The time occupied is nearly 2500 years; the work accomplished is the triumph of Christianity in the full incarnation of the spirit of human liberty, and thereby the intellectual and moral elevation of the peoples among whom freedom has prevailed; and the manner of effecting it testifies to the existence of a comprehensive plan, according to which the social, ecclesiastical, and political issues of national existence have been successively evolved.

Each of the four series of individual chambers is complete within itself. But the singular, if not marvellous feature of the arrangement is, that while every series of chambers has its own beginnings and centres, both distinct and distant from all the others, yet the termination and entire results and completed fruits of every chamber in every series are concentrated within the space of time allotted to the last half of the fourth series—that is, between the years 1689 and 1861. There are four individual chambers of the first series fully evolved. They all commence in the year B.C. 606, and the earliest of them is connected with Scotland both in its centre and termination, having parallel intervals of 1169 years each between the beginning in the year B.C. 606, and the centre in the year A.D. 563,

and between the centre in the year A.D. 563, and the termination in the year A.D. 1732. The seed of the Christian religion was sown in Scotland in the year A.D. 563, and the seed of Christian ecclesiastical freedom and union was sown also in Scotland in the year A.D. 1732. For had there been no separations and secessions from the established church of Scotland, there would have been no United Presbyterian church, a corporate incarnation of ecclesiastical union free from state control, and practically embodying the voluntary principle. The Roman ecclesiastical system came into existence in the year A.D. 606, and this year marks the great turning-point in general history between the year B.C. 606 and the present epoch. The first half of this large chamber of joint Jewish and Christian history occupies a space of 1212 years. Within its last half, many of the individual chambers belonging to the other three series of compartments begin and end. The inner chamber of the fourth or last series commences in the year 1603, and terminates in the year 1775, revolving round the year 1689, which is the common centre of the fourth series. The events of these three years are British and American exclusively, and they comprise in succession union, revolution, and disruption. The outer chamber of the fourth series terminates in the year 1861, so that the last half period is from the year 1689 to the year 1861.

In order to bring before the mind of the reader another view of the singular beauty and minute and detailed harmony of the wonderful scheme, we will now point out the exact similarity in the manner of the evolution of the events comprised in the first half

period of the first series of individual chambers, and the last half period of the fourth or last series. The first is from the year B.C. 606 to the year A.D. 606, having an interval of 1212 years. The last is from the year A.D. 1689 to the year A.D. 1861, having an interval of 172 years. Each of these two intervals of such unequal duration, constituting as they do the first and the last half periods of the four large wheels of general history, is itself a distinct chamber, having two periods of equal duration, and the parallelism existing between the two distinct chambers and the two half periods in each chamber is truly striking and remarkable. The ancient chamber begins and ends in overthrow and bondage, and has for its turning-point the commencement of the Christian era, the character of which explains and accounts for the difference of circumstance attending the Jewish and the Christian epochs of overthrow and bondage. The modern chamber begins and ends in revolution, identified in each case with the chief of the state (in the year 1689 with James II., and in 1861 with President Lincoln), as the impersonation of alleged objectionable principles. In like manner the centre event, in the year 1775, the political disruption between Britain and America explains and accounts for the difference in the attendant circumstances of the revolution in the year 1861 as compared with those of the revolution in the year 1689.

But, yet more remarkable, the inner half-periods of these two distinct and widely-distant chambers, formed out of the first and last half-periods of the first and last of the four successive series of large compartments, constitute by themselves two separate cham-

bers, having each two periods of equal duration ; and, as in the preceding instance, the parallelism between them is most complete and perfect. The career of the primitive Christian churches was downward to political enslavement in the year 303, and ecclesiastical bondage in the year 606 ; whereas the career of the latter-day churches has been upward to freedom from state control in Scotland from the year 1732, and to entire and perfect ecclesiastical liberty in America from the time of the disruption with Britain in the year 1775. The centre events of each chamber in the years 303 and 1732 are precisely similar, with the exception that the tendency in the year 303 is downward, whereas in the year 1732 it is upward. In the former year the church came into collision with the state, by which it was ultimately enslaved. In the latter year the collision occurred by which existence was given to a church free and independent of state control. The terminating events of the two chambers in the years 606 and 1775 are also exactly parallel, but they have produced diametrically opposite results. The event of the year 606 resulted in ecclesiastical bondage, most complete and perfect in its character. The event of the year 1775 has produced ecclesiastical freedom not less complete and perfect.

Still further, the large chamber, of which the interval between the year B.C. 606 and the year A.D. 606 is the first half, terminates in the year A.D. 1818 in the first-fruits of the spirit of Christianity as the spirit of ecclesiastical incorporate union. These first-fruits were witnessed in Ireland, and on the American continent in Nova Scotia. In connection with Ireland, the last of the political unions was effected by means

of which the united empire of Great Britain and Ireland was consolidated. And in Ireland the first incarnation of the spirit of ecclesiastical union in the home dominion of the British empire was witnessed, although the sections ecclesiastically united were branches of the secession from the church of Scotland. Thus the terminations of the first and third of the first series of large chambers are in the years 1732 and 1818; and the termination of the inmost of the fourth series of chambers is in the year 1775. These three terminations of the large chambers constitute a separate chamber of modern history, having two periods of equal duration, and illustrating, moreover, the growth and development of civil and religious freedom, and the incarnation of the spirit of ecclesiastical union. The beginning of this chamber in the rise of secession from the church of Scotland in the year 1732, and its end in the first reunion of the divided branches of the secession in the year 1818, are 86 years distant from each other. The centre event, being 43 years apart from each extreme, is the commencement of the disruption between Britain and America in the year 1775, from which has already sprung enlarged social and political freedom in Britain, and perfect ecclesiastical liberty in America; and the ultimate results of which will be unprecedented blessing, increased prosperity, and the gift of a well-regulated social, ecclesiastical, and political freedom to the human race generally.

This year, 1818, is the great turning-point of modern history in its Christian or European and American aspect; for the principal recent events in the Old and New World connected with the political and ecclesiastical fruits of Christianity revolve

round it at equal distances of time. For example, as previously explained, it is the centre year between the British and American disruption of the year 1775, and the American disruption of the year 1861. It is the centre between the French revolutionary ecclesiastical events of the years 1789 and 1793, and the Scotch reformatory and restorative ecclesiastical events of the years 1843 and 1847. And it is also the centre between the overthrow of the German empire in the year 1806, and the second overturn of the Bourbon dynasty of France in the year 1830. And what is specially worthy of observation, it possesses in addition to all this that peculiar characteristic, the manifestation of which was to be a certain sign of the near approach of the time of the world's belief in Christ as the Son of God and the Redeemer of men. All the evidences we have here adduced, when combined, form a very powerful testimony, confirmatory of the character of the present epoch, and the irresistible tendency of its events. But the illustration has been limited to Christian or European and American history ; whereas, if the obvious tendency of current events is to consummate the triumphs of Christianity, and fulfil the promises made, and implement the obligations undertaken by its Founder and first heralds, the results will be world-wide, so that Islamism and Asia must be included.

The terminating events of the large chambers of joint Jewish and Christian or European and American history were westward and northward. The terminating event of the only completed large chamber of joint Jewish and Mohammedan or Asiatic history is eastward. The disturbing and revolutionary influences

have travelled to the very ends of the earth. Their power was manifested in the extreme east, China, in the year 1850, and in the extreme west, America, in the year 1861—the latter instance including, probably, a most important change in the future destiny of the long-oppressed and down-trodden African race. In both empires the fratricidal and revolutionary strife continues to be waged. And is it unreasonable, after the exposition that has been given, to entertain the opinion that the end to be accomplished is the liberation and enlightenment of the human race through the successful operation of the spirit of Christianity, when the preparatory season of destruction and humiliation is finished in each case? Now, from the year B.C. 606 until the advent of Islamism as an ecclesiastical and political system of human government in the year A.D. 622, there elapsed a period of 1228 years. From the rise of Islamism in the west of Asia in the year A.D. 622, to the outbreak of a revolutionary spirit in China in the year A.D. 1850, there intervened a similar period of 1228 years.

The incompleteness of the chambers of Asiatic history interposes a difficulty in the way of a full and perfect illustration confined to Asiatic events. But we will endeavour to compensate in some measure for this defect, by giving a combined view of European and Asiatic occurrences. The religion of Mohammed has all throughout its history acted as a counterpoise to the religion of Rome, at least until its place was more efficiently supplied by Protestantism. The principles of Romanism and Islamism are both alike destructive of human happiness, and obstructive of the growth of ecclesiastical and political liberty.

Neither of the systems is calculated to improve, enlighten, purify, and elevate mankind; but each has curbed and checked the ambition and the arrogance of the other. The rise of the religion of Mohammed dates from the year 622, and the establishment of its political and territorial influence dates from the year 637. The zenith of Roman usurpation and arrogance was reached in the year 1213, in the subjugation of England, effected with the aid of a threatened military invasion of England by France. Between the year 637 and the year 1213 there elapsed 576 years. After the expiry of other 576 years from the year 1213, the modern epoch of European revolution commenced in France in the year 1789. One of its completed effects has been the raising up of a new imperial dynasty in succession to the old French monarchy. This new imperial dynasty was founded in the year 1804, and it has become the modern political rival of Rome. From the rise of the religious rival of Rome in the year 622, until the influence of Rome reached the zenith of its exercise in the year 1213, there elapsed 591 years. At the expiry of other 591 years, in the year 1804, the first foundation of the imperial dynasty, which has become its modern political rival, was laid in France in the year 1804.

The commencement in France of the modern epoch of European revolution in the year 1789, and the commencement in China of the modern epoch of Asiatic revolution in the year 1850, are two terminations of large chambers, both of which are to a greater or a less extent identified with Asiatic history. The revolutionary spirit, moreover, manifested its power first in the empire occupying the extreme west of the

European continent, and in the empire occupying the extreme east of the Asiatic continent. We shall have to constitute the year 1850 a centre event, making it perform the same service in the elucidation of joint European and Asiatic modern history that the year 1818 does for Christian or European and American modern history. The years 1789, 1818, 1843, 1847, and 1850, are all terminations of large chambers of human history. As previously explained, the French revolutionary and destructive ecclesiastical events of the years 1789 and 1793, and the Scottish liberating and restorative ecclesiastical events of the years 1843 and 1847, revolve round the year 1818 as their common centre. These same years, 1843 and 1847, become the sources of two modern chambers of joint European and Asiatic history, and have their common centre in the year 1850.

In the year 1847 the incarnation of the spirit of incorporate ecclesiastical union was evolved in connection with the once-disunited sections of secession from the church of Scotland. If the valedictory prayer of Christ is ever to be answered in the experience of men, the event of the year 1847 strongly resembles the dawning fulfilment of His expressed desire as to the union of His adherents. But it is accompanied by other circumstances which tend to strengthen the accuracy of the opinion, that the time of the world's belief in Christ as the Son of God is drawing near. The evidences of this tendency are numerous in current and recent European and American history. But we are not without ample corroboration of the correctness of this opinion deduced from current or recent Asiatic history. In the east

of Asia, China is overtaken by revolution in the year 1850 ; in the west of Asia, the Turkish empire is threatened with overthrow and dismemberment in the year 1853 ; and in central Asia, the stability of the Indian empire of Britain is menaced by the revolt of the native army of Bengal. The advent of a perfected ecclesiastical union in Scotland in the year 1847, one sign of the coming belief of the world in Christ ; the revolution in China, commenced in the year 1850 ; and the threatened overthrow and dismemberment of the Turkish empire in the year 1853, form one modern chamber. The two events of the years 1850 and 1853 possess, moreover, the undoubted characteristics of occurrences destined to prepare the way for the operation of that influence by which Christ is to draw all unto Himself. The other chamber begins with an ecclesiastical earthquake in Scotland in the year 1843, and ends with a political earthquake in the Indian empire of Britain in central Asia, in the year 1857, having for its centre the year of the commencement of the Chinese revolution, 1850.

Having thus traced by historical paths so numerous and so intricate the evolution of that great plan which appears to be stamped most legibly on human history, the conclusion deducible therefrom is clear and inevitable. We live in an era pregnant with the greatest and most momentous issues. The world has entered on that epoch of rapid transition and resistless change which is preparatory to, and immediately preceding, the grand consummation of human redemption. It is impossible to conceive, much less to express in human language, any adequate idea of the rich treasures of enduring happiness and true glory which are about to

be distributed among the human race. May we not appropriately bring these remarks to a close by quoting the last words of promise in the sacred record; for the Divine footsteps in human history are not less a testimony to and by Him whose providential works are so great and marvellous, than are the writings of Scripture. Therefore, and in this sense, "He which testifieth these things saith, Surely I come quickly. Amen. Even so, come, Lord Jesus."

CHAPTER XI.

It cannot be denied that the contents of this volume point to conclusions of immediate practical importance. If the data on which they are founded be accurate, and the means by which they have been arrived at be trustworthy, they are, beyond all question, deserving of more than ordinary attention and consideration. Objectors, whether interested or disinterested, whether prejudiced or impartial, will find their occupation peculiarly hopeless and unprofitable, if truth be the foundation of the superstructure that has been reared. The resistless reasoning of passing events will prove more than a match for every form and degree of opposition. The voice of current history will give the strongest confirmation to the teaching of all past history, if the language of its lessons has been correctly read. It is not, therefore, in anticipation of hostile assault that any further steps need be resorted to in order to strengthen and fortify the position taken up; for, year by year, additional testimony will be accumulating for its support and defence; moreover, those dissatisfied with what is already written are not likely to be convinced or silenced by

any other kind of evidence or reasoning than that which future historical demonstrations can alone supply. But there may be many so far persuaded of the truth of what is written as to desire every possible confirmation of the opinion they have formed. In particular, that large portion of the community whose faith in the Bible, as a revelation of God's will and purpose to the human race, is unbounded, may justly hesitate to accept anything as true, concerning the divine dealings with men as moral and intelligent beings, for which Scripture authority cannot be adduced. Even those who are unable, from whatever cause, to view the contents of the written Word as a divinely inspired rule of faith, life, and practice, may be willing to consider with as little bias as possible any new evidence that may be adduced in corroboration of the Bible's claims to a heavenly origin. Between the rejection of all Scripture and the refusal to receive any portion of it as from God, and the unqualified reception of every word contained in the Bible as if it had been spoken by God, there is a large and safe margin for reasonable and profitable discussion. Each word of Scripture is not of equal value. All its sentences are not alike important. Its entire contents are the joint production of God and man. But in some portions the divine element obviously predominates to a much greater extent than it does in others. The historical and devotional parts are much more impregnated with the human element than those that are preceptive, doctrinal, and predictive. The historical and predictive portions of Scripture occupy the two extremes, the historical being most impregnated with the human element, and the divine ele-

ment being greatly predominant in the predictive. They who reject Scripture as of divine authority require evidence to convince them of its heavenly origin ; they who receive all Scripture as given by inspiration of God would, no doubt, be scandalised if anything so important in human history as the theory elaborated in this volume had no place in the announcements of the Bible.

There is, however, a more pressing inducement prompting the writer to produce further evidence confirmatory of the reliability of the conclusions come to in this volume. If they are accurate, early and prompt action in a certain direction by the rulers and people of Britain is plainly intimated as a paramount and unavoidable necessity. An indefinite prolongation of the present connection subsisting between the established churches of the empire and the state is clearly incompatible with future political safety and religious prosperity. If anything in particular has been satisfactorily proved in these pages, it is the fact that everything has its appointed time, beyond which no human effort is of any avail in the extension of its existence ; for the change, if not willingly effected by those whom it concerns, will most assuredly be brought about without their aid or concurrence, although in a way that will be painful if not destructive. Every year of delay or resistance will only increase the bitter ingredients of the cup attempted to be thus put away by those into whose hands it is placed, and that without diminishing one drop of the original contents, or delaying one hour the full drinking of the disagreeable draught. If such a thing were conceivable, as that the parliament,

church, and people of Britain resolutely determined to adopt no measures with the view of accomplishing gradually and beneficially the prospective and destined ecclesiastical changes, then the intervening time would be lost to those most deeply concerned, but the work would be most effectually completed at the time appointed, and accompanied with the penalties attached to obstructiveness. To avert, therefore, if possible, any such unpleasant and unnecessary results—to make the transition from things as they are to things as they are to be, productive of the least amount of inconvenience to all concerned—and to engender a willingness and cheerfulness of spirit in entering on, and prosecuting to a successful termination, so great a work,—it is absolutely indispensable to confirm and corroborate, in the strongest manner, the certainty and the accuracy of those conclusions which relate to the ecclesiastical changes now impending, and speedily to be experienced by the people of Great Britain and Ireland. The gravity and seriousness of the present crisis in human affairs are beyond all doubt. In every respect save one, Britain is placed on a high elevation, and is far removed from the sphere in which danger threatens and destruction is imminent. But the neglect even of this single source of peril, and delay in making suitable preparations for its entire removal, would bring her people to that extent within the reach of the coming storm, and expose her ecclesiastically to the blast of the terrible hurricane. It is an act of true patriotism for a man to inform himself and communicate to others what is truth in connection with this momentous subject, the satisfactory adjustment of which is intimately

bound up with the individual happiness and general prosperity of all ranks and conditions of the empire ; and the settlement of which, in a spirit of peace and goodwill, will be an example fraught with unbounded blessing to the entire human race.

In furtherance of the object announced, attention may be directed, first, to the fact that there are at least two instances recorded in the historical portions of Scripture in which the principle of the division of human history into chambers or compartments of equal duration is countenanced and sanctioned. The first of these relates to the life of Moses, the founder of Jewish polity in church and state. There are three chambers of forty years each in his career as the appointed human leader and deliverer of the Israelites. The second is connected with the change of the Jewish commonwealth from a democracy to a monarchy. The duration of the reigns of the first three kings, and the only kings over all Israel, was also forty years each. It is further recorded that there were three chambers or compartments of fourteen generations each in the genealogical descent of Christ from Abraham : from Abraham to David, fourteen generations ; from David until the carrying away into Babylon, fourteen generations ; and from the carrying away into Babylon unto Christ, fourteen generations.* So far as these testimonies go, they favour the opinion that a law of order prevails in human history, and regulates the time of its occurrences, and the duration of its chambers and compartments. They also, being evidences adduced from Scripture history, support, if they do not confirm, not only the truth of the theory, but also the proba-

* Matthew i. 17.

bility of such an arrangement being of divine origin and appointment ; for we have the testimony out of the mouth of two, yea, three witnesses. But, in addition to these direct and unimpeachable witnesses, there is any amount of circumstantial testimony in Scripture in proof of the fact that God hath appointed the times and the seasons of all events. This general circumstantial testimony, combined with the special and direct witnesses quoted, justify belief not only in the existence of the law, but warrant, moreover, a reasonable confidence in the fact of its divine origin and appointment.

Many received theories have not anything like so good a foundation of fact and principle on which to rest their claims for acceptance, as has been already produced in the present instance. Numerous historical facts and undoubted Scripture precedents are a basis secure enough on which to rest any theory. We propose, however, to enlarge the basis still further, by introducing the element of Scripture prediction. Do not let the reader be alarmed, for it is not in the least our intention to lead him into any labyrinths of abstruse prophetic criticism. Many remarkable corroborations of the various conclusions come to are, no doubt, to be found in the predictive writings of Scripture ; but that is a department of biblical inquiry and investigation too comprehensive and intricate to be entered upon at present. It is happily by no means essential to the attainment of our object ; for the confirmations we are in quest of stand prominently out in the prophetic portions of the Bible. In four different passages of Scripture, the idea of measurement is associated both with the existence and progress of the

divine purpose towards mankind. The first of these will be adverted to at greater length, and more in detail, hereafter. The second passage is in these words :—" I lifted up mine eyes again, and looked, and behold, a man with a measuring-line in his hand. Then said I, Whither goest thou ? And he said unto me, To measure Jerusalem, to see what is the breadth thereof, and what is the length thereof."* The third in succession is in these words :—" And there was given me a reed like unto a rod : and the angel stood, saying, Rise, and measure the temple of God, and the altar, and them that worship therein."† The fourth mention made of a measuring process is in these words :—" And he measured the wall thereof, an hundred and forty-four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of the angel."‡ These various distinct allusions to the performance of an act that indicates the pre-existence of something analogous to a law of order and exactitude, testify moreover to the production of certain results, the accuracy and correctness of which were to be tested and proved in this manner. Either the whole system and scheme of religion propounded in the Bible is mythical ; or, if true, one mode of ascertaining its truthfulness is declared to be by a process of measurement. This much is clearly beyond the reach of controversy ; but whether we have hit upon the right description of measurements is altogether a different question. The only point now insisted on is, that Scripture, both in its historical and predictive portions, corroborates and confirms the correctness of the opinion, first, that there is a law of time or duration, of divine appointment,

* Zech. ii. 1, 2.

† Rev. xi. 1.

Rev. xxi. 17.

regulating the progress of human history ; and, second, that in some way, by a process of measurement, the progress of the divine purpose in human history is to be accurately ascertained and correctly defined.

So far the intention expressed in the early pages of this volume as to the very sparing use that would be made of Scripture in the prosecution of this inquiry has been strictly adhered to ; it is not even now proposed to deviate at any length from the rule hitherto adopted. It was, however, intimated at the same time, that the object towards the close would be to prove something off Scripture, rather than anything from it. The contents of the Bible, more than those of any other book, have been sadly misused and misapplied. Erroneous renderings and unwarranted interpretations are unfortunately not uncommon. Scripture has received serious maltreatment, and this it has experienced at the hands of both friends and foes. Scarcely any portion of the sacred volume has escaped being made the battle-ground of contending partisans. Its historical records have been sifted and analysed in a spirit of severe scrutiny. They have been subjected to all manner of criticism and comparison, both favourable and adverse ; and it may be safely affirmed that it would be difficult to select from amongst its many narratives, even one which has not been the subject of some kind of contention. The devotional sections of the contents of Scripture have probably fared best in this prolonged war of words concerning *The Word*. Its doctrinal announcements have been most prolific of grave contests, fierce hostility, and bitter asperity among the adherents of conflicting views in relation to their import, and also on the part

of both admirers and detractors. The preceptive lessons of the Bible have been more reverentially treated, and they are undeniably the only sure foundation on which to construct the loftiest and most enduring system of moral philosophy. They are the very essence and substance of every correct principle of human action, whether in the aggregate or the individual. But who can undertake to convey an accurate idea of the mingled dogmatic fanaticism and refined scepticism through which human minds have received their impressions of the predictive portions of Scripture? The mystery and obscurity with which they are intentionally and necessarily encircled, have not deterred men from presumptuous and unwarranted intermeddling. Those who have seen in every event of any unusual importance in their own day a literal accomplishment of some isolated prediction, and those who regard the entire scheme of predictive announcement as little else than a harmless delusion, have alike erred egregiously. There have been many incongruous and ill-digested attempts made to decipher the hieroglyphs written on the prophetic pages of Scripture; but the fact is undoubted that it is not within the range of either human or angelic intellectual effort to unfold, or even understand in part, the sacred superstructure of Scripture prediction, until He that reared the written fabric completes its living and historical counterpart.

It is scarcely credible that, amid so many searching criticisms, and such diversified and continuous contentings, both as to the actual text and to the divinely intended meaning of Scripture, any part of its contents can have escaped every one of the numerous assaults

that have been made upon it generally. Nevertheless there is a small portion that has actually defied all attempts at interference with it, either by Scripture friend or Scripture foe. It is, so to speak, a virgin portion of the Bible. In its presence all minds have been without a serious thought as to its accurate application or its actual meaning. No rational explanation has ever been offered, or probably even attempted, of its provoking particularities and perplexing exactitudes. In pursuing the intended object of making a most sparing use of even that portion of Scripture, there is thus furnished a high vantage-ground. No old violent contentions will be revived in the discussion ; no preconceived opinions or prejudices will be disturbed or offended at the readings that will be assigned to it. The interpretation offered will not give justifiable ground for cavil or objection, except to such as are adepts in performing the intellectual feat of persistence in the erroneous assertion that two and two make five. For as certainly as two and two make four, as exactly as the key fits the lock it is intended to open, as perfectly as a good human portrait resembles its living original, are the contents of this volume the exact and complete historical counterpart of that city, the framework of which is given in the portion of Scripture alluded to. Proofs abundant have already been given of the existence and operation of a remarkable law regulating the progress of human history, and controlling the rise and revelation of conflicting principles of human action and diverse systems of human government. It has been, moreover, repeatedly demonstrated how closely in some cases the effects produced resembled the fruits

promised by the Author of Christianity. There was thus supplied a twofold chain of evidence, each so separate and distinct from the other, that their general as well as special concurrence would have been impossible, except on the hypothesis that He who spoke the words in the flesh, and He who performed the deeds in human history, were of one mind and will ; and this hypothesis, if proved correct, is the accomplishment of one principal aim of the inquiry. But we now propose to add a third series of links to this twofold chain, the minuteness, the particularity, and the exactitude of which will leave not a loophole or a crevice for the cherishing of reasonable doubt as to the accuracy and reliability of the conclusions previously come to. Nay, more, it will most assuredly confirm beyond all controversy that He who indited the single chapter of Scripture to which we refer, and He who laid the foundation of Christianity in the decease He accomplished at Jerusalem, and He also who has controlled and regulated the course of human history from the time of the creation and fall of Adam to the present year, have taken counsel together, and have been of one mind and will in all that relates to the experiences and destinies of the human race.

The portion of Scripture which is to perform this high service commences with the 40th chapter of Ezekiel. It contains the first of those passages to which allusion has been made as corroborative of the opinion that in some way the progress of the Divine purpose in human history is associated with a process of measurement. These are the words which convey this idea :—"In the visions of God brought he me into the land of Israel, and set me upon a very

high mountain, by which was as the frame of a city on the south. And he brought me thither, and, behold, a man whose appearance was like the appearance of brass, with a line of flax in his hand, and a measuring-reed.* It will be observed that the measuring-line of Zechariah and the reed of the apostle John are both combined in this passage, and, as will be perceived in the sequel, both are required. "The reed" is a precise and unvarying measure, said to be "six cubits by the cubit and an handbreadth" (verse 5), and it is eight times employed in the measurement of "the frame of a city." The measuring-line is much more frequently had recourse to. Now, the first inquiry that naturally presents itself is, What kind of measurements is meant or intended? We may dismiss without discussion the idea that the numerous measurements given in this and subsequent chapters have no specific and particular application. Such a proposition could not by any possibility be entertained as either reasonable or probable. If the measurements are not fanciful and are not without meaning, then there are only two ways of applying them: either they are measurements of space relative to a material city having its several gates, thresholds, pavement, &c., and also its temple, its altar, its inner and outer courts, and other numerous details narrated in the description given by Ezekiel; or they are measurements of time in relation to human history, in which the three thresholds, the little chambers, and the porches, having the same measurement—"one reed"—and all the other minute particularities, will be discovered. That they are not measurements of space in

* Ezekiel xl. 2, 3.

relation to a material city is made obvious and unquestionable from the eight measurements which are said to be each "one reed." Who ever heard of "the breadth and the height" of a material building, of "the threshold of the gate, and the other threshold, and the length and breadth of every little chamber, and still another threshold by the porch of the gate within, and the porch of the gate within" itself, having all one and the same measurement—"one reed"? This initial difficulty effectually bars any attempt to make these measurements generally square and harmonise with the manner of the possible construction of any material city that ever has or can be erected on this earth.

The only remaining mode of applying them is as measurements of time in human history. It is said "a reed" is "six cubits" (ver. 5). There are "great cubits" (chap. xli. 8); so there will also be small ones. As measurements of time, cubits can only denote years by units, or centuries, or millenniums. A cubit may stand for one year, or a hundred years, or a thousand years. The instances of the latter application must be few; of the two former there be many—the unit interpretation being available when current or recent events in human history are the subjects of measurement; and the century application of the cubit measurement being the correct one when chambers of human history of more remote occurrence, either in their origin or termination, are the subjects of measurement. If this be a correct rendering of the cubit measurement, then "a full reed of six great cubits" (chap. xli. 8) will be a period of six hundred years. Further preliminary discussion is probably

not called for. Having given the required explanations concerning the manner in which the proposed confirmation and corroboration are to be secured, what remains to be done now is simply to use the reed and the measuring-line. Comments or reasonings would clearly be misplaced; for if the fitting and harmonising of the several historical chambers, with their respective corresponding measurements, given in Ezekiel, are not so exact and self-evident as to be perceptible of themselves, the fulness of the object aimed at would fail in its accomplishment. Therefore, in every instance the historical chambers and their corresponding measurements will be placed side by side with the least possible amount of explanatory comment. There are several chapters connected with this portion of Scripture; but it is not proposed to travel beyond the contents of the one chapter at present. It will be seen at the end that the completed historical chambers given in this volume are all included in the measurements of time given in the 40th chapter. To Ezekiel was revealed the dark and mysterious outlines of "the frame of a city." To us is disclosed a view, clear and intelligible, of this same city drawing near its completion.

We pass over, in the mean time, without comment, the measurement of "the breadth and the height of the building" (ver. 5), as its termination is still future. Before entering on an application of the various measurements, we would solicit attention to the several gates of access to the city, to each of which Ezekiel was taken in succession, and to some of them twice over. First, "he came unto the gate which looketh toward the east" (ver. 6); and at the close of the

measurements by this entrance, it is intimated that the direction of "the breadth from the forefront of the lower gate unto the forefront of the inner court without" was "eastward and northward" (ver. 19). This is a correct geographical description of the course of human history in connection with the religion of the Bible. It had its origin in "the east," and was located there throughout the entire duration of the Adamite or Noachian, and Abrahamic or Mosaic periods of its history. During the Christian period, it passed on through Rome and its dependencies, and ultimately reached Scotland first, and England next. A line drawn from Palestine, through Italy to Great Britain, will have its one terminal point "eastward," and its other terminal point "northward." He next measured "the gate of the outward court that looketh toward the north" (ver. 20), and thereafter he was brought "toward the south, and behold a gate toward the south" (ver. 24). Scotland is north, and England is "toward the south" of Scotland. It is added that, in connection with the north gate, "the gate of the inner court was over against the gate toward the north, and toward the east" (ver. 23); but he was "brought to the inner court" direct "by the south gate" (ver. 28). It will be recollected that the measurements of the chambers of Scottish history—"the north gate"—were chiefly, if not wholly, identified with ecclesiastical or religious affairs. And the connecting of "the gate toward the north with the gate toward the east"—that is, the uniting of Scottish church history with the history of the Jewish and early Christian churches—was an object principally aimed at in them. It was otherwise with the mea-

surements of the chambers of English history—"the south gate"—for they were mainly identified with political affairs, and had this aspect of their origin in England exclusively. Still the way of English religious history was also from the east, northward. But as the chief ecclesiastical lessons have been taught in connection with Scotland—"the north gate"—and the principal political lessons in connection with England—"the south gate"—the description given is peculiarly accurate. "The inner court by the south gate" (ver. 28) was entered—that is, the political state of the united empire was to be perfected; while, in its ecclesiastical condition, it was still to be in the outer court, by way of "the north gate." It is explained previously that the era of final reformation and regeneration politically, commenced in Britain in the year 1828, and terminated in the year 1858. Immediately thereafter, the liberalising influence politically commenced its return journey toward the east, through France and Italy, in the years 1859-60. So, therefore, after being brought to "the inner court by the south gate" (ver. 28), England, he is brought into "the inner court toward the east" (ver. 32), through France and Italy. But the full realisation of civil and religious freedom could not be effected in France and Italy for some time. He is, therefore, once more brought "to the north gate" (ver. 35), and there he now stands, there being one year of the measurement of the length of its gate in the outer court unexpired (ver. 11 and 20).

"Then he came unto the gate which looketh toward the east, and went up the stairs thereof, and measured the threshold of the gate, which was one reed broad ;

and the other threshold of the gate, which was one reed broad" (ver. 6). "He came to the gate which looketh toward the east" in locality. He "went up the stairs thereof." The number of the steps is not given in this instance. It is, however, intimated by this action that there would be an upward and an ascending progress in human history, from the beginning on to the end of the measurements by "the gate which looketh toward the east." He "measured the threshold of the gate, one reed broad; and the other threshold, one reed broad." As already explained, "one reed" stands for six hundred years. "The way" of the regeneration of an individual physically, or a nation politically, was illustrated during the Noachian period of human history; and this "the threshold of the gate" was "one reed broad," or a time measurement of six hundred years. "The truth" by which intellectual enlightenment, either individual or national, was to be attained, and human freedom, political, ecclesiastical, and social, was to be achieved, was revealed during the Judaic period of human history; and this, "the other threshold," by entering which individuals and nations were to be enlightened and made free, was also "one reed broad," or a time measurement of six hundred years.

"And every little chamber was one reed long and one reed broad; and between the little chambers were five cubits; and the threshold of the gate by the porch of the gate within was one reed" (ver. 7). "Every little chamber was one reed long and one reed broad." This is the first announcement of the existence of that law in obedience to which human history is divided into chambers or compartments,

each chamber having two periods of equal time measurement. "The way" and "the truth," or the two thresholds of the first and second periods of human history, did not produce any permanent beneficial national results among the people of the Jews, therefore the kingdom or "city" was taken from them, and was to be given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof. The two most conspicuous rivals for this great distinction are Rome and Britain, and there is an illustrative little chamber in connection with the history of each. Monarchical France and imperial Germany were the principal political allies of Rome. To the church of Rome as one of many early Christian churches was committed "the truth" by which human enlightenment and freedom were to be promoted. Its chief assumed a supremacy which gave him the power of extinguishing the light and shutting up the written record of "the truth." This supremacy he arrogated in the year 606, and this power he exercised from thenceforward. This was the commencement of the "little chamber" of Roman history. It is "one reed long," for it occupied six hundred years, from the year 606 to the year 1205-6, to ripen the full fruits of such a manner of dealing with "the truth." It is also "one reed broad," for at the expiry of other six hundred years, in the years 1804-6, there is witnessed the ripening of "the way" of overthrow and destruction to the political abettors of the system upheld by Rome. In the year 1804 the Napoleon dynasty was founded in France on the overturn of its ancient monarchical regime; and by the new imperial dynasty of France the German empire was overturned in the year 1806. In British history, political fruits of a

precisely opposite character are disclosed. The time occupied in the beneficial application to Britain, as a nation, of "the way and the truth" of the Noachian and Judaic periods during the third or Christian period of human history, constituted a little chamber one reed (or six hundred years) long and one reed (or six hundred years) broad. The measurement of "the way" commenced in the year 615-16, and terminated in the year 1215; and the measurement of "the truth" commenced in the year 1215, and ended in the year 1814-15—the length and breadth of the "little chamber" of British history being each six hundred years.

"And between the little chambers were five cubits"—that is, between the termination of the threshold of "the truth" in the Judaic period and the termination of the threshold of "the life" in the Christian period, there is a chamber having a measurement of "five cubits," or five hundred years, on each side. The first measurement of five hundred years is from the closing of the written truth of the Old Testament in the year B.C. 404, to the closing of the written truth of the New Testament in the year A.D. 96. And the second measurement of five hundred years is from the year A.D. 96 till the year A.D. 596, in which Christianity was introduced into England, and the seed of "the life," or the third threshold, was sown in its human soil. "And the threshold of the gate by the porch of the gate within was one reed." This is the last of the three thresholds—"the life;" and Christ says they are all in Him, He being "the way, the truth, and the life." Its measurement is also "one reed," or six hundred years. It begins with the birth of Christ, or the individual incarnation of "the way, the truth,

and the life," in the year B.C. 4, and it ends with the sowing of the seed of the national incarnation of "the life" among the people of England in the year A.D. 596, which was followed by the little chamber, six hundred years long and six hundred years broad, devoted to the national incarnation of "the way and the truth," under the control and guidance of the spirit of "the life," communicated in the year 596.

"He measured also the porch of the gate within, one reed" (ver. 8). This porch of the gate is described as "within" the little chambers of Roman and British history. It is also mentioned in the preceding verse, that the third "threshold of the gate" was "by the porch of the gate within." It is therefore within the chambers, but close to the third threshold of the gate, which ends in the year 596. Viewed in connection with the little chamber of Roman history, the "porch of the gate within" will be a measurement of British history. The Roman chamber illustrates the enslaving power of error, and "the way" of destruction to which it leads and in which it terminates. "The porch of the gate within," therewith connected, and forming a contrast to it, is "the way" of national regeneration through suffering and humiliation, exhibited in the history of England from the year 615-16 to the year 1215. The British chamber illustrates in full "the way" of national regeneration, and the purifying and liberating power of "the truth." "The porch of the gate within," connected and contrasting with it, is the corrupting and enslaving influence of error revealed in the history of Rome from the year 606 to the year 1205-6. In each case the measurement is "one reed," or six hundred years.

“Then measured he the porch of the gate, eight cubits ; and the posts thereof, two cubits ; and the porch of the gate was inward” (ver. 9). This is “the porch of the gate ;” and its measurement, “eight cubits,” or eight hundred years, has only one application. The entire measurement fits either into German history or British history. From the commencement of the Christian era to the foundation of the German empire in the year 800 is the exact time. Also, from the lowest point of England’s national depression and proved weakness as one kingdom, in the year 1003, until the final rupture with Napoleon in the year 1803, which gave occasion for the display of her unequalled political power and material strength as the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, is also the exact measurement of time. But the German measurement does not throw much light on either principles or systems ; whereas the British measurement gives, at its commencement, a practical demonstration of the great fact, that the foundation of a true and enduring national greatness must be laid in the deepest humiliation ; and, at its termination, it supplies incontrovertible evidences of the marvellously changed character of its power and dominion, produced, in the interval, through the operation of “the way and the truth.” The results of the twelve years’ war with the Danes, who had invaded England in the year 991, revealed the weakness and degradation of the nation at that epoch ; and the results of the twelve years’ war with the French empire, which terminated in the year 1814-15, demonstrated the greatness of the power and dignity as a political dominion to which Britain had risen in the interval. In further

corroboration of the opinion that "the porch of the gate" is connected with British history, it is added that "the posts thereof" were "two cubits"—that is, two hundred years within each extreme of the eight hundred years there were to be posts or corresponding events bearing upon the ultimate destiny of the British empire as a political dominion. After the Norman invasion and conquest of England, Normandy was ere long transformed into a province of England; and, during the currency of the sixteenth century, an attempt was made to unite the crowns of France and Scotland by the union in marriage of Mary, queen of Scotland, and the dauphin of France. Had either the territorial annexation of Normandy to England been perpetuated, or the union of the crowns of France and Scotland been effected, the territorial compactness of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland would have been prevented, and its political strength and influence would have been seriously diminished. "The posts" are the events which disclosed the complete frustration of both attempts, and the effectual removal of the sources of territorial weakness and dynastic disunion from among the people of the united empire. For, at the expiry of 200 years from the year 1003, the war resulting in the reannexation of Normandy to France, and its permanent separation from England, commenced in the year 1203; and 200 years prior to the year 1803, the crowns of England and Scotland were united in the year 1603. There is yet another confirmation supplied, to the effect that this measurement is applicable to British and not to German imperial history. It is stated that "the porch of the gate was inward"—that is, it

was even further onward in human history than the "porch of the gate within," close by which was the third threshold. The termination of the German measurement, the year 800, is outward of the years 1205-6 and 1215. But the termination of the British measurement in the year 1803 is "inward" of both the years 1205-6 and 1215.

"And the little chambers of the gate eastward were three on this side, and three on that side; they three were of one measure: and the posts had one measure on this side and on that side" (ver. 10). The three little chambers "on this side" are the three chambers of Jewish history; the three little chambers "on that side" are the three chambers of Christian history. Each of the three chambers on the Jewish side are of one measure. The uniform time measurement applicable to each chamber is 430 years. The first measurement is from the call of Abraham to the exodus from Egypt, 430 years; the second, from the commencement of the conquest of the promised territorial inheritance under Joshua until its completion under David, also 430 years; and the third, from thence until the overthrow of the Jewish kingdom by Nebuchadnezzar, and the nation's entire and complete dispossession of their territorial inheritance, other 430 years. Each of the three chambers on the Christian side are also of one measure; and the time measurement of each chamber is 606 years. The first, from the commencement of the Christian era till the rise of Romanism as an ecclesiastical system in the year 606; the second, from the rise of Romanism as an ecclesiastical system until it attained the zenith of its influence as a political as well as an

ecclesiastical system, this being proclaimed by the successful termination of its aggressive struggle with England in the years 1212-13 ; and the third, from thence, the epoch of the prevalence of the enslaving power of error, until the beginning of the ecclesiastical incarnation of the freedom-giving and union-producing spirit of truth witnessed in Ireland and Scotland, parts of the British empire, in the years 1818-20.

“And the posts had one measure on this side and on that side.” The commencement of the Christian era is here indicated as a common centre, around which, as it were, and at equal measurements of time therefrom, corresponding events in Jewish and Christian history will be found transpiring. The corresponding posts “on this side and on that side” are the terminal events marking the beginning and the end of chambers of joint Jewish and Christian history, one within another, and each having the same time measurement on either side of the commencement of the Christian era. A slight difficulty interposes itself here from the fact of the posts on the Christian side not being all evolved in human history. The post “on this side,” nearest the commencement of the Christian era, is that connected with the overthrow of the Jewish church and state, and the bondage of the people of the Jews. Nebuchadnezzar’s aggression commenced in the year B.C. 606. The corresponding post “on that side” is the overthrow of the Christian church, and the ecclesiastical bondage of its members, effected by the pope’s assumption of ecclesiastical supremacy in the year A.D. 606. The next post on the Christian side is the epoch of deliverance and liberation from papal bondage through the instrumentality

of Luther. The corresponding post on the Jewish side is the epoch of deliverance and liberation from Egyptian bondage through the instrumentality of Moses. Moses was brought up in the Egyptian king's house, and Luther was trained in the pope's church. The parallel event in the individual career of each was, on the Jewish side, the flight of Moses from the territory of the king of Egypt, and, on the Christian side, the collision of Luther with the pope, and his refusal of submission to his ecclesiastical authority. It appears that in the measurements which combine Jewish and Christian history, the years from the year A.D. 606 fall to be reckoned as years of 360 days each, instead of the ordinary year. This is a fact, the explanation of which would lead away from the subject on hand ; and as it is of inconsiderable moment, there being only two completed measurements to which it is applicable, it is inexpedient to enter upon its elucidation here. According to this mode of reckoning, sixty-nine ordinary years will count as seventy years from the year A.D. 606. The difference caused by this mode of reckoning is thirteen years at the epoch of the Reformation. These added to the year 1517-18 give the year 1530-31 as the date of the corresponding post on the Jewish side—the flight of Moses from Egypt ; and this is correct. There are at least other two important posts on the Jewish side, but as the corresponding posts on the Christian side are yet future, their measurement must be left over.

“ And he measured the breadth of the entry of the gate, ten cubits ; and the length of the gate, thirteen cubits ” (ver. 11). “ The breadth of the entry of the gate ” is the space of time allotted for the prepara-

tion of England as a united kingdom to commence the work of final political reformation and regeneration. It commenced in the year 827 with the union of England under one monarchy, and it terminated in the year 1827, Britain having then finished its political history in the outer court, and having, in the year 1828, ascended into the inner court of final reformation and approximating political perfection. The measurement is "ten cubits," or one thousand years. It will be remembered that this "breadth of the gate" constitutes a chamber of history, having a measurement of 500 years on each side of its central epoch, the year 1327. "And the length of the gate, thirteen cubits." "The length of the gate" is the whole space of time allotted for the work of preparation before entering upon the final era of ecclesiastical reformation and regeneration in the united British empire. It commenced in the year 563, and does not consequently terminate till the year 1863. The year 1863 seems to occupy the same relation to Britain ecclesiastically that the year 1827 did to it politically. This "length of the gate" also constitutes a chamber of history having a prominent central event—the complete subjugation of England by Rome in the year 1213. From the permanent introduction of Christianity into Scotland, the destined field of ecclesiastical conflict in connection with the now united empire, until the climax of Rome's ascendancy over England, there is a measurement of 650 years. Whether or not the termination of the remaining 650 years, in the year 1863, will witness the close of Britain's outer court ecclesiastical history, a very brief interval will determine.

"The space also before the little chambers was one

cubit on this side, and the space was one cubit on that side : and the little chambers were six cubits on this side, and six cubits on that side" (ver. 12). Between the commencement of the Judaic period of human history and the Jewish post of the outer chamber of joint Jewish and Christian history the space was to be "one cubit," or one hundred years. The birth of Abraham in the year B.C. 1996 marks the commencement of the Jewish period of human history. The Jewish post of the outer chamber of joint Jewish and Christian history has a twofold occurrence indicating it. It is the era of the fulfilment of God's promise to Abraham manifested in the birth of his son Isaac ; and also the era of the accomplishment of His threatenings against Sodom and Gomorrah in their sudden and utter destruction. Between the commencement of the Jewish period of human history in the year B.C. 1996, and the Jewish post of the outer chamber of joint Jewish and Christian history in the year 1896-97, the space is "one cubit," or one hundred years. The Christian post of the outer chamber of joint Jewish and Christian history and the space beyond on the Christian side, are both future, and cannot therefore be measured. "And the little chambers were six cubits on this side, and six cubits on that side." The posts of the first or innermost of the little chambers of joint Jewish and Christian history are said to be six cubits on each side. "A reed" is six cubits ; and the fact of the measurements being given in cubits and not as a reed, seems to intimate that the measurements of time referred to would not be an exact reed of six hundred years. And so it is, for the posts of the inner chamber of joint Jewish

and Christian history are 606 years on each side of the commencement of the Christian era.

“He measured then the gate from the roof of one little chamber to the roof of another: the breadth was five-and-twenty cubits, door against door” (ver. 13). The measurements in this instance have two apparently opposite characteristics. “The gate” is first measured from roof to roof, and also door against door. A roof separates the outer from the inner at the time of the completion of an edifice; a door is a means of access between the outer and the inner. The events which constitute the extremes of the gate in both its measurements would partake of separation resembling “a roof,” and also of a means of access like “a door.” They are, moreover, connected with joint Jewish and Christian history. The post of the inner chamber of joint Jewish and Christian history on the Christian side, in the year A.D. 606, resembles both a roof and a door. The act which conferred spiritual supremacy on the pope completed the edifice of religious usurpation, and separated the ecclesiastical corporation of Rome from the early Christian organizations by which it was preceded, and whose principles it professed to embody. From thence Romanism and Christianity became two distinct and separate systems of religion. There was, however, “a door” of access between them, and this door was opened in the year 1517-18. From thence there have been two ecclesiastical and political systems in existence—the Romanist and Protestant—the one tending to bondage, and the other to freedom. The entire extinction of any remnant of good in connection with the bond system, and the complete elimination of any remnant

of evil from the free system, are to be effected simultaneously. Then the roof of separation on the Christian side of the outer chamber of joint Jewish and Christian history will be completed, and the door of access to the inner court of human happiness and comparative perfection, political and ecclesiastical, will be fully opened. This result is still future. But there is a corresponding roof and door at the post of the outer chamber on the Jewish side. Paul intimates that the history of Sarah and Isaac, and Hagar and Ishmael, has an allegorical application; the former representing a free church and its offspring, and the latter signifying the bond church and its offspring. After the birth of Isaac, Abraham was required to cast out the bondwoman and her son, so that the door of the fulness of the promised blessing and inheritance might be opened unto Isaac exclusively. This allegorical separation between the bond and the free on the Jewish side was effected B.C. 1894; so that "the gate" from the roof of the outer chamber on the Jewish side B.C. 1894 to the roof of the inner chamber on the Christian side A.D. 606, measured "door against door," is "twenty-five cubits," or 2500 years. The roof of the inner chamber on the Jewish side is the year B.C. 606; but as the roof of the outer chamber on the Christian side is not finished, it cannot be measured.

"He made also posts of threescore cubits, even unto the post of the court round about the gate." This is the extreme limit of the times of the regeneration, from the creation and fall of the first man to the restoration and consummation of all things through the seed of the woman. It is still future. But it may be

remarked, the space of one hundred years beyond the chambers on the Christian side appears to have the same termination, and the entire measurement forms a chamber of which the dedication of Solomon's temple is the central epoch. In this and the next measurement, the chronological table of the past duration of human existence on this earth, founded on the ages given in the book of Genesis, connected with the genealogy of the human race, from the creation of Adam to the death of Nahor, is adopted. According to the Mosaic record, the death of Nahor and the call of his son Abraham were coincident occurrences, in the year, from the creation of man, 2083, or B.C. 1921; and Abraham was then seventy-five years of age. From thence, at the expiry of 430 years, "even the self-same day," as it is written in the sacred record, in the year B.C. 1491, the epoch of the exodus of the descendants of Abraham from Egypt was reached. Thereafter the chronology of Jewish history is reliable.

"And from the face of the gate of the entrance unto the face of the porch of the inner gate were fifty cubits" (ver. 15). "The porch of the inner gate" is another way of expressing "the porch of the gate within" (ver. 8). "The face of the porch of the gate within" is the commencement of the twelve years' national misery and humiliation to England consequent upon the Danish invasion of the year A.D. 991. Adam, the first of the race, is recorded to have fallen to the depth of his degradation and humiliation as an individual, at the beginning of time, or at "the face of the gate of the entrance." England, the nation to whom the charge of the kingdom or "city" politically has been given, reached "the face of the porch of the

inner gate," or the epoch of its deepest national humiliation and degradation, in the year A.D. 991. "The way" of individual and national regeneration is by suffering and humiliation. From "the face of the gate of the entrance," by the individual humiliation of Adam, to "the face of the porch of the inner gate," by the national humiliation of England, is fifty cubits, or five thousand years. This being a joint Jewish and Christian measurement, an addition of five years has to be made for the difference in the mode of reckoning. The commencement of the Christian era was 4004 years after the creation and fall of Adam, to which add A.D. 991, and five years for difference of reckoning, and the result is five thousand years. No other measurement is based on, or in any way dependent upon, the accuracy of the application of this one. As the reliability of the Mosaic chronology, so far as even the past duration of the existence of man on this earth, is disputed by some, each reader is at liberty to decide for himself to what extent this measurement may be accepted as a corroboration of the correctness of the chronological information given in the book of Genesis, which appears to establish the fact that the creation and fall of the first Adam preceded the incarnation of the second Adam by the space of four thousand years. That this is the statement of Scripture is undoubted. So unexpected a confirmation of its seeming accuracy is at least worthy the consideration of those who think they have discovered reasonable grounds on which to construct a theory in relation to this subject opposed to the chronology of the Mosaic record.

"And there were narrow windows to the little

chambers, and to their posts within the gate round about, and likewise to the arches ; and windows were round about inward : and upon each post were palm-trees ” (ver. 16). “The gate round about ” is the entire duration of the times of regeneration, from the fall of Adam to the close of the Christian dispensation (ver. 14). The windows were attached to the little chambers and to their posts, and likewise to the arches “within ” this period. A window is a means of giving light, and it is thus intimated that the chambers and their posts, and the arches, were so constructed and fashioned, as by their existence to give light concerning the plan of human history before the epoch of the final consummation was reached. “The palm-trees upon each post ” indicate that each post was a sign, and also the effect of the successful and triumphant evolution of the great plan, all throughout and onward to the termination of “the gate round about.”

“Then brought he me into the outward court, and, lo, there were chambers, and a pavement made for the court round about : thirty chambers were upon the pavement ” (ver. 17). “The outward court ” has a pavement for each gate made “for the court round about.” The number of the chambers on each pavement extorted an exclamation of surprise from Ezekiel, —“Lo, there were chambers, thirty chambers upon the pavement.” These chambers upon the pavement are the chambers of the Divine footsteps in human history. There are to be thirty in connection with the political history of England, the south gate ; thirty in connection with the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, the north gate ; and thirty in connection with the

east gate, coming northward from Palestine through Rome, and returning eastward through France and Italy to Palestine. The precise measurements of these chambers are not given, only the number of them. As they will not all be completed until the inner court is fully entered, ecclesiastically and politically, such of them only as are finished will be found in the pages of this volume. Of these there is, however, a very large number.

“And the pavement by the side of the gates, over against the length of the gates, was the lower pavement” (ver. 18). This pavement being described as “the lower pavement,” intimates that there is also an “upper pavement.” The signification appears to be, that the human race will be raised to a much higher elevation in every respect than that which has been or can be attained by any of its generations while sojourning on “the lower pavement.” When this is effected by the entrance of nations into the inner court, the upper or higher pavement of the Divine footsteps in human history will be revealed.

“Then he measured the breadth from the forefront of the lower gate unto the forefront of the inner court without, an hundred cubits eastward and northward” (ver. 19). This is the space of time to be occupied “from the forefront of the lower gate,” or the termination of “the porch of the gate” (ver. 9), to “the forefront of the inner court without,” the termination of the period during which any of the nations whose territory is geographically situated between Palestine and Britain, these inclusive, shall continue to sojourn in the outer court of human experience. The termination of the time of measurement is future. But

from the description given, the conclusion is warranted that more than half the period is expired. It is to be, in all, "an hundred (small) cubits," or an hundred years.

"And the gate of the outward court that looketh toward the north, he measured the length thereof, and the breadth thereof. And the little chambers, three on this side and three on that side; and the posts thereof and the arches thereof were after the measure of the first gate" (ver. 20, 21). The chambers of history, and the posts, and the thresholds, the measurements of which are given in connection with "the first" or "east gate," are common to the other gates, north and south, and also to the east gate returning. For example, "the length of the north gate in the outward court"—that is, the space of time that was to elapse before the entrance to the inner court of ecclesiastical reformation and regeneration would be reached in Great Britain by way of Scotland—is the measure of "the length of the gate" (ver. 11) northward and eastward, and that is from the year 563 to the year 1863, "thirteen cubits," or 1300 years; and "the breadth of the north gate in the outward court"—that is, the space of time that was to elapse before the entrance to the inner court of political reformation and regeneration would be reached in Great Britain by way of England—is the measure of "the breadth of the gate" (ver. 11) northward, and that is from the year 827 to the year 1827, "ten cubits," or 1000 years. The little chambers of the north gate were the same as those of the east gate—three on the Jewish side of history, and three on the Christian side of history; and the

posts and arches, or thresholds, were also the same. "The length was fifty cubits" (ver. 21). This was "from the face of the gate of the entrance unto the face of the porch of the inner gate" (ver. 15); from the gate of individual entrance by Adam to the face of the porch of national entrance by Great Britain through England, being "fifty cubits," or 5000 years. "And the breadth five-and-twenty cubits" (ver. 21). This is "the breadth, door against door" (ver. 13), towards the Christian side of history, beginning B.C. 606 in the taking of the kingdom from the Jews, and ending in the full ripening of its fruits in Great Britain, ecclesiastically as well as politically, and the thorough and entire separation thereby effected between the allegorical Sarah and Isaac, Britain's church and state, and the allegorical Hagar and Ishmael, the bond or despotic and enslaving ecclesiastical and political system of Romanism. The termination is still future; but, from door to door, the distance in time is to be "five-and-twenty cubits," or 2500 years, making allowance for the eighteen years' difference in the mode of reckoning, this being a combined Jewish and Christian measurement. "And their windows, and their arches, and their palm-trees, were after the measure of the gate that looketh toward the east; and they went up unto it by seven steps; and the arches thereof were before them" (ver. 22). The windows, the arches, and the palm-trees are the same with those mentioned in verse 16. But two things are added. It is first said "they went up to it by seven steps." The seven steps by which the upward and onward progress in Scotland ecclesiastically has been brought to its present condition are—first,

“faith;” second, “virtue;” third, “knowledge;” fourth, “temperance;” fifth, “patience;” sixth, “godliness;” and, seventh, “brotherly kindness.”* But, ecclesiastically, Britain has yet to learn “the more excellent way of charity;” therefore it is added, “the arches,” or full triumphs to be achieved ecclesiastically, are future, or “before them.” “And the gate of the inner court over against the gate toward the north, and toward the east; and he measured from gate to gate an hundred cubits” (ver. 23). This is the same with verse 19.

“After that he brought me toward the south, and, behold, a gate toward the south: and he measured the posts thereof, and the arches thereof, according to these measures. And there were windows in it and in the arches thereof round about, like those windows: the length was fifty cubits, and the breadth five-and-twenty cubits. And there were seven steps to go up to it, and the arches thereof were before them; and it had palm-trees, one on this side, and another on that side, upon the posts thereof” (ver. 24-26). This is the outer gate, the breadth of which by the south, or England, was “ten cubits,” or 1000 years, forming a chamber of political history, with a centre, the year 1327; and having the same measure of time on this side, the year 827—and the same measure of time on that side, the year 1827. “The posts thereof” are the years 827 and 1827; and the palm-tree “on this side,” the year 827, was the completion of the political union of the English heptarchy; and the palm-tree “on that side,” the year 1827, was the complete preparation of the United Kingdom of Great

* 2 Pet. i. 5-7.

Britain and Ireland for entering, as a state, upon the possession of full civil and religious liberty. "The palm-trees" were respectively the beginning of political union and the end of the preparation for receiving the gift of full political freedom. "Seven steps" only had been ascended politically in the year 1827; therefore "the arches," or triumphs of full civil and religious liberty in its political aspect, were still future, or "before them." "And there was a gate in the inner court toward the south; and he measured from gate to gate toward the south an hundred cubits" (ver. 27). The inner court of political union and freedom was reached in the year 1828. There was a gate leading to it, and this gate was "toward the south," or in English history. As previously illustrated in this volume, the growth of religious dissent in England was mainly instrumental in the opening of the gate of the inner court, which was effected by the repeal of the test and corporation acts in the year 1828. Three large streams or sections of dissent (two of them divided among themselves) have long existed in England. These are congregationalists, baptists, and methodists. The rise of the last of them dates from the commencement of Wesley's ministerial career, which was as a church of England clergyman in the year 1728. In him the third and last stream of dissent from the Anglican church establishment had its rise. This was the commencement of the full opening of the gate of dissent in the year 1728; and the year 1828 is the gate of the inner court politically, which is toward the south. The preparation for entering it was largely aided by the existence and influence of dissenters in England. The measurement "from gate

to gate toward the south" was a hundred small cubits, or one hundred years.

"And he brought me to the inner court by the south gate: and he measured the south gate according to these measures; and the little chambers thereof, and the posts thereof, and the arches thereof, according to these measures: and there were windows in it and in the arches thereof round about; it was fifty cubits long, and five-and-twenty cubits broad" (ver. 28, 29). The approach to the inner court of the south gate "was according to the measures" of the east and north gates. "And the little chambers thereof" are the chambers of the divine footsteps in connection with English political history. They will be thirty in number on "the lower pavement" when all finished. "And the arches round about were five-and-twenty cubits long and five cubits broad. And the arches thereof were toward the outer court; and palm-trees were upon the posts thereof: and the going up to it had eight steps" (ver. 30, 31). The arches or political triumphs in connection with Britain were toward the outer court; that is, more of the space occupied by their length and breadth combined would be prior to the gate of "the inner court" in the year 1828, than subsequent to it. The length of "the arches" commenced with the termination of "the porch of the gate inward" (ver. 9) in the year 1803, and ended in the gate of the inner court, the year 1828; and is five-and-twenty small cubits, or 25 years. "The breadth of the arches" commenced in the year 1828, and terminated in the culminating act passed in the year 1833, completing the edifice of social and political freedom, and measures five small

cubits, or five years. The whole space of "the arches" or political triumphs "round about," is thirty cubits, or 30 years from the year 1803 to the year 1833. The posts are the years 1803, 1828, and 1833. And "the palm-trees upon the posts thereof" are—first, the commencement of successful resistance to Napoleonic ambition and international aggression in the year 1803; second, the beginning of the removal of civil disabilities, imposed on the ground of religious differences among British citizens, but not including those of Jewish extraction; and, third, the completion of social and political freedom and equality by the passing of the act of negro emancipation in the year 1833. A twelve years' struggle with French imperial aggressiveness followed the year 1803; and a corresponding period of rest was given after the year 1815 till the year 1827, before the British empire was called upon to commence the final work of political reformation and regeneration. The repeal of the test and corporation acts in the year 1828 was followed by the act of Roman Catholic emancipation in the year 1829. And the act of slave emancipation, passed in the year 1833, was preceded by the great measure of parliamentary reform enacted in the year 1832; the years 1830 and 1831 being notable for European events in France, Holland, and Poland. "And the going up to it had eight steps." The British empire, by these things, exhibited and demonstrated the spirit and the principles of "the more excellent way" of political government, by ascending the "eighth step" in its advancing and upward progress, thereby encircling and animating its conduct by that "charity" that "never faileth," and under

whose guidance and direction it will be preserved from envy, from pride, from unseemly behaviour, and ungenerous or evil suspicions, and will also be moved to long-suffering, to kindness, to self-denial, and to great forbearance—nevertheless frowning upon iniquity, and glad in the truth which liberates humanity.

“ And he brought me to the inner court toward the east : and he measured the gate according to these measures. And the little chambers thereof, and the posts thereof, and the arches thereof, according to these measures ; and windows therein, and in the arches round about ; fifty cubits long, and five-and-twenty cubits broad. And the arches thereof toward the outward court ; and palm-trees upon the posts thereof, on this side, and on that side : and the going up to it had eight steps ” (ver. 32-34). This is the gate towards France and Italy, for the return to the east from the north, of the influence of that political freedom which has been revealed in Great Britain by the chambers, the posts, &c., in connection with the east, the north, and the south gates outward ; and also by the opening of the south gate of the inner court ; for “ the going up to the inner court of the east gate,” politically, in connection with France and Italy, had “ eight steps.” France has been allying itself with Britain in its foreign policy of resistance to international aggression and political injustice ; Italy has been imitating Britain in its home policy, by its growing union and increasing political freedom as a nation internally. “ The little chambers thereof ” are the chambers of the divine footsteps in French and Italian history, and when all completed they will be thirty in number on the “ lower pavement ” of the world’s his-

tory. The porch of "the inner court of the east gate" politically was reached in the year 1859-60, prior to the termination of the preparatory period of British ecclesiastical history. It is united with the preparatory space of British ecclesiastical history for a certain length of time, preceding its termination by as many years as the porch of "the inner court of the east gate" will be prolonged beyond the full completion of the glorious edifice ecclesiastically in Great Britain.

"And he brought me to the north gate, and measured it according to these measures: the little chambers thereof, and the arches thereof, and the windows to it round about; the length was fifty cubits, and the breadth five-and-twenty cubits. And the posts thereof toward the outer court; and palm-trees upon the posts thereof on this side, and on that side: and the going up to it had eight steps" (ver. 35-37). The approach to the inner gate ecclesiastically was, according to the previous measures of the north gate, with the addition of the influence exercised by the completion of the British empire's approximating political perfection. The going up to it had also "eight steps." Britain was then to enter the porch of "the more excellent way" of ecclesiastical government and church arrangements, guided and influenced by the operation of that "charity that seeketh not its own."

"And the chambers and the entries thereof by the posts of the gates, where they washed the burnt offering" (ver. 38). The chambers and the entries thereof by the posts of the gates here mentioned are those in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, indicating the

manner of the purification of ecclesiastical systems as by water and fire, or the time of "the washing of the burnt offering."

"And in the porch of the gate two tables on this side, and two tables on that side, to slay thereon the burnt offering, and the sin offering, and the trespass offering. And at the side without, as one goeth up to the entry of the north gate, two tables; and on the other side, which was at the porch of the gate, two tables. Four tables on this side, and four tables on that side, by the side of the gate; eight tables, whereon they slew their sacrifices. And the four tables of hewn stone for the burnt offering, of a cubit and an half long, and a cubit and an half broad, and one cubit high: whereupon also they laid the instruments wherewith they slew the burnt offering and the sacrifice. And within were hooks, an hand broad, fastened round about: and upon the tables the flesh of the offering" (ver. 39-43). These verses intimate generally a time of trial and sacrifice among ecclesiastical denominations both in England and Scotland, and also among their corresponding denominations in Ireland previous to the completion of Britain's approximating ecclesiastical perfection. In Scotland, the free church and the united presbyterian church are nearest perfection; and the established church and the successors of the Cameronians of the seventeenth century who refused to join the national church in the year 1690, and who still hold by the obligations of the Solemn League and Covenant, are somewhat further removed therefrom. The united presbyterian church still possesses, to some extent, the Romanist spirit of ecclesiastical authority, and exercises a limited dominion

over its people after the manner of the rulers of this world. The free church is rather more under its influence, and it holds in addition the establishment principle. The reformed presbyterian church is still more exclusive and authoritative in its spirit and procedure; and it holds the establishment principle even to the extent of giving the civil magistrate power to enforce obedience to the true religion. The established church is practically more liberal in the matter of ecclesiastical dominion over the people, except when its exercise is required in the settlement of ministers under the operation of the establishment principle, of which principle it is the Scotch embodiment. Each of these four denominations will require a "table" on which to sacrifice every ecclesiastical principle and corporate practice opposed to the spirit of the Christian religion, in order to the attainment of the intended ecclesiastical state of approximating perfection. "The two tables on this side" are for the free and the united presbyterian churches, these being nearest a state of ecclesiastical perfection. "The two tables on that side" are for the established and reformed presbyterian churches, they being further from it. They are "to slay thereon the burnt offering" for the violation of the gentle and humble spirit of Christianity in even the most limited exercise of a spirit of lordly dominion and ecclesiastical authority; and also "the sin offering" for avowing or practising the principle of state support to the Christian religion; and further, "the trespass offering" for holding or permitting the practice of the principle of the civil magistrate's right to interfere or commit any kind of trespass either in God's house or on behalf of the Christian religion.

In England also there are four denominations of the Christian church originated in the country,—the congregationalists, the baptists, the methodists, and the establishment. All are defiled, to a greater or a less extent, by the spirit of ecclesiastical authority. The two extremes are, the congregationalists, who commit the exercise of compulsory authority unto the people of each congregation; and the establishment, in which all the orders of a lordly hierarchy exist, but whose power is exercised for it in cases of discipline by a tribunal constituted by act of parliament. The methodists are the least liberal in their form of government among the dissenting bodies. Congregationalists and baptists are nearest ecclesiastical perfection in England; methodists and the establishment are further from it. “The two tables at the side without as one goeth up to the entry of the north gate,” are for the congregationalists and baptists; and “the two tables, on the other side, at the porch of the gate,” are for the methodists and the establishment. These, therefore, comprise the “four tables on this side, and four tables on that side, by the side of the gate; eight tables, whereon they slew;” there being a table for each denomination of Scotch churches, and also a table for each denomination of English churches, intimating that all are, some less and some more, imperfect. “The four tables were of hewn stone for the burnt offering.” Romanism is the root of ecclesiastical bitterness to all the denominations in each country. Their remaining defects are the offspring of its spirit and its principles. From Romanism the principle of lordly authority in the church has been inherited. Through it also the establishment principle has been

derived. By it also that confusion of religious and secular, and ecclesiastical and political, spheres of operation and jurisdiction, has been introduced and transmitted. The hewn stone of the tables is an evidence of the care and deliberation which must precede and accompany the slaying of the remnant of erroneous principle and practice connected with the churches in England and Scotland ; and it is farther an intimation of the permanence, the durability, and the completeness of the sacrifices that are to be made by each and all of the denominations. Rashness and haste are to be eschewed. The reformation and regeneration are to be gone about in a way that will produce unmixed, unalloyed, and unending good to all concerned. The measurements of "the four tables" for each nation are events of recent occurrence, illustrating the nature of the work to be effected. The length of the tables is formed by the meeting at Liverpool in October 1845, in which originated the existence of the religious association designated the Evangelical Alliance, and by the ecclesiastical union of the secession and relief churches in Scotland, now the united presbyterian church, in May 1847, being distant in time from each other "a cubit and a half," or a year and a half. These two events combined illustrate the nature of the ecclesiastical organisation to be aimed at and effected. As to authority or dominion within the church, the example and spirit of the evangelical alliance is to be followed. As to the manner of support, the voluntary principle embraced by the united presbyterian church is to be adopted. As to union, in cases where widely differing forms of ecclesiastical government will not permit of entire incorporation,

union to the extent aimed at by the evangelical alliance is to be practised; but where the form of ecclesiastical government is identical, the example of the united presbyterian church is to be followed, and ecclesiastical incorporation effected. The evangelical alliance form of union originated in England, and will, in all probability, prevail among its churches. The united presbyterian church form of union was effected in Scotland, and will, in all likelihood, prevail among its churches. The breadth of the tables is from May 1847 to the overthrow of the pope's civil dominion and his flight from Rome in November 1848, being also "a cubit and a half," or a year and a half. This event indicates the total severance of the union subsisting between ecclesiastical systems and civil dominions as originated in and inherited from Rome. Just as the church and state of Rome were then severed, so are the churches and state of Britain to be separated; and as the chief of the Roman church was the moving party, so the rulers of the English and Scotch churches are to be the moving parties, aided and impelled powerfully by the people. And the height is from November 1848 till the French and British governments united in support of the Turkish government's refusal to give up the Hungarian refugees when menaced by Russia and Austria in November 1849, being "one cubit," or one year. By this occurrence was illustrated the only way in which civil governments can advance or pay a national tribute to the Christian religion, and that is, by giving practical effect to its spirit and principles in their policy and conduct. "The hooks within, an hand broad," signify that very brief period of initiatory

hesitation and pain which is to precede the beginning of the work of sacrifice, and the laying of "the flesh of the offering upon the tables."

"And without the inner gate were the chambers of the singers in the inner court, which was at the side of the north gate; and their prospect was toward the south: one at the side at the east gate having the prospect toward the north. And he said unto me, This chamber, whose prospect is toward the south, is for the priests, the keepers of the charge of the house. And the chamber whose prospect is toward the north is for the priests, the keepers of the charge of the altar; these are the sons of Zadok among the sons of Levi, which come near to the Lord to minister unto Him" (ver. 44-46). "The chambers for the singers" are the historical causes of praise and thanksgiving that have transpired without the inner gate, or before entering upon the final work of ecclesiastical reformation and regeneration. Those "at the side of the north gate, with their prospect toward the south," are chambers in Scottish church history which will be the sources of praise and thankfulness in England. The "one at the side of the east gate, having the prospect toward the north," is a chamber of French and Italian history, which is cause of praise and thankfulness in Great Britain. "The chamber whose prospect is toward the south is for the keepers of the charge of the house." The house is the material edifice, the outer state temple or political fabric; and it is intimated that to the churches and people of "the south," or England, was intrusted "the charge," or care of its construction in the history of the United Kingdom. "The chamber whose pro-

spect is toward the north" being "for the priests, the keepers of the charge of the altar," intimates that to the churches and people "of the north," or Scotland, was intrusted "the charge of the altar," or the historical care of constructing the Christian church, for they in this respect resembled "the sons of Zadok among the sons of Levi, who come near to minister before the Lord."

"So he measured the court, an hundred cubits long, and an hundred cubits broad, foursquare; and the altar that was before the house" (ver. 47). The length of the court is from the threatened Romanist invasion of England, unsuccessfully attempted by the Spanish Armada from without, in the year 1588-9, to the unsuccessful Romanist aggression by James II. from within, in the year 1688-9, being "an hundred cubits," or a hundred years. The breadth of the court is from the year 1688-9 to the commencement of that terrible era of revolutionary excess and sacrifice in and through France in the year 1788-9, being also "an hundred cubits," or a hundred years. But the court was "foursquare." From the beginning of the reformation era, in the year 1517-18, to the time of the last peril to which Protestantism in England was exposed from without in the year 1588-9, is 71 years; and from the commencement of the revolutionary era in France destructive of Romanism, in the year 1788-9, until the spirit and principles of Protestantism were largely triumphant in Italy, the native soil of Romanism, in the year 1859-60, there was a similar interval of 71 years, supplying the remaining two parallel sides of the square. Thus the intellectual and moral influence of the truth, embodied in Pro-

testantism, assailed the ecclesiastical system of Rome within its own church in 1517-18, and the political influence of Romanism menaced and threatened the safety of the political dominion of Protestant England in the year 1588-9, and also again endangered the Protestantism of England in the year 1688-9. These are two sides of the square pregnant with peril and danger to Protestantism at the instigation of Romanism. The other two sides of the square exercise an influence of an opposite description. The triumph of Protestant principle in England in 1688-9 was succeeded by the temporary destruction of Romanism in France in the year 1788-9, and by a still greater overthrow of its political influence in Italy in the year 1859-60. In both instances Romanism has worked its own ruin, and has been wounded and fettered in the house of its friends and allies. Of the historical square, commencing in Rome ecclesiastically in the year 1517-18, and travelling round till it reached Rome politically in the year 1859-60, two sides are 100 years each, and the other two sides are 71 years each. "And the altar before the house." Before the political edifice or temple of civil freedom is perfected in France and Italy, the altar or church with which their national existence is identified, must be reconstructed and remodelled. In other words, the spirit and principles of Protestantism must supplant ecclesiastically within their dominion the spirit and principles of Romanism.

"And he brought me to the porch of the house, and measured each post of the porch, five cubits on this side, and five cubits on that side; and the breadth of the gate, three cubits on this side, and three cubits on

that side. The length of the porch, twenty cubits, and the breadth eleven cubits ; and he brought me by the steps whereby they went up to it : and pillars by the posts, one on this side, and another on that side" (ver. 48, 49). The angle or corner of "the porch" is the year 1848, in which political revolution prevailed among Continental nations, occasioning, among other things, a change of dynasty in France, the temporary overturn of the pope's civil dominion, and his flight from Rome. The post, "five cubits," or five years, "on this side," is the ecclesiastical disruption in Scotland in the year 1843. The post "five cubits," or five years, "on that side," is the year 1853, the commencement of the Turkish crisis, which gave rise to the union of France and Britain, and to their exhibiting a united practical demonstration of the power and spirit of Christian truth, in their military and political defence and protection of the weak and injured dominion of Turkey, from the effects of its invasion by the strong and aggressive empire of Russia. "The breadth of the gate" is connected with the return of the pope to Rome, the metropolis of his civil dominion, in the year 1850. "The three cubits on this side," point to the year 1847, in which a free and united church, voluntary in principle, was revealed in Scotland, being three years prior. "And the three cubits on that side," point to the year 1853, as in the last instance. "The length of the porch" is from the beginning of final political reformation and regeneration in Great Britain, in the year 1828-9, until the angle of the porch is reached in the year 1848-9, being "twenty cubits," or twenty years. "And the breadth" is from the year 1848-9, to the year 1859-60,

the era of the commencement of political unity and freedom to Italy, aided by France, being "eleven cubits," or eleven years. "And he brought me by the steps whereby they went up to it." Italian unity and liberty, to the extent of their progress, have not been effected solely by going up "the seven steps" which Britain ascended. There has been an admixture of extraneous help. Foreign military force and political influence have constituted some of the steps by which the unity and liberty of Italy, so far as they exist, have been attained. The "pillars by the posts, one on this side" of each chamber, are churches, or ecclesiastical pillars of the truth; the free church of Scotland by the post of the year 1843; and the united presbyterian church of Scotland at the commencement of the other chamber in the year 1847. "And another on that side," the joint political action of France and Britain in the year 1853, a "pillar" of the truth in its civil or state aspect."

This furnishes a complete view of the grand design wrought out in human history, from the fall of Adam to the present year 1862. The further information given in the remaining eight chapters at the close of the book of Ezekiel, is abundant for the supply of future guidance and direction to all ranks and conditions of men. They contain precept and doctrine probably sufficient for every political, ecclesiastical, and social purpose or object. But as the measurements contained in them are nearly, if not, all in course of evolution only, the systems of chambers are therefore incomplete; and as the knowledge of the precepts and doctrines they contain are not as yet in general indispensable for human guidance and direction, there is

only one passage to which it is essential now to allude, and it is the following :—“ And he said unto me, Son of man, the place of my throne, and the place of the soles of my feet, where I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever, and my holy name, shall the house of Israel no more defile, they, nor their kings, by their whoredom, nor by the carcasses of their kings in their high places. In their setting of their threshold by my thresholds, and their post by my posts, and the wall between me and them, they have even defiled my holy name by their abominations that they have committed : wherefore I have consumed them in mine anger. Now let them put away their whoredom, and the carcasses of their kings, far from me, and I will dwell in the midst of them for ever.” (Ezek. xliii. 7-9.) It is perhaps superfluous, at this stage, to explain at any length, that “the place of God’s throne,” nationally, is a Christian church ; that “the place of the soles of His feet,” is a Christian state ; that both these have been defiled by professing Christians and their rulers, through “the whoredom” or illicit connection that has so long subsisted between church and state ; that both thus united have become “carcasses” or spiritless bodies of civil rulers or governments, in their “high,” but not God’s heavenly, places ; that in setting the human “threshold” of influence and power so close beside “the thresholds” of divine influence and power to both church and state, they have defiled God’s holy name by pretending that His Spirit could countenance or sanction “the abominations” they have committed in the name and on behalf of the Christian religion ; therefore His wrath has rested upon and consumed them. But let the church terminate this illicit connec-

tion, and separate itself from the king's house, or the state; and then the church shall become the place of God's throne nationally, in the midst of which He will dwell among the people for ever. It may be affirmed with great confidence, that "eye hath not seen, ear hath not heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of any man to conceive, what God hath prepared for them" who now and henceforth manifest their love and obedience to Him in this respect.

CHAPTER XII.

THE contents of Scripture supply numerous confirmations and corroborations of the soundness of the theory elaborated and illustrated in this volume, and also of the accuracy of the results of the inquiry. The subject has naturally divided itself into two branches—past history and present tendencies. It would not have been insuperably difficult to have added a third—future contingencies. But the expositions have been intentionally confined within the limits of known and accomplished facts of history. There are many things of vast importance to which no allusion whatever has been made. The great desire of the writer has been so to concentrate his treatment of the questions that came under consideration as to present an oft-repeated and irresistible testimony on two points—first, the fact of the existence of a law of sequence and regular order in human history; and, second, the not less momentous truth that the world is on the very eve of the consummation of that unprecedented change in human affairs of which prophets have spoken with heavenly energy, and concerning which wise and good men in all ages

have cherished exalting and ennobling anticipations, while their hearts burned within them at the bare contemplation of that delight and happiness, associated with honour and glory, with which the evening of human history was to be blessed. From henceforth the elevation of the human race will move forward with accelerated speed, accompanied, unhappily, by increased efforts in hostile quarters to restrain that progress onward to enlightenment, liberty, and purity. But all opposition, of whatever form or degree, will be ultimately overborne, and the final and certain triumph of the great Redeemer's avowed intentions will be revealed at the appointed time in the full fruition of the earthly results of that great decease which He accomplished at Jerusalem.

At any previous epoch in human experience, the attempt to unfold the theory propounded in these pages would have proved vain and futile. The basis of historical facts on which alone it could be founded was incomplete and unfinished. It is but recently that its headstone was brought forth. Until this was accomplished, the knowledge of the great scheme in its entirety was unattainable. Now, however, the details of the marvellous edifice are so far evolved as to furnish a clear light disclosing the perfect symmetry of its component parts. The season of doubt and uncertainty appears to be drawing to a close. Hitherto the wisest and greatest of men have seen through a glass darkly. Henceforth much that has been enshrouded in mystery and encircled with darkness may become plain and intelligible even to ordinary understandings. When the infinite ocean of divine influence begins to commingle itself largely with the waters

of human existence, men may see and apprehend for themselves, face to face, as it were. In all past human experience the action of a higher agency controlling the destinies of the world has eluded the scrutiny of human intellects ; so much so as to embolden many in all ages to discredit and disbelieve its existence. And let it not be said that those who have been foremost either in espousing or propagating sceptical views on this point have erred wilfully. There were many things of constant occurrence so apparently irreconcilable with the direct overruling and minute superintendence of an intelligence higher than human, that surprise would have been more natural if, under a dispensation so singularly fruitful of the freest spirit of inquiry as the Christian, the effects produced in the circumstances had been to any great extent different from those experienced. The race of deep thinkers and close reasoners, even when the current of their conclusions ran counter to generally received opinions, diffused an influence on society more beneficial than injurious. Intellectual stagnation and spiritual death have been the invariable accompaniments of repressive action in the realm of thought and opinion. It is in the very nature of an imperfect state of existence to generate extremes, and these of an opposite and conflicting character. If the custodiers and expounders of revealed truth had attained to a perfect knowledge of its entire purport and meaning, the hostility of objectors would have been disarmed, and their occupation would have been gone. But the admixtures of error inherent in the stereotyped formulas of the most sincere friends of truth, gave just occasion for unfavourable criticism, and necessitated the existence

of a school of opposition as a counterpoise to prevent at least the more serious evils which must have sprung from cherished principles of retrogression, if the sway of their influence had been exercised without a corresponding check.

The nearer human society approaches to perfection in its many aspects, the less need will there be either for the action or reaction of countervailing opinions. In this department of human experience, the equal law that prevails in history will be found to have maintained a not less equitable balance of counteracting intellectual force and spiritual regulation. The very fact that the divine agency exerted on human affairs was secret, and for the time being undiscoverable, proves not only the absence of all direct control of a higher order over the opinions of men, but establishes, moreover, the wisdom of such an arrangement as would cause opposite extremes to act as correctives to each other. The right of private judgment, wherever it is conferred, must produce opposite extremes of opinion in exact proportion to the prevailing imperfection of the state of society in which men are placed. It is not to be assumed that those professedly arrayed on the side of revealed truth invariably occupied an impregnable position of defence. On the contrary, the amount of error intermingled with their systems is in all probability the precise measure of the power of their opponents, and their own condition of actual weakness and defencelessness. We have it on the highest authority that God is truth, and consequently truth is as virtually unassailable to its injury as God himself. Truth cannot suffer. But human views of truth, because of their inaccuracy and incompleteness,

present a fair and legitimate field of conflict, on which, without irreverence and without presumption, contending combatants may carry on a bloodless war. Paradoxical though it may seem, the interest of truth has perhaps suffered as much, if not more, injury at the hands of its friends, than it has done through the instrumentality of those who have been designated its enemies.

A firm and unwavering belief in the Bible, as a written record that contains the truth of God for the guidance and enlightenment of men, is by no means inconsistent with the unqualified rejection of many of the doctrines and theories which human ingenuity has constructed out of it. There probably have been times when the adoption of inflexible human creeds far from perfect was an advantage, on the principle of a choice between two evils, a greater and a less one. But it never can be conceded in any circumstances that a humanly-devised standard of divine truth is entitled to usurp the place of authority which belongs exclusively to the original contents of Scripture. That such systems of divinity and standards of truth have performed good service in past times of peril and danger may be fully admitted. Still they are actually human in their origin and composition, and cannot have escaped being contaminated by the prevailing spirit of the age in which birth was given to them. That they are founded on a large substratum of Scripture truth is also undeniable; but even this supplies no good reason for insisting that those of them which are impregnated with the minimum of error should be received unhesitatingly in their entirety. In the estimation of many, these human com-

pilations rank with Scripture as a source of authoritative teaching, to supersede or remodel which they would consider as profane and irreverent as to tamper with the contents of the sacred record. The fact is overlooked that standards and creeds of human origin, which may have proved most valuable outlying defences of truth in troublous and perilous times, and which may have been harmless in their operation in more settled circumstances, may, nevertheless, possess a very large admixture of both positive and negative error. They may affirm certain things that do not square with the true interpretation of Scripture; and they may omit altogether many things as vital and essential to the welfare and prosperity of the Christian religion as any they contain.

Except on the assumption of their completeness and infallibility, it is certain an emergency will arise sooner or later for which they will be found most unsuitable and untrustworthy. They are of a construction and composed of materials that will render them useless in an age of intellectual expansion and increasing enlightenment. They are the swaddling garments of infantile religious life, and not the full flowing robes fitted to clothe either sufficiently or gracefully the grander thoughts and the loftier views of an age that may become conspicuous for intellectual activity and vast religious progress. In such circumstances, their inevitable tendency is to make men openly indifferent as to their obligation in some cases, and in others to foster moral timidity, if not secret dishonesty. In fair weather and quiescent times their existence may have proved harmless and innocuous; but in days of great and rapid transition

their effect is injurious and obstructive. To them men are required to bow with a moral and intellectual submission that partakes of bondage. The contents of Scripture are so constructed as to leave every man free in his search for truth. But human creeds and standards profess and embody the theory that all the thinking work has been done for subsequent generations by some good men of a previous age, and that it only remains with their successors to receive and adopt their stereotyped opinions and views of Scripture truth. Even although the human creeds and standards were perfection itself, and as infallibly complete as the Bible record, there is a principle involved, the practical operation of which is in direct antagonism to the precept of Scripture and the spirit of Christianity. The Great Teacher recommended His hearers to search the Scriptures for themselves ; but if modern teaching is followed, men must first search creeds and standards, and when they do search the Scriptures, it will be perilous to their social position as adherents of a Christian association if they venture to avow that they have found anything at variance with the human compilation, within the limits of which the range of their intellectual vision on such questions must be circumscribed.

Either, therefore, at a certain stage of religious and intellectual development all progress must cease, or creeds and standards must be amended, or, more reasonably, become things of a bygone age. Is it conceivable that the religious enlightenment of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is to be the inflexible and unvarying measure of the Christian illumination of all succeeding centuries ? If not, then

what is to become of the church when it begins to outgrow in knowledge and excel in light the church of a less favoured epoch? Is it to pursue a policy of retrogression by clinging to the old landmarks and continuing to tread the old paths? Or will it arise clothed with an energy and a power suited to the greatness of the emergency when it evolves? The cry of danger to truth is fallacious and puerile. Human views of divine truth may be endangered to the extent of their imperfection and incompleteness, and it is desirable not only to imperil but even to extinguish such. But the truth of God, which is the truth of the Bible—the truth of nature—the truth of history—stands on the foundation of the Rock of ages, and heaven and earth may pass away, but of truth one jot or one tittle shall never fail, for all shall be fulfilled.

The great desideratum of the present time is true knowledge. Those who fully exercise their own mental faculties in searching for it, and who also stimulate and encourage all others to imitate their example, are real benefactors of the human race. The hid treasures of this mine of intellectual wealth are incalculable and unfathomable. When men can penetrate and solve the mysteries of the infinitude and the eternity of the divine purpose, then may they without presumption pretend to define the limits and the bounds of the true knowledge of God; for the one is the exact counterpart of the other. The knowledge that saves an individual is so simple that human treatises upon it as frequently obscure its inherent light as they increase the bright effulgence of its heavenly rays. And after all, it is more the life

within than the truth without that is the source and the continuing power in individual regeneration although both are indispensable. But among communities and nations constant change is the rule, and increasing progression is the effect. In this wide field man individually is comparatively of no account. Power of control, whatever his station, he has none. Influence to guide and direct is immeasurably beyond his reach. The counsel of Heaven, in its relation to churches and states, to nations and dominions, and to kingdoms and peoples, has been evolved from beginning to end without the aid or intervention of a single human being, except so far as the action of the free agency of the intelligent existence of mankind has operated unconsciously in the production of the accomplished results. The whole duty of man is diligently to inquire ; and however high his station in society, and whatsoever the amount of success that may attend his investigations, the greatest service he can perform to his fellow-creatures is limited to the communicating to them the knowledge he has acquired ; and the highest glory he can render to his Creator, is humbly to adore Him, and reverently admire and extol His wonderful works.

The responsibility with which some men in all ages have fancied themselves weighted, as if the conservation of God's truth was wholly resting upon them, is about as reasonable as if a human association was formed having for its objects the preservation of the order of the material universe in heaven and earth, and the exact fulfilment of the divine purpose in human history among all nations and throughout all time. Man's knowledge of all three is tolerably equal ; and

the only reason that can be assigned for some having taken the truth under their special care and protection is, that their presumption is not so palpable as it would have been had they pretended to the possession of a power to assist the Creator in either His material or His moral government of the universe. All men, and religious teachers especially, are undoubtedly under a high obligation to exercise their mental faculties in searching for the knowledge of Scripture truth. And all men, specially spiritual guides, are bound to communicate to others the knowledge they acquire. Every human being who fails to surrender his entire nature to the teaching of the truth and the guidance of the Spirit of God, defeats the great aim for which he was brought into existence. But it is not required of any man that he bow his intellect or his spirit in unquestioning submission to the teaching or guidance of his fellow-man. And as little has any class of men, however numerous, godly, and enlightened individually, the shadow of a warrant for defining the limits of the interpretation of the truth of God contained in Scripture, and far less any semblance of authority either to enforce their dogmas by ecclesiastical discipline, or anathematise those who refuse to adopt them.

Freedom, absolute and unrestricted from all human control, is the social atmosphere most favourable to the increase and progress of the knowledge of truth. So situated, error, whether of teacher or taught, produces its own corrective without the authoritative intervention of man. The boasted fruits of purity and soundness proclaimed in some quarters are imaginary, so far as men take credit for them as the

effects of their active zeal and watchful care. The exercise of human authority in such matters may produce external uniformity of profession, but it is utterly impossible by a mere act of official power to change a man's opinion, or correct the errors of his knowledge. If men will only examine the subject calmly and dispassionately, the fallacy that lurks in the received theory of existing ecclesiastical arrangements in regard to it will become palpable. Many men may prefer a human religious association organised on what they conceive to be a perfect model of preciseness and uniformity. And so far as they refrain from seeking to impose the yoke of their adopted system upon others, or from claiming for it a special divine sanction, there is not one word to be said respecting their procedure. But if they attempt to encroach on the freedom of others they must be resisted; or if they pretend to possess a divine authority for their conduct, it must only be admitted on the production of satisfactory heavenly credentials.

The reign of error is drawing to a close. The triumph of truth is hastening forward to its great consummation. It will form a fitting conclusion to this volume to endeavour to show the marvellous harmony that subsists between the truth of Scripture and the truth of history. Such an effort, if successful, may also prove the best antidote to the evils of which we have been treating. The authoritative interference of human associations would hinder rather than promote their removal. But the zealous and sincere exertion of men individually, each for himself, would produce a beneficial change. The idea of men acquiring vicariously, as it were, their knowledge of

truth, or the principle of their acknowledging any human authority in connection with their religious opinions, must be utterly discarded. The divine method of teaching truth is perfect, and cannot be even imitated by man. Those who have greater knowledge of God's truth than their fellow-men may make known their excess to those who have less. They may also persuade, yea urge and endeavour to enforce, by high moral considerations, its acceptance. Beyond this, however, they are absolutely powerless in so far as the truth is concerned. "The kingdom" that was to be set up in this world, according to the teaching of Scripture, was to be founded, and developed, and consummated in the knowledge of the truth. All throughout, its evolving history was to be synonymous with the history of the progress and increase of the knowledge of truth. A correct apprehension of the manner and the stages in the revelation of this kingdom in human history, will be at the same time a disclosure of the increasing knowledge of truth. In order to present the two aspects of the great scheme in a conjoint form, two or three passages of Old Testament Scripture will be quoted in addition to those passages of the New Testament previously made use of as descriptive of the new kingdom. And in particular, the chambers of history employed, most of which have been already explained separately, will be so grouped as to give a probable illustration of a prominent portion of the peculiar imagery which forms the introduction to the prophetic writings of Ezekiel.

Human history during the Christian period furnishes four distinct illustrations of the existence

and operation of an arrangement whereby one system of error has counteracted another. The principle involved in the long-prevalent union of church and state, or the mingling and consequent obliteration of the line of demarcation that should have separated things divine and things human, has been the prolific root of error and confusion in Christian times. The general conclusion pointed at in the contents of this volume is the near advent of an epoch in which the necessity for the continuance of this arrangement would pass away, through the final triumph of truth and the irrecoverable overthrow of error. It is, moreover, indicated that the transition period which was to precede this epoch began to dawn politically upon the kingdoms of the world in the year A.D. 1775. The papal system was the earliest and has been throughout the chief embodiment of the principle of ecclesiastical and political union whereby a source of prolonged error was opened up in Christian history, and confusion introduced into the relations that ought to have subsisted between things divine and things human. Romanism became a combined ecclesiastical and political system; therefore Mohammedanism, another combined ecclesiastical and political system, founded on error, came into existence to check and counteract the influence of the erroneous system of Rome. In addition, a revived imperial system was allowed to rear its head within the territorial domain of Romanism. Mohammedanism was the external rival of Romanism, and testified from without, by its existence simply, against Rome's erroneous system and exclusive claims. The German empire and French monarchy combined performed the like historical service from within.

The historical chambers connected with the rise, the meridian, and the fall of these rival systems are, so far as evolved, confirmatory of the opinion that an equal balance has been maintained between their errors and their counteracting power and influence upon each other all throughout. When Romanism began to arise, Mahomet appeared. The transformation of the papacy into a civil monarchy, through the territorial donation of the Frankish king, was succeeded by the rise of the German empire. The zenith of the Roman system, reached in the subjugation of England in the year 1213, was speedily followed by the foundation of the Turkish empire as a new embodiment of Mohammedanism. In modern times the gradual decay of the power of Turkey has kept pace with the unfolding of four distinct and separate phases of the approaching termination of the existence of the political aspect of the Romanist system ; one, the thrice-repeated overturn of the French monarchical regime, in the years 1789, 1830, and 1848 ; a second, the thrice-repeated overturn of the pope's civil dominion, in the years 1798, 1808, and 1848 ; a third, the overturn and fall of the German empire, in the year 1806 ; and a fourth, the twice-repeated overturn of the Neapolitan dynasty, the last occasion being so recently as the year 1860.

But a third rival system came into existence with the advent of Protestantism during the sixteenth century, of which Britain became a principal embodiment. Here also the wheels of history intimate that an equal balance has been maintained between the counteracting power of the Roman system, ecclesiastically and politically, and the remaining prevalence of error in the Anglican system. Or, to state it in

another form, the power of the error of Romanism has been weakened to the precise extent that the influence of the truth has progressed in connection with the British ecclesiastical and political system. It therefore follows that the nearer Britain's approach to ecclesiastical and political perfection, the greater the increasing decay and the nearer the advent of the extinction of Romanism as an ecclesiastical and political system ; for its remaining term of existence and amount of influence will be, according to the law of history, the precise balance of the remaining term of existence and amount of influence of error and imperfection in the British ecclesiastical and political system. Of this opinion there are four successive political confirmations in modern European occurrences. The first of these recent testimonies is the political disruption of Britain and America in the year 1775, preparatory to their separate entrance upon a career of final reformation from error, and regeneration through the spirit of the truth ; it was followed by the European epoch of revolutionary destructiveness, commenced in France in the year 1789. The second is the entire consolidation of the united empire of Great Britain and Ireland in the year 1801 ; it was followed by the foundation of a new reigning dynasty in France in the year 1804, afterwards cast down, but since revived in the year 1852, in the person of the present emperor. The third is the commencement of the era of final political reformation to Britain in the year 1828, followed as it was by the second overturn of the French monarchy in the year 1830. And the fourth is the close of the era of British political reformation in the year 1858, followed by the partial unity

and liberation of Italy, associated as it has been with the second overturn of the Neapolitan dynasty and the pope's deprivation of all his territorial dominion, except that which is preserved to him by the occupation of a French army.

The completeness of the decay of Romanism politically, is witnessed in the fact that even Austria, as well as France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, has inaugurated an attempt to construct a constitutional government after the model of Britain. And further, the approximating political perfection of Britain, evidenced in the year 1858, has its corresponding political reaction in the principal Romanist dominions manifested immediately thereafter, in the years 1859 and 1860. Britain being still, however, imperfect ecclesiastically, the remaining power of Romanism will continue to prove itself an equal balance thereto. In this aspect, however, there are also four modern proofs of the advent and progress of ecclesiastical freedom and union. The first is the ecclesiastical union of the two Irish branches of the Scottish secession church in the year 1818; the second, the ecclesiastical union, in the year 1820, of the two parent branches of the Secession church in Scotland; the third, the disruption of the Established church of Scotland, and the advent of the Free church, in the year 1843; and the fourth, the completion of the first series of ecclesiastical unions by the amalgamation, in the year 1847, of all the sections of dissent from the church of Scotland which had their rise in the eighteenth century. Immediately succeeding the full development of the United Presbyterian church of Scotland in the year 1847, the influence of revolu-

tionary overthrow was witnessed within the territorial domain of Romanism throughout Europe, occasioning, among other results, the third overturn of the French monarchy, and the third overturn of the pope's civil dominion.

There are thus four rival systems—Romanism, Mohammedanism, Imperialism, and Protestantism—testifying to the existence of a law of equitable balance of counteraction to human error. There should also be four series of modern occurrences, having each four developments confirmatory of the continued operation of this law during the current transition period which is alleged to be the precursor of the full triumph of truth and utter overthrow of error. Of these last fourfold corroborations, only three illustrations have been given. The fourth series is within the history of the fourth rival system, Protestantism, and is in connection with the experiences of its once united, but now divided, principal embodiments, Britain and America. The preparation for the final triumph of truth in Britain and America as one empire commenced its ecclesiastical aspect in secession from the church of Scotland in the year 1732, and its political aspect in the separation of America from Britain in the year 1775. Each empire entered on a separate path after the year 1775,—that of America producing a condition of approximating ecclesiastical perfection, associated with social and political error; that of Britain resulting in approximating political perfection, associated with ecclesiastical error. Here, again, within the domain of Protestantism, as well as from without, through the action of Romanism, an equitable balance of counteraction and correction is

maintained between the free and hitherto rival empires of Britain and America. The perfection of the one politically, is the measure of the perfection of the other ecclesiastically. The error of the one ecclesiastically, is the measure of the error of the other socially and politically. Britain has to imitate the ecclesiastical example of America, and this was commenced in the year 1818. America has to imitate the example of Britain socially and politically, and this fact has been testified to the world, and forced upon her attentive and serious consideration, by the events of the year 1861. By ecclesiastical union, accomplished through the severance of the existing union of church and state, is Britain to attain ecclesiastical perfection. And by political disruption, effected through the instrumentality of negro slavery, is America to attain social and political perfection. This completes the four successive series of modern testimonies, each having four developments, and all corroborative of the existence of the law of equitable balance, established first through the four rival systems of Romanism, Mohammedanism, Imperialism, and Protestantism; and, second, through the twofold check provided to Romanism,—one from without, in the existence of Mohammedanism; and another from within, by means of Imperialism: and this, combined with the twofold source of correction to the error of Protestantism as embodied in the British empire, including America,—that from without being the Roman system, and that arising from within being furnished by the United States of America. We are thus supplied with quadrating or four-square historical corroborations, four times repeated in a fourfold manner within one

another, all testifying to the certain existence of a law that forbids the official intervention of man in the authoritative correction of error in connection with the truth of God.

The history of "the kingdom," the promise of the coming of which is contained in the writings of all the greater prophets, dates from the commencement of the overthrow of the Jewish kingdom in the year B.C. 606. It is most desirable that a combined and complete view of the several stages in the progress of this kingdom, and the accomplished historical results, should be given, at the same time, connecting therewith an illustration of the strongly developed tendencies of the spirit of the age which has fallen to the lot, and regulates the experiences, of the existing generation of the human race. The nature of the destined changes is thus described by Isaiah. "Behold I create new heavens and a new earth: and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind."* The process by which the regeneration of nations and kingdoms was to be effected ecclesiastically, politically, and socially, and some characteristics of the time of the end, are intimated by Ezekiel in these words: "And thou, profane wicked prince of Israel, whose day is come, when iniquity shall have an end, thus saith the Lord God: Remove the diadem, and take off the crown; this shall not be the same: exalt him that is low, and abase him that is high. I will overturn, overturn, overturn it: and it shall be no more, until he come whose right it is; and I will give it him."† The manner in which "the kingdom" was to be set up, the effects that would be produced upon

* Isaiah lxv. 17.

† Ezekiel xxi. 25-27.

other kingdoms as the time of its completion drew nigh, and the extent of its territorial limits and prevalent influence, are thus foreshadowed in the prophecy of Daniel. "Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."* The interpretation of this passage, as given in a subsequent verse, is as follows: "And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever."†

The information contained in these passages of Scripture is both extensive and decisive. If the contents are at all worthy of reception and belief, it cannot be disputed that they establish the fact that a new national heavens, the place of God's throne, and a new national earth, the place of the soles of His feet, were to be created among men in the present state of existence. They also intimate that a season of ecclesiastical, political, and social overturning, overturning, would inaugurate the time of the end. And they further announce that the new creation would only be complete when its power and influence were felt and acknowledged among all nations, and

* Daniel ii. 34, 35.

† Daniel ii. 44.

kindreds, and tongues, and peoples, preceded as this consummation would be by the casting down and gradual destruction of all other thrones and dominions. If to this be added the light thrown upon the comprehensive purpose that has been so long in process of evolution in human history by the sayings of Christ and His apostles, sufficient evidence of a satisfactory kind to test the national and general ecclesiastical, political, and social results that have been produced, will be supplied. Among other things it is recorded that, between the apostolic age and the epoch of the great consummation promised, there was to be "a falling away." It is further intimated that one infallible sign of the near approach of the time of the world's belief in Christ would be the advent of the incarnation of the spirit of Christian union. The presence of the Spirit of Christ wherever His influence was exerted, would occasion the overturn of every kind of human thralldom, and would also promote the growth and development of human freedom in all its aspects, ecclesiastical, political, and social. Commencing with the year B.C. 606, there have been four successive historical periods of equal time-duration, marking principal epochs having varied features in the general and combined evolution of the several phases of the great scheme, according to which the gradual unfolding of human history appears to have been regulated. From the overthrow of the first theocratic kingdom in the year B.C. 606, to the commencement of the Christian era, 606 years; from the commencement of the Christian era to the advent of the "falling away" in the year A.D. 606, 606 years; from the advent of the "falling away" till it reached the extreme

limit of its power and influence in the discharge of the last thunderbolt of its ghostly dominion against England in the year A.D. 1212, 606 years; and from the zenith of the influence of the "falling away" in the year A.D. 1212, to the advent of the incarnate spirit of Christian union in the year A.D. 1818, 606 years.

A few verses in the 1st chapter of Ezekiel perform the same service for this combined view as the 40th chapter has done for the several chambers of history separate and in detail. It is thus written: "And I looked, and, behold, a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself, and a brightness was about it, and out of the midst thereof as the colour of amber, out of the midst of the fire. Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures. And this was their appearance; they had the likeness of a man. . . . Now as I beheld the living creatures, behold, one wheel upon the earth by the living creatures, with his four faces. The appearance of the wheels and their work was like unto the colour of a beryl: and they four had one likeness: and their appearance and their work was as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel." * The salient points of information furnished in these verses bearing upon the subject under investigation are few, but the knowledge communicated is clear and precise in relation to it. We shall not stop to inquire whether or not the writings of the four great books of prophecy are represented by the four living creatures. It is sufficient for our present purpose to note the two announcements made—first, that the "whirlwind, a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself, and a bright-

* Ezekiel i. 4, 5, 15, 16.

ness about it, came out of the north ;” and, second, that there was “one wheel upon the earth by the living creatures, with his four faces,” while the appearance of the four wheels and their work was as it were “a wheel in the middle of a wheel.” The action of the “whirlwind,” associated with which there were “a great cloud, a fire infolding itself, and a brightness about it, came out of the north.” If this imagery has any illustrative relation to the final evolving of the purpose which appears to run increasingly and continuously through human history, then this feature of it intimates the origination in the north of the combined yet varied influence represented by it. In Scotland ecclesiastically and England politically, “the north,” the fruits of the successful operation of the spirit of Christianity were manifested ; and to the south of Britain, in France, the destructive whirlwind of revolution was first experienced. In Germany, to the north of Italy, the chief seat of Romanism, the truth was revived at the Reformation epoch ; and in Italy itself, the first-fruits in latter days of national unity, accompanied with civil and religious liberty among the people of continental empires, are witnessed. From Russia, or “out of the north,” also came “the whirlwind” of aggression, and threatened territorial dismemberment, with which Turkey was assailed in the year 1853, the defeat of which was witnessed in the capture of Sebastopol in the year 1855.

There was “one wheel upon the earth by the living creatures, with his four faces.” But there were in all four wheels, “and their appearance and their work were as it were a wheel within the middle of a wheel.” It is added : “When they went, they went upon their

four sides ; and they turned not when they went. As for their rings, they were so high that they were dreadful ; and their rings were full of eyes round about them four.* The motion of the wheels was not rotary ; but “ they went upon their four sides,” a most appropriate symbol of cycles of history. The historical wheels connected with this imagery, and interpretative of it, would be most intricate and complicated, and the knowledge they were to communicate, signified by their being “ full of eyes round about,” would be most difficult to acquire, for “ their rings were so high that they were dreadful.” In the description given, “ a wheel within the middle of a wheel,” there is a confirmation furnished that the cycles of history would have two periods of duration, the beginning and the end of each would be equidistant in interval of time from the middle or centre. It is also indicated that wheels may be found within the outer wheel, yet all revolving round a common centre. And it is, moreover, intimated that within the half of one wheel, on either side, there may be discovered other wheels illustrative of one another, but each having its own central point or middle event. In order to verify and confirm the descriptions contained in this imagery, we must have first one wheel with four faces, or four distinct epochs in general history at equal intervals of time from each other ; and also within the middle of the one large wheel, other three wheels, making in all four wheels, each having four faces or phases of equal duration, having their appearance and their work as it were a wheel with four faces within the middle of a wheel with

* Ezekiel i. 17, 18.

four faces. Next, we must have a series of four wheels revolving round a common centre, manifesting in this form or "appearance" the operation or "work" of the great purpose. And, third, we require four successive wheels, the second, third, and fourth within the half of the first, the third and fourth within the half of the second, and the fourth within the half of the third.

One large wheel with four faces has been mentioned, commencing in the year B.C. 606, ending in the year A.D. 1818, and having its centre event in the year A.D. 606, 1212 years distant from each extreme. This is the large outer wheel, within which, including the space of time occupied in the evolution of four completed wheels of latter-day history, revolving round the year A.D. 1818 as a common centre, all other accomplished cycles or evolved wheels in illustration of Ezekiel's imagery must be found. They are all comprehended in the space of time intervening between the year B.C. 606 and the year A.D. 1861. The "four faces," or phases of equal duration in the large wheel, are, as previously stated, first, from the year B.C. 606 to the commencement of the Christian era; second, from the commencement of the Christian era to the revelation of the "falling away" in the year A.D. 606, third, from its inauguration until it reached the zenith of its power in the year A.D. 1212; and, fourth, from thence until the advent of the incarnate spirit of Christian union in the year A.D. 1818; each face or phase having an equal time-duration of 606 years. If the act of ecclesiastical union accomplished in the year A.D. 1818 is in reality the first-fruit of the spirit of Christianity as a spirit of union among ecclesiastical

associations, then embodying as it does in that case the evidence of the advent of the epoch in which Christ has begun to operate powerfully, preparatory to the drawing of all unto Himself, the year of its occurrence, A.D. 1818, constitutes a fitting termination to the large wheel having four faces, and is also the great centre year of accomplished latter-day history. The four faces of the large wheel, commencing in the year B.C. 606, terminate in the year A.D. 1818 ; and four wheels of accomplished latter-day Christian or European and American history revolve round it as a common centre. The modern epoch of disruption, revolution, overturn, and mingled union commenced with the disruption of Britain and America in the year 1775, and has its evolved termination in the disruption of the United States of America in the year 1861.

The interval of time between the years 1775 and 1861 is the space within which we must find four wheels, three of them within the outer wheel, and all having the year 1818 as a common centre, explanatory of the nature of the influence which has operated in the production of the great events of modern times. The four posts or events on the one side are, first, the disruption of Britain and America in the year 1775 ; second, the commencement of the French revolution in the year 1789 ; third, the completion of the overturn of the national edifice in France, ecclesiastically, politically, and socially, in the year 1793 ; and, fourth, the overthrow of the German empire in the year 1806. The posts or events on the other side are, first, the second overturn of the French Bourbon dynasty in the year 1830 ; second, the disruption of the Established

church of Scotland and the advent of the Free church in the year 1843 ; third, the completion, in the year 1847, of the work of ecclesiastical union commenced in the year 1818 ; and, fourth, the disruption of the United States of America in the year 1861. The outer wheel begins and ends in political disruption, the American States being principally interested on both occasions, and the equal measurement of time on each side is 43 years. The next wheel within the outer wheel begins in the year 1789, with an event which supplies one sign of the latter-day epoch, the commencement of revolutionary overturning, and ends in the year 1847 with another and a different sign of the same epoch, the completion of the ecclesiastical union originated in the year 1818, and the equal time-measurement on each side is 29 years. The third wheel within the preceding two wheels dates from the entire overturn of the ecclesiastical, political, and social fabric of France in the year 1793, and concludes with the disruption of the Established church of Scotland in the year 1843, and the advent of the Free church, preparatory to a further and more extensive operation of the spirit of ecclesiastical union originated in the year 1818. The equal time-measurements in this case are each 25 years. The fourth wheel within the other three wheels commences with the fall of the German empire in the year 1806, and ends with the second and apparently final overthrow of the direct line of the old French monarchy in the year 1830. The equal time-measurements in this instance are each 12 years. We have thus one large wheel, with its "four faces," or phases of equal duration, terminating in an event which is the common centre of four wheels, "the

appearance and the work of which are as it were a wheel within the middle of a wheel," all comprehended within the entire period from the year B.C. 606 to the year A.D. 1861.

But there should also be other three wheels within the large outer one, each having its "four faces" or phases, in order to complete the four wheels in this aspect. The foundation of Christianity and its early progress, succeeded as they were by the "falling away," which was fully inaugurated in the year A.D. 606, are the sources and substance of European history until the era of the Reformation. From thence, however, new streams of influence are observed exerting their powers, and the increasing purpose manifest in all history began to run in new channels. Again, at the epoch of the English revolution, in the year 1689, another line of divergence commenced, and the true spring of the practical national embodiment of civil and religious liberty, as now understood and enjoyed in Britain, was opened up. The year 1517 witnessed the resurrection of those principles of truth, by the promulgation and adoption of which, after a severe struggle, the foundation of modern civil and religious freedom was laid in Britain in the year 1689. The year 1517 is the beginning of the second wheel, the year 1689 is its centre, and the year 1861 is its termination, the two equal periods being 172 years each. It has, moreover, "four faces," or phases—the first, from the year 1517, the advent of the principles of Protestantism, until the union under one monarchy of England, Scotland, and Ireland, in the year 1603, preparatory to the separate entrance of England and Scotland upon the distinctive fields of conflict assigned

to them, during the progress of which the liberating power of truth was mightily exerted in the experience of both nations ; the second is from the year 1603 until the successful close of the struggle in the revolution of the year 1689 ; the third is from the English revolution of the year 1689 to the disruption of the union between Britain and America, in the year 1775 ; and the fourth is from the disruption of the union between Britain and America, in the year 1775, until the threatened disruption of the United States of America in the year 1861. Each of these "four faces," or phases, of human history, the first dating from the advent of the Reformation era, measures 86 years.

The third wheel is exactly the half of the second wheel, and dates from the English revolution of the year 1689, having its centre in the disruption of the union between Britain and America in the year 1775, and also terminates in the year 1861. It has in like manner "four faces," or phases : the first from the year of the revolution, 1689, to the year 1732, which witnessed the beginning of the disruption of the union of the established church of Scotland, as settled at the revolution epoch ; the second is from the year 1732, the beginning of the disruption of ecclesiastical union in the established church of Scotland, to the year 1775, the beginning of the disruption of the political union between Britain and America ; the third is from the beginning of the disruption of the political union of Britain and America, in the year 1775, till the year 1818, in which the first-fruits of a spirit of ecclesiastical union were witnessed in branches of the two divided sections of the secession from the church of Scotland which dates its rise from the year 1732 ;

the fourth is from the year 1818, in which the first-fruits of the incarnation of the spirit of Christianity as a spirit of ecclesiastical union began to be revealed, until the year 1861, in which the threatened disruption of the United States of America was evolved in connection with negro slavery, the maintenance of which is a palpable and flagrant violation of the spirit of Christianity, for "in Christ" there is neither bond nor free, all, without distinction of class or race or colour, being endowable with the liberty which Christ bestows on His disciples. The equal measurements of the "four faces," or phases of the third wheel, are each 43 years.

The ecclesiastical union effected in the year 1818 was the commencement of the healing of the breach which in the year 1747 divided the associated synod, the members of which had seceded from the church of Scotland. Or, viewed in another light, the ecclesiastical disruption of the secession church of Scotland in the year 1747 was the precursor of the subsequent incarnation of the spirit of ecclesiastical union in the year 1818, which was repeated in the year 1820, and still further developed in the year 1847, after the lapse of a hundred years. The year 1747 marks the beginning of the fourth wheel; its centre event is the consummation of the entire political union of Great Britain and Ireland in the year 1801; and at its termination, in the year 1855, the successful results of the political alliance of France and Britain were witnessed in the capture of Sebastopol, and the consequent defeat of the attempted dismemberment of the Turkish empire by Russia. In this, the fourth wheel, the two equal periods of duration are each 54 years. It also

has "four faces" or phases : first, from the continued progress of ecclesiastical disruption in Scotland in the year 1747, to the last year of the political union between Britain and America, the year 1774, the second, from the last year of the political union between Britain and America, the year 1774, to the first year of the consolidation of entire political union between Great Britain and Ireland, the year 1801 ; the third, from the first year of the accomplishment of entire political union between Great Britain and Ireland, the year 1801, to the first year of the modern era of reformation and regeneration to Britain politically, the year 1828 ; the fourth, from the year 1828 to the termination of the wheel in the year 1855. The equal time-measurements of the "four faces" or phases are in each case 27 years. This finishes the second illustration of the four wheels, and the manner of "their appearance and their work" is as if "a wheel was within the middle of a wheel."

But there is a third series of illustrations yet more intricate and complex than the preceding two. The wheels in this instance comprise Asiatic as well as European events. Starting once more from the year B.C. 606 there are other three large wheels in addition to the one which has its centre in the year A.D. 606 and its termination in the year A.D. 1818. Two of these have their centres in the years A.D. 563 and 596 on one side of the year A.D. 606, and their terminations, as explained in a previous chapter, in the years A.D. 1732 and 1798. The fourth and remaining wheel has its centre in the year A.D. 622 on the other side of A.D. 606, and has its termination in the year A.D. 1850. This is a wheel of Asiatic events exclusively, com-

mencing with the overthrow of the Jewish kingdom in the year B.C. 606, having its centre in the rise of Mohammedanism in the year A.D. 622, and its termination in the commencement of the modern revolutionary epoch in China in the year A.D. 1850, which year is, moreover, the centre year of joint European and Asiatic history in recent times. We are thus supplied with four wheels within each other, the third of which terminates in the year A.D. 1818, it being also the centre year of modern European and American history; and the fourth having its termination in the year A.D. 1850, which is at the same time the centre of modern European and Asiatic history. The next example in this series of four wheels having "their appearance and their work as if a wheel were within the middle of a wheel" has the fourth wheel of the immediately preceding illustration for its large wheel, commencing in the year B.C. 606, and ending in the year A.D. 1850. The last half of this first wheel comprises nearly the entire duration of the second wheel, which has its commencement in the permanent introduction of Christianity into Scotland in the year 563, its centre in the beginning of papal aggression in England in the year 1205, and its termination in the complete development of the United Presbyterian church of Scotland in the year 1847. The last half of this second wheel constitutes nearly the entire third wheel, which begins with the grant of English Magna Charta in the year 1215, has its centre in the separation of England from Rome in the year 1534, and its termination in the Turkish crisis of the year 1853 which occasioned a political union of action between France and Britain. The terminations of these

three wheels form a chamber of modern European and Asiatic history—the termination of the first wheel, the year 1850, being its centre; the termination of the second wheel, the year 1847, being its commencement; and the termination of the third wheel, the year 1853, being its end. The last half of the third large wheel comprises the entire fourth wheel, which begins with the separation of England from Rome, dating from 3d November 1534, has its centre in the English revolution, dating from 6th February 1689, and its termination in the full accomplishment of the act of secession from the established church of Scotland and the advent of the Free church on 22d-23d May 1843. This completes this example of four wheels having “their appearance and their work as if it were a wheel within the middle of a wheel.”

The termination of the fourth wheel, the year 1843, is also the beginning of a second wheel of modern European and Asiatic history, having a common centre, the year 1850, and terminating in the political earthquake which threatened destruction to the Indian empire of Britain in the year 1857. The great centre of modern European history is the year 1818, and the year 1850 is the centre of modern European and Asiatic history. Two modern chambers of each are connected together, making four wheels between them; and they are, further, the continuation of two large chambers of joint Asiatic and European history. Mohammedanism was established politically as well as ecclesiastically when Jerusalem was captured in the year 637. It has throughout its history acted as a check and counterpoise to Romanism. In the year 1213, Rome, aided by a threatened French military

invasion of England, succeeded in bringing the English nation under the ecclesiastical and political yoke of the papal system. Immediately following this humiliating occurrence to England, the foundation of the nation's ultimate civil and religious freedom was laid in the grant of Magna Charta in the year 1215. First came the fruition of the bane of Romanism in the year 1213, and then followed the sowing of the seed of the antidote in the year 1215. These form the centres of two wheels, having their joint commencement in the year 637, in the full revelation of Mohammedanism as the appointed ecclesiastical and political rival of the papacy, and their respective terminations in the years 1789 and 1793, which witnessed the beginning and the end of the utter overthrow of the ecclesiastical and political fabric of France, the steadfast ally of Romanism throughout its career. The terminations of these two wheels, the years 1789 and 1793, become in turn the starting-points in modern European history of two wheels, which have their common centre in the year 1818, and their respective terminations in the fruition of ecclesiastical freedom and union within the home dominion of Britain in the years 1843 and 1847. These two latter terminations being in like manner the commencement of two wheels of modern European and Asiatic history, having for their common centre the year 1850, and their terminations, first, in the year 1853, in which Russian aggressiveness endangered the prolonged existence of the Turkish empire, and brought about united political action on the part of France and Britain; and, second, in the twofold occurrence of the year 1857, the Indian

mutiny and the war with China, the latter of which occasioned a renewal of united political action on the part of France and Britain. Thus, commencing with the full rise of Mohammedanism as an Asiatic religious system and the rival of Romanism, there are three continuous double chambers of joint European and Asiatic history, ending with signs of weakness and decay in Turkey, and sources of trouble and commotion throughout Asia.

Once more, the beginning of the rise of Mohammedanism as a religious system, and the rival of Romanism ecclesiastically and politically, was in the year 622. Taking the same centres, the years 1213 and 1215—two important years in the history of Britain, the modern ecclesiastical and political rival of Rome—the respective terminations are the years 1804 and 1808, in the first of which the new imperial dynasty of France was founded by Napoleon after the entire overthrow of its ancient monarchical regime, and in the latter of which the Emperor Napoleon annexed the territory of Rome's civil dominion to the French empire, and made the pontiff a prisoner. Other two wheels date from the foundation of the Anglican ecclesiastical system in the confirmation by Rome of the appointment of Augustine as the first archbishop of Canterbury in the year 598. The pope's claim to nominate a successor to the vacant archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, in the year 1205, originated the struggle which ended so disastrously to the king of England in the year 1213. This year forms the centre of a third wheel in this connection, having its termination in the British people's commencing to remove the last political remnant of Romanism from the national institu-

tions in the year 1828. The fourth wheel has its centre in the grant of Magna Charta in the year 1215, and its termination in the perfecting of the national-political edifice by the passing of the great measure of reform in the year 1832.

The terminations of these four wheels, the years 1804, 1808, 1828, and 1832, form two chambers of modern joint French, Roman, and British history, having for their common centre the year 1818. The inner chamber commences in the overturn of the pope's civil dominion and the captivity of his person, in the year 1808, and terminates in the inauguration of final reformation and regeneration in Britain in the year 1828. The outer chamber of the two commences in the culminating point of French revolutionary reaction, witnessed in the foundation of the new imperial dynasty in the year 1804, and terminates in the advent of political reform in Britain in the year 1832. There are thus four large wheels of joint European and Asiatic history, beginning in the years 598 and 622, having their centres in the years 1213 and 1215, and their terminations in the years 1804, 1808, 1828, and 1832. The two chambers formed by these terminations of the four large wheels complete four wheels of modern history in connection with France, Rome, and Britain exclusively, having the year 1818 for their common centre. The posts on the one side are French and Roman, and they were, without exception, destructive in their character and tendencies: they are the years 1789, 1793, 1804, and 1808. The posts on the other side are British, and they were, without exception, reforming and renewing in their character and tendencies: they are

the years 1828, 1832, 1843, and 1847. Thus an attempt has been made to illustrate in numerous and diverse ways the imagery of Ezekiel relative to the wheels which had "their appearance and their work as if a wheel were within the middle of a wheel;" and, at the same time, the writer has endeavoured to present a combined and concentrated view of the principal epochs and lines connected with the progressive evolution of the great purpose which has manifestly and increasingly run throughout all history. The impending issues are great and momentous beyond all precedent. It would be difficult to magnify their importance unduly. The present generation of the people of Britain has a mighty enterprise before it, and a heavy responsibility resting on it. To whom much has been given, from them much shall be required. Britain clearly occupies the position of an eminent receiver of blessings; and a wide door of energetic usefulness and active benevolence, having for their aim the general elevation of the human race, may soon be opened to her. May her children be found worthy recipients and profitable custodiers of the rich treasures of good and happiness to humanity that have been and may yet be more abundantly committed to their stewardship!

The sum of all we have written is, first, that the world-wide disturbing commotions and revolutionary overturnings of the passing epoch are significant of the advent of that era of rapid transition, accompanied by violence, which was to precede, and prepare for, the grand consummation of human history to be witnessed on this earth, in the full evolution of the divine purpose concerning men as inhabitants of this sphere.

The controversy now raging in diverse forms throughout all the earth is between the ripening harvest-fruits of heaven's beneficent plan of human history and the expiring energies and spasmodic resistance of worn-out and injurious existing systems of human government and social arrangement. The influence of the spirit of revolution and change embraces within the range of its extensive operation the vast continent, of which China is the extreme east and France the extreme west, and includes, moreover, the American continent. Considered in connection with the territorial locality of either the ancient or the modern kingdom set up on this earth in fulfilment of the divine plan, the destructive and humiliating effects of the spirit of change and commotion are evolving themselves on the east and on the west. The little stone cut out without hands has, however, become the mountain of Britain's institutions, and their influence to restore and rebuild the desolations of the time of overthrow is to follow the spirit of destructive change, and its operation is only to cease when it has filled the earth with the fruits of its benignant power. In Britain the action of the spirit of regeneration and restoration has been twofold, ecclesiastical and political. One half the mountain, or its ecclesiastical aspect, has been evolved in "the north," Scotland; and the other half, or the political model, has been developed in "the south," England. When Christ was about to accomplish His great decease at Jerusalem, "He went, as He was wont, to the Mount of Olives,"* and having offered up His valedictory prayer, He was from thence taken and led to judg-

* Luke xxii. 39.

ment and death. We must leave our readers to form their own opinion as to how far the following passage, recorded in the book of Zechariah, and the signs of the current year, harmonise and agree with each other : "Then shall the Lord go forth, and fight against those nations, as when He fought in the day of battle. And His feet shall stand in that day upon the Mount of Olives, which is before Jerusalem on the east : and the Mount of Olives shall cleave in the midst thereof toward the east and toward the west, and there shall be a very great valley ; and half of the mountain shall remove toward the north, and half of it toward the south."*

The sum of all we have written is, second, that the divine Interpreter, of whom mention is made in the early pages of this volume, has wrought out, in human history, not merely the fulfilment of the written record of Scripture, but has, in addition, provided a new and efficacious historical source of illumination and enlightenment in relation to the purpose of the Deity and the destiny of humanity. Its nature is such, that the completion of this new testimony would be witnessed, or at least discernible, from the particular year in which all the events that were appointed to be its component parts were fully revealed in the world's history. It could not be made serviceable as a sure means of light even a single year previously, and therefore the arrangements have been such that it was not required. When finished and fully revealed, this light will in all probability be proved to have been indispensable for the guidance and direction of the nations and kindreds of men in the midst

* Zech. xiv. 3, 4.

of those changes which are to precede, and prepare for, the grand consummation of the comprehensive purpose which has ceaselessly and increasingly continued to run throughout human history. How far this view corresponds with the apparent purport of another passage which we here quote from the same chapter of the book of Zechariah, our readers must again decide for themselves: "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the light shall not be clear nor dark; but it shall be one day which shall be known to the Lord, not day, nor night; but it shall come to pass, that at evening time it shall be light."*

The sum of all we have written is, third, that from Britain, as the modern Jerusalem or city of the great King, living and restoring streams of influence have gone forth, half of them in the direction from which the regenerating spirit of Christianity traversed in the progress of its operation onward to the British Isles, from the original Jerusalem where the great decease was accomplished, and in which the foundation of the Christian religion was laid; and half of them toward what was, till a comparatively recent era, the outer and unknown continent of America. And further, the final fruits of their beneficial and elevating action upon the human race will only be revealed when Christ has drawn all unto Himself, and has made an end of iniquity in its manifold and diversified forms of development in human history; until, in short, the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdom of our Lord and of His Christ, until the earth is full of the knowledge of the Lord, and until

* Zech. xiv. 6, 7.

there is nothing to hurt or destroy in all God's holy mountain. How far this is in conformity with the remaining portion of the passages in the book of Zechariah which we purpose quoting, each reader must again determine for himself: "And it shall be in that day, that living waters shall go out from Jerusalem; half of them toward the former sea, and half of them toward the hinder sea: in summer and in winter shall it be. And the Lord shall be king over all the earth: in that day there shall be one Lord, and His name one." *

Finally, the sum of what we have written constitutes the substance of an attempted reply to the question proposed at the commencement of the volume, "What is truth?" The manner of the reply is, to say the least, novel and original, and the component elements of it are in themselves incontestable facts in past history, or "former things," all fitted accurately into each other, and cemented together indissolubly. The entire superstructure of historical truth rests securely on the comprehensive and immutable basis of the divine intention intelligibly revealed in human history. And whether the circumstances of the current year, combined with the peculiar exhibition of past history, or "former things," we have endeavoured to give in these pages, bear any resemblance whatever to the following passage in Isaiah, we shall not presume to say. We quote the words, as they form the most concise and appropriate termination to this work, both as regards the circumstances of the year in which it appears, and the nature and character of

* Zech. xiv. 8, 9.

its contents: "Let all the nations be gathered together, and let the people be assembled: who among them can declare this, and show us former things? let them bring forth their witnesses, that they may be justified: or let them hear, and say, It is truth."— (Isaiah xliii. 9.)

THE END.