

THE

PRINCETON REVIEW.

APRIL, 1844.

No. II.

ART. I.—*History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles.* By Dr. Augustus Neander, Ordinary Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin, Consistorial Counsellor, etc. Translated from the third edition of the Original German, by J. E. Ryland. Complete in one volume. Philadelphia: James M. Campbell and Co. 1844. 8vo. pp. 331. *J. M. Alexander*

THE translator of this celebrated work has given us a brief memoir of the author, which is, in substance as follows. John Augustus William Neander, was born at Göttingen, January 16, 1789. His youth was spent chiefly at Hamburg. Having renounced Judaism, he began his academical studies at Halle, in 1806, and completed them at Göttingen, under the venerable Planck. After a short residence at Hamburg, he commenced, in 1811, at Heidelberg, as a theological teacher; and in 1812 became theological professor extraordinary. Here he published his work on the Life and Times of the Emperor Julian. The next year he was called to the University of Berlin. His work on St. Bernard soon followed. In 1818 appeared his history of the Gnostics. His next labour was the interesting and learned Biography of Chrysostom. In 1825, he published his 'Denkwürdigkeiten,' or Memorabilia of early Christianity. All these

the heathen of the unsearchable riches of Christ? A band of Genevan Calvinists. Who were the most instrumental in God's hand, by their personal toils, and privations in awaking the modern spirit of missions in the church? Brainard, Eliot, Edwards—Calvinists. And who were the first to give an embodied impulse to that spirit? The records of missionary organization will answer, British and American Calvinists. By them it was begun, in a great measure carried on, and many of its brightest trophies under God obtained. These facts we think are sufficient to prove, that the actual influence of Calvinism has, to a degree at least sufficient for the argument, been favourable to the missionary enterprise.

The length to which our remarks have been protracted rather than a conviction of having completed the discussion, warns us to come to a close. It remains for each one who holds the system we have investigated, to see that he furnishes another illustration of its influence, and not a new instance of its abuse. As yet, with all that we can adduce historically in favour of the point discussed, there is barely enough to save the argument, not to illustrate it; enough to show the tendency but not to exhibit the influence of these doctrines. Let us see to it, that whilst holding and contending for the truth we do not neglect to send it to the perishing; and that it be not said to us after all our vociferous applause and contention for our pure and noble system, "thou wicked and slothful servant, out of thine own mouth will I condemn thee."

ART. III.—*The History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, comprising the civil History of the Province of Ulster, from the accession of James the First, with a preliminary sketch of the progress of the Reformed Religion in Ireland during the sixteenth century, and an appendix consisting of original papers: By James Seaton Reid, D. D., minister of the Presbyterian Church, Carrickfergus. Waugh and Innes, Edinburgh, 1834. Two volumes. 8vo.*

Michael Anderson

These volumes, though they have been for some years before the public, in Europe, have not, till lately, reached our hands. And our design in noticing them now is not to

write a critique on the history which they contain, but to extract from them information respecting a branch of the church, with which Presbyterians in these United States have a more intimate connexion than with any other body of Presbyterians. It is common to represent our church as having derived its origin from the Church of Scotland; and remotely this was the fact; but its immediate origin was from the Presbyterian church of Ireland, whence came most of the fathers who laid the foundation of that system which has now become so extensive as to include more than a hundred presbyteries; and this notwithstanding the separation of nearly a moiety of the body, within a few years past. But when we speak of our church as deriving its origin from any ecclesiastical body in Europe, we would not be understood to mean that our first presbyteries were erected by any order or by any authority of any foreign Presbyterian body, for this was not the fact. But several ordained ministers having emigrated from the north of Ireland, settled in the middle colonies; particularly in Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, united together in presbytery, which under existing circumstances, they had a right to do, and were joined from the first by some ministers from New England, who were willing to adopt the Presbyterian system. We do not utter it as a matter of complaint, but merely to make known the historical fact, that until very recently our church has never been noticed or recognised by any foreign Presbyterian church. We are, therefore, free from any special obligations to any foreign church; but this does not release us from the obligation to fraternize with all true members of Christ's church, wherever they may dwell; and to aid them by our prayers; and this obligation we especially feel in regard to those who have the same form of doctrine, the same system of church government, and the same rules of discipline which we have adopted. Not only did our first ministers come to us from Ireland, but the people who composed the first Presbyterian congregations were from the same country. Indeed, it may be truly said, that the emigration of many Presbyterian people was the inducement for enterprising Presbyterian ministers to cross the ocean and take up their residence in a new country. Little did the fathers of the Presbyterian church know the importance of their own labours, and the extent to which the tender vine which they planted would in one century spread its branches.

As our opportunities of becoming acquainted with the church of our forefathers, in Ireland, had been inconsiderable, we were gratified to find that a learned Presbyterian minister of Ireland had with much labour composed a history of his own church; and having now enjoyed the pleasure of perusing it, we feel disposed to present to our readers such parts of the history as are most interesting, and to separate our account, as far as possible, from the civil history of the country, which would not only be uninteresting to most of our readers, but is in fact exceedingly confused and perplexed. We deem it unnecessary to go back to the first propagation of Christianity in this island. It will be enough for our purpose to remark, that prior to the reformation, in the sixteenth century, no part of Christendom was involved in a thicker darkness of ignorance and superstition than Ireland. This assertion will be easily credited by all who are well acquainted with the present state of a large part of the population of that country. There were some peculiar reasons why Ireland was in a lower state of improvement than the neighbouring Island of Great Britain. As it was every where the policy of the Romish church to keep the people in ignorance, so also it was unhappily the case that the jealousy of the British government, by prohibiting the free use of the Irish language, with a view of introducing the English, was adapted to promote the same end. Before the reformation, the benefits of the art of printing had not been extended to Ireland. The instruction given by the clergy had no tendency to dissipate the darkness, but rather to increase it, for most of what they communicated served rather to rivet the bonds of superstition, than to enlarge and improve the minds of the people. The inculcation of the doctrines of religion and duties of morality, formed no part of the preaching of the times, which consisted of silly legends of pretended saints and martyrs.

During the reign of Henry VIII. the reformation made small progress in Ireland; except that he made his authority as head of the church to be acknowledged, endeavoured to induce the clergy and to break off all connexion with Rome, and suppressed some of the monasteries; but the people were entirely unprepared for a reformation and submitted to these changes more from compulsion than from conviction and good will.

In the reign of Edward VI. the English liturgy was introduced into many of the churches; but very little real

progress was made in the work of reformation. Two excellent men, BALE and GOODACRE, were made bishops, and laboured indefatigably to promote the knowledge of the true religion among the ignorant people. "Of Bale," says our author, "we possess many authentic memorials which show him to have possessed, not only the fidelity, piety, and learning of a reformer, but also the zeal, energy and courage essential to the character of a champion of the truth. Deeply convinced of the ruinous errors of popery, he attacked and exposed them without reserve. For this honest boldness he had been twice imprisoned in England, by the ruling clergy. Owing to the favour of Lord Cromwell, he obtained his liberty; and after the melancholy death of his patron, he retired to the continent, where he spent eight years in habits of intimacy and friendship with Luther, Calvin, and other celebrated continental reformers. At the accession of Edward VIth. he returned to England, and in 1552 was offered the see of Ossory. He could not, however, for some time be prevailed on to accept it, alleging his age; being then nearly sixty, also his poverty, and his ill health, as sufficient to excuse him from so arduous a charge. At the personal solicitation of the sovereign himself, Bale at length consented, and in conjunction with his friend and colleague, Goodacre, was solemnly set apart to his office on the 2d of February, 1553." He refused to be consecrated according to the Romish ritual; and his firmness on this occasion, had a salutary effect on the timid friends of the reformation.

Of the manner in which he performed the duties of his high office, we have some account left from his own hand. "My first proceedings were these,—I earnestly exhorted the people to repentance for sin, and required them to give credit to the gospel salvation; to acknowledge and believe that there was but one God; and him alone, without any other sincerely to worship; to confess one Christ, for an only Saviour and Redeemer, and to trust in none other man's prayers, merits, nor yet deservings, but in his alone for salvation. I treated at large both of the heavenly and political state of the church; and helpers, I found none among my prebendaries and clergy, but adversaries a great number. I preached the gospel of the knowledge and right invocation of God. But when I once sought to destroy the idolatries and dissolve the hypocrites' yokes, then followed angers, slanders, conspiracies, and in the end

the slaughter of men." While he thus preached the truth, he laboured with the utmost diligence to correct the vices of his clergy, whom he found plunged in the grossest licentiousness. He at once abolished the idolatrous service of the mass, and sought to lead the people to the knowledge and love of true religion. But he was not permitted long to go on in his begun work of reformation; for on the demise of Edward VI. he became the object of violent persecution, and was again obliged to fly for safety to the continent. On the accession of Elizabeth, Bale returned to England, but never entered again into the episcopal office.

The death of Edward VI. gave a complete check to the work of reformation in Ireland, where it had been barely commenced. Every thing went back to its former condition, and the high offices in the church fell again into the hands of the devoted servants of the Pope. A day of jubilee was observed throughout the kingdom for the happy restoration. The number of Protestants was so small, and they lived in so much obscurity, that it was not thought necessary to exercise great vigilance toward them; and during the violence of the Marian persecution in England, many persons took refuge in Ireland, where they remained unmolested. Some of these little colonies brought their ministers with them, who privately officiated among them even in Dublin; and thus by the providence of God, when Protestantism appeared extinct, the seeds of reformation were again sown among the people.

At the accession of Elizabeth, another revolution in the church, of course, took place; and it is a remarkable proof of the flexible consciences of the ecclesiastics of those times, that of nineteen prelates, who had conformed to popery under Mary, only two now adhered with steadfastness to their profession. While the laws now established protestantism, and required conformity to the English liturgy, the great obstacle to a thorough reformation in Ireland, arose from ignorance of the English language, among the great body of the people. If measures had been taken to have the liturgy translated into the language of the people, and the Bible and other suitable books extensively circulated, the result would have been widely different from what it was. This measure, and also the supplying of congregations with pious and able pastors, were strongly recommended to the queen by Sir Henry Sydney, to whom the government of Ireland was then committed. But this ad-

vice was not followed; in consequence of which neglect, innumerable evils have continued to arise in that unhappy country, to this day. This enlightened statesman also projected the plan of the Dublin University; although it was not commenced until 1590, and students were first admitted in 1593. One chief object of this institution was to raise up ministers for the national church. The liberal spirit of the governors of the university appears from the fact, that the two first fellows elected, were Presbyterians from Scotland. Their names were Fullerton and Hamilton. It is also a fact, that the first two regular provosts of the college were non-conformists. The first of these was Walter Travers, one of the most celebrated of the English puritans, who had been silenced by Whitgift for his non-conformity. His successor was Henry Alvey, an equally zealous Puritan.

At the accession of James I. to the throne of England, Ireland was in a very unhappy state of ignorance and superstition. The course of administration of the British government toward Ireland, at this time, was conciliatory and kind; customs and usages which were injurious, but which had obtained the force of law, were abolished. The natives were, for the first time, admitted to the privileges of citizens, and put on an equality with English residents. The estates of the nobility, held before by a very precarious title, were secured to them with all the formalities of law; and courts, which had been intermitted in the southern provinces for two centuries, and had never before been established in the north, were held in every district of the country; so that justice was now administered to all classes of persons.

As James manifested a disposition to check the arrogance and tyranny of the Romanists, a conspiracy was formed against his government by some of the nobility, but this was detected before the time of its execution arrived, and the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, who were principals in the plot, fled in dismay. Soon afterwards, however, another insurrection took place in the north of Ireland, under O'Dogherty, who was slain, and his followers were scattered. In consequence of these treasonable and rebellious acts, an extensive portion of the province of Ulster reverted to the crown. About half a million of acres of land, including no less than six counties in this province, were forfeited. These lands James wisely determined, to plant with Eng-

lish and Scottish colonies. Here we have the origin of Presbyterianism in the north of Ireland. The moral and religious condition of Ulster at this time was truly deplorable. The account given by a Protestant prelate was as follows: "In many places there is no minister at all; in many places a minister as good as none, even a dumb dog that cannot bark; an idle shepherd who is not apt to teach, nor able to confute. In other places a lewd and scandalous minister, whose not gospel-like behaviour is a stumbling-block to them that are without." In consequence of the indolence and insufficiency of such a clergy, divine service had not, for years together, been used in any parish church throughout Ulster, except in some city or principal town.

This project of colonization was not the first which had been formed, in relation to Ulster. In 1559, under queen Elizabeth, an attempt of this kind had been made on a smaller scale, in regard to the counties of Down and Antrim, but the design was very partially carried into effect.

The person employed by the king to execute his plan of colonization, was Sir Arthur Chichester, whom he appointed deputy of the kingdom in 1605. His first care was to have the six forfeited counties surveyed, after which he allotted the lands to three classes of persons—British undertakers, who engaged voluntarily in the enterprise; servitors of the crown, consisting of civil and military officers—and natives, whom it was expected this confidence and liberality would render loyal subjects. The land was divided into portions of two thousand, fifteen hundred, and one thousand acres; and the proprietors, besides other conditions, were bound to settle forty-eight able men, above the age of eighteen, of English or Scottish descent, upon the largest divisions, and upon the less in the same proportion. In the year 1610, the land began to be generally occupied. On account of the nearness of Scotland, and the hardy and enterprising character of her population, most of the colonists were from that country. They first occupied the north-eastern parts, but soon spread themselves extensively through the country. The southern and western parts were principally occupied by the English, between whom and the Scotch there existed the most friendly cooperation. Londonderry was built and occupied chiefly by emigrants from London; hence its name. Coleraine was also settled by the English. But the Scottish settlers were far more numerous; and the king was pleased to have the Scotch

come over. Many English, however, had large estates of land bestowed on them.

In the year 1615, an Irish parliament and convocation were summoned to meet, when such laws were enacted and such regulations made, as rendered secure the possessions of the colonists. All the sees were filled with protestant bishops, and instead of adopting the articles of the Church of England, which some wished, Archbishop Ussher was requested to draw up a set of articles; which gave entire satisfaction to the parliament, and to both houses of convocation. This confession is, in its main features, as decidedly Calvinistic as that of the Westminster Assembly; and includes, in nearly the very same words, the nine Lambeth articles, which the Puritans strove, in 1604, at the Hampton Court conference, to have introduced. No power of instituting ceremonies in religion was granted; and a conformity to the doctrines laid down was the only term of communion. In consequence of the adoption of this sound and liberal system, for the Irish Church, many ministers removed to Ulster.

The first colonists, both from England and Scotland, were not of the most religious and orderly of the people; but generally adventurers, and such as fled from debt, or who wished to mend their broken fortunes. Even the Scottish people, who flocked in great numbers to Down, Antrim, Londonderry, &c., are represented to have been an irreligious people, who seemed to engage in this enterprise rather to fly from God, than to follow their own mercy. But God followed them when they fled from Him. For awhile, indeed, ignorance and vice prevailed in an awful degree among the colonists; but the mercy, by which God, in his providence, followed them, was the arrival among them of a band of faithful ministers, whose labours were remarkably blessed to the conversion of many souls of this irreligious multitude. Of these, the first, in the order of time, was the Rev. Edward Brice, M. A., who had for many years been a settled minister in Stirlingshire: but being persecuted in his own country, he was finally obliged to fly, and passed over into Ireland, where among the colonists he had some friends, especially the Rev. William Edmonstone, who had once been his neighbour, in Scotland. Mr. Brice, after being in Ireland some time, was promoted by the bishop of the diocese, to be prebendary of Kilroot: which was an honour more nominal than real. He here had an opportunity of preaching the gospel without re-

straint, and without renouncing any of his Presbyterian principles. In his old age, Mr. Livingston speaks of him in the following terms: "He was an aged man ere I knew him, and came not much abroad: in all his preaching, he insisted much on the life of Christ in the heart, and the light of his word and spirit on the mind; that being his own continual exercise."

In the adjoining parish of Carrickfergus, was settled the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, a puritan minister from England, who had been episcopally ordained, but from principle renounced his connexion with the Established Church, and became the pastor of a non-conforming congregation, in Southwark, London. But being here much oppressed, he and his flock resolved to remove to Ireland. His wish having been signified to Sir Arthur Chichester, to whom he had been known in the university, he invited him to settle, with as many of his people as might choose to emigrate, in Carrickfergus, which he did about the year 1621. Blair speaks of him as "an able, gracious man." But he was not long spared to the church and to his flock. He died in the beginning of the year 1623; scarcely two years after his removal. His people, who had removed to Ireland to enjoy the ministry of their beloved pastor, now mostly returned to England and settled in the vicinity of London.

Soon after the death of Hubbard, we find the Rev. James Glendinning, preaching and lecturing in Carrickfergus. He was a native of Scotland and had been educated at the University of St. Andrews, but had removed, early in life, to Ireland. At Antrim was settled, the Rev. John Ridge, M. A., a native of England. He had been ordained deacon by the bishop of Oxford, but feeling a repugnance to the order and ceremonies of the Established Church, he removed to Ireland, in 1619, where he was patronized and presented with a parish by Lord Chichester. Blair styles him, "The judicious and gracious minister of Antrim." Livingston's testimony respecting him is, "that he used not to have many points in his sermon, but he so enlarged on those he had, that it was scarcely possible for any hearer to forget his preaching."

Contemporary with these, there were excellent ministers settled in the county of Down. Among these was the Rev. Robert Cunningham, M. A. He had been chaplain to the earl of Buccleugh's regiment, in Holland, but on the return of

the troops to Scotland, he went to Ireland, and by bishop Echlin, was presented with a living, which on the roll of the diocese for 1622, is stiled Holywood and Craigavad. He was supported by Sir James Hamilton, afterwards Lord Claneboy. Of him Livingston says, "To my discerning, he was the one man, who most resembled the meekness of Jesus Christ, in all his carriage, that ever I saw, and was so far revered by all, even by the wicked, that he oft trembled with that scripture, 'wo be to you when all men speak well of you.'"

In the neighbouring parish of Bangor, was settled that famous apostle of the north of Ireland, the Rev. ROBERT BLAIR, who had been a regent or professor in the College of Glasgow, but being much opposed by Cameron the principal, who had been advanced to that station with a view of introducing prelacy, he resigned his situation, and being invited to Ireland, by Lord Claneboy, came to that country, in 1623. We have from himself the circumstance of his settlement, in Bangor: "When I landed in Ireland, all things smelling of a root called rampions (wild garlic) my prejudice was confirmed against the land. But, next day, travelling towards Bangor, I met, unexpectedly, with so sweet a peace and so great a joy, as I behoved to look thereon as my welcome thither; and retiring to a private place about a mile from Craigfergus, I prostrated myself on the grass, to rejoice in the Lord, who proved the same to me in Ireland, which he had been in Scotland. Nevertheless my aversion to a settlement there continued strong; and when my noble patron renewed his invitation and offers, I was very careful to inform him what accusations had been laid against me of disaffection to the civil powers, and that I could not submit to the use of the English liturgy, nor Episcopal government, to see if either of these would prevail with him to pass from his invitation. But he having been informed by a minister present, of my altercations with Dr. Cameron, said, 'I know all that business,' and as to other difficulties in the way of my admission, he was confident of obtaining a free entry for me, which he effected. So all my devices to obstruct a settlement there did evanish and took no effect, the counsel of the Lord standing fast in all generations."

"Having been invited to preach by the patron, and by Mr. Gibson, the sick incumbent, I yielded to their invitation, and preached there three Sabbath-days. After that several

of the aged and most respectable persons in the congregation came to me by order of the whole, and informed me that they were edified by the doctrine delivered by me; entreated me not to leave them; and promised if the patron's offer of maintenance was not large enough, they would willingly add to the same. This promise I slighted, being too careless of competence and comfortable provision, for I had no thoughts of any greater family, than a boy or two to serve me. But on that part of the speech imparting the congregation's call, I laid great weight, and it did contribute more to remove my unwillingness to settle there than anything else. Likewise the dying man (Mr. Gibson) did several ways encourage me. He professed great sorrow for his having been a dean, and condemned episcopacy more strongly than ever I durst do, and charged me in the name of Christ, and as I expected his blessing on my ministry, not to leave that good way wherein I had begun to walk—and then drawing my head towards his bosom, he laid his hands on my head and blessed me. After a few days he died, and my admission was accomplished as quickly as might be, in the following way; the viscount Claneboy, my noble patron, did at my request, inform the bishop how opposite I was to Episcopacy and their liturgy, and had the influence to procure my admission on easy and honourable terms. Yet, lest his lordship had not been plain enough, I declared my opinion fully to the bishop at our first meeting, and found him yielding beyond my expectation. The bishop said to me, 'I hear good of you, and will impose no conditions on you; I am old and can teach you ceremonies, and you can teach me substance, only I must ordain you, else neither I nor you can answer the law nor brook the land.' I answered him, that his sole ordination did utterly contradict my principles. But he replied both wittily and submissively, 'Whatever you may think of Episcopacy, you account a presbytery to have a divine warrant; will you not receive ordination from Mr. Cunningham and the adjacent brethren, and let me come in among them in no other relation than a presbyter?' This I could not refuse, and so the matter was performed, on the tenth of July, 1623."

Mr. Blair was one of the most eminent ministers at this time, in Ireland, and contributed more than any other to the revival and establishment of true religion in the province. "He was a man," says Livingston, who knew him intimately, "of notable constitution both of body and mind;

of a majestic, awful, yet affable and amiable countenance, and carriage, thoroughly learned, of strong parts, deep invention and judgment, and of a most public spirit for God. His gift of preaching was such, that seldom could any observe withdrawing of assistance in public, which in others is frequent. He seldom ever wanted assurance of his salvation. He spent many days and nights, in prayer alone and with others, and was vouchsafed great intimacy with God."

Shortly after his settlement at Bangor, Mr. Blair was the means of inducing Mr. James Hamilton to devote himself to the service of the church. He was nephew to Lord Claneboy, and had been educated for the ministry in Scotland; but had hitherto acted as agent for his uncle. Mr. Blair, observing in this young man both piety and talents, proposed to him to enter the ministry; but he proceeded cautiously, and with Mr. Cunningham made private trial of his endowments; and being satisfied with his gifts, he invited him to preach in his pulpit in the presence of his uncle, who till then knew nothing of the design of introducing him into the ministry; but though there was some fear that he would be reluctant to lose so faithful a servant, yet he manifested no displeasure, but, on the contrary, was highly gratified. In a short time, therefore, Mr. Hamilton was ordained by Bishop Echlin, about the year 1625, and stationed at Ballywater, where he was both diligent and successful in the work of the ministry. And though he might readily have obtained promotion in the Episcopal church, yet the Lord did graciously preserve him from being ensnared by those baits, and made him very instrumental in promoting his work. Livingston gives his character in the words following; he was, "a learned and diligent man but his gift of preaching was rather doctrinal than exhortatory."

The seven ministers, whose characters have been given above, constituted the first band, who laboured with apostolic earnestness, to remove the ignorance, formality and profaneness which characterized the greater part of the early colonists of the north of Ireland. Possessed of the true missionary spirit, and inspired with a holy zeal to propagate the gospel, they commenced with vigour the work of evangelizing the land. And though few in number, and beset with many difficulties, they were favoured with an extraordinary, if not an unprecedented measure of

success. A remarkable improvement in the habits and manners of the people was speedily effected. The thoughtless were roused to serious inquiry on the subject of religion, and the careless were alarmed, and urged to self-examination. The profane were in a great measure silenced, and the immoral reclaimed, while obstinate opposers of the gospel were converted into its willing and decided supporters. The revival of religion which occurred at this time, subsequently attracted great attention both in Scotland and England. The fame of it extended even to America; and it has frequently been referred to by writers of the last century, as one of those sudden and extraordinary manifestations of divine grace upon a careless people, with which the church has been occasionally favoured. It seems proper, therefore, to enter somewhat into detail, in giving an account of this work of grace; and in doing this we shall for the most part employ the very words of our author. He observes, "that this spirit of religious inquiry and reformation, which in a short time pervaded a considerable portion of the counties of Down and Antrim, was, no doubt, the natural, as it is the promised result of that devotedness and fidelity by which the Presbyterian ministers in this part of Ulster were so eminently distinguished. Yet it appears to have first manifested itself under the ministry of the weakest of these brethren, whose limited attainments and ill regulated zeal were providentially overruled for the furtherance of the gospel.

"The circumstances connected with this revival, deserve to be noticed. Mr. Blair coming over to Carrickfergus from Bangor, and occasionally hearing Mr. Glendinning preach, perceived some sparkles of good inclination in him, but found him not solid but weak, and not fitted for a public station among the English, he therefore advised him to remove into the country among his own countrymen. The good man received this counsel in good part, and in accordance with it went and settled at Oldstone, near the town of Antrim. Here God made use of the ministry of this pious, but half-deranged man to begin a glorious work of grace; so that it was evident to all men, that it was not by might, nor by power, nor by the wisdom of man, but by the Spirit of the Lord, that this awakening and reformation were produced. When Mr. Glendinning arrived in this place, and observed the carelessness and profaneness of the people, he was led to preach to them the terrors of

the law, and the wrath of an angry God against the wicked. His hearers finding themselves condemned by law of God, fell into such anxiety and terror of conscience, that they looked on themselves as altogether lost and damned. And this was not only the case with one or a few, but multitudes were seized with deep conviction, made to cry out, 'Men and brethren what shall we do to be saved.' Such was the impression of these awful feelings of religion on their bodies, that many fell down, as it were in a swoon, and an eye-witness testifies, that in one day he has seen a dozen carried out as dead. And these were none of the weaker sex only, but some of the boldest spirits, who had been notorious for their desperate enterprises and exploits. 'I have heard one of them,' says the narrator, 'then a man of great bodily strength, and now a man strong in faith, declare that his end in coming to the church was to consult with his companions how to devise some mischief. And yet at one of these meetings he was so caught, that he was fully subdued.' But why speak of one, there were multitudes, who not only sinned but gloried in it, and feared no man, who became patterns of sobriety, fearing to sin because they feared God. And this work of God's grace, was not confined to the lower and middling classes: it reached the honourable family of Sir John Clotworthy, he, and his mother and his lady, became eminent trophies of divine power, for they received the gospel most cordially, and became eminent as examples of genuine religion, and their example was followed by others of the gentry of the place, among whom was Capt. Norton, of Templeton."

These religious excitements continued for a considerable time, during which the ministers were indefatigable in improving the favourable opportunities thus afforded for extending the knowledge and influence of the gospel. The people, awakened and inquiring, needed instruction; many of them being not only alarmed but desponding, greatly desired the instruction and guidance of ministers. The judicious exhibition of evangelical doctrines and promises, by these faithful men, was in due time productive of those happy and tranquilizing effects, which they naturally produce when cordially received. The broken-hearted were bound up and comforted; the spirit of bondage and sin gave way to a spirit of freedom and love; the oil of joy was poured forth instead of mourning; and the spirit of heaviness exchanged for the garments of praise and thank-

fulness. The religious feelings of the people prompted them to meet often together for religious fellowship and prayer, besides the stated services of the sabbath. Hence originated those monthly meetings at Antrim, which afterwards attracted so much attention. Stewart, an eye-witness of the scene, from whose narrative the preceding statement has been taken, gives the origin of these meetings as follows: "When, therefore, the multitude of wounded consciences were healed, they began to draw into holy communion, and meeting together privately for edification; a thing which in a lifeless generation is both neglected and reprov'd. But the new life forced it among the people, who desired to know what God was doing for the souls of their neighbours, who they perceived were wrought on in spirit, as they had been. There was a man in the parish of Oldstone, by the name of Hugh Campbell, who had fled from Scotland, but God caught him in Ireland, and made him an eminent and exemplary Christian. He was a gentleman of the house of Duckett Hall. After this man was healed of the wound given to his soul by the Almighty, he became very refreshful to others who had less learning and judgment than himself: he therefore incited some of his neighbours, who were fighting the same fight of faith, to meet at his house, on the last Friday of the month; where and when, beginning with a few, they spent their time in prayer, mutual edification and conference, of what they found within them. This meeting was continued at Hugh Campbell's house, until the attendants became so numerous, that the pastors thought it expedient that some one of them should always be present, to prevent what hurt might follow." "Accordingly," says Blair, who carries on the narrative from the time that that of Stewart abruptly closes, "Mr. John Ridge, the judicious and gracious minister of Antrim, perceiving many people on both sides of the Six-Mile Water, awakened out of their security, made an overture that a monthly meeting should be set up at Antrim, which was within a mile of Oldstone, and lay central for the meeting of the awakened persons; and he invited Mr. Cunningham, Mr. Hamilton and myself, to take part in that work, who were all glad of the motion and heartily embraced it. Mr. Glendinning was also at the first glad of the confluence of the people; but not being invited to bear a part in the monthly meeting, he became so emulous, that to preserve popular applause, he watched and fasted won-

derfully. Afterward, he was smitten with a number of erroneous and enthusiastic opinions—and embracing one error after another, he set out on a visit to the seven churches of Asia.”

The removal of this minister was no loss to the cause of religion, although he had happily been made the instrument of awakening many to a sense of its extreme importance. Had it not been for the judicious ministers at hand, able to guide the people in the time of their excitement, the good work might have been marred and disgraced, if not overthrown. His place was very soon supplied by equally zealous, but more judicious ministers from Scotland. For the report of this great revival having reached that country, and it being made known that there was freedom in Ireland for the exercise of the ministry, several of the brethren came over, and were valuable assistants in promoting the work of the Lord. The first of these was Josias Welsh, son of the celebrated John Welsh, minister of Ayr, and grandson to John Knox, the Scottish reformer, by Elizabeth his third daughter. He had been educated in Geneva, and, on his return to his own country, was appointed professor of humanity in the University of Glasgow, which situation he filled until the introduction of prelacy, under Dr. Cameron, when he was forced, in order to keep a good conscience, to resign his office. Blair says of him; “A great measure of that spirit which wrought in and by the father rested on him, and finding of how zealous a spirit he was, I exhorted him to hasten over to Ireland, where he would find work enough, and I hoped success too.” He accordingly came over about 1626. Mr. Welsh preached for a while in the vacancy left by Mr. Glendinning; and having received ordination from his kinsman Knox, bishop of Raphoe, he was soon after settled at Templepatrick, as chaplain to Captain Norton. “Here,” says Livingstone, “he had many seals to his ministry, and, being much exercised in his own spirit, much of his preaching was an exercise of conscience.” And Blair adds, “he did with great eagerness convince the sinner, and sweetly comfort the dejected.”

The next year, (1627) came over Andrew Stewart, and settled in Donegore, a parish contiguous to Antrim and Templepatrick. According to Livingstone, he was a man “very streight in the cause of God.” And Blair calls him, “a learned gentleman, fervent in spirit, and a very success-

ful minister of the word of God." The next who followed from Scotland was George Dunbar, M. A. He had long been minister of Ayr, and had been twice ejected by the High Commission Court, for his resolute attachment to the Presbyterian cause, which James I. was then labouring to subvert. He had also been cast into prison at Blackness. Upon his arrival at Ulster, he first preached at Carrickfergus; afterwards he laboured for a time at Ballymenas, and then came to Larne, where he settled, and where he laboured most diligently, and with much success. He complained one day, while preaching, that he was afraid that none had received any benefit from his labours, when a man arose in the congregation, and said that he had received benefit. And not only in this man, but in many others, a great change was in a short time apparent. Among these was the remarkable case of Andrew Brown, a man deaf and dumb, who had lived a loose and vicious life; but when it pleased the Lord to work a change on several in the parish of Larne, a very sensible change was observed in him; not only in forsaking his former loose courses and company; but in joining himself to religious people, and attending on all the exercises of God's worship in public and private. He ordinarily, morning and evening, used to go alone to prayer, and would often weep at sermons—and exhibited such marks of grace on his heart, that by the advice of all the ministers he was admitted to the communion of the Lord's supper. Here, as in Antrim, there were various persons who became the subjects of violent bodily agitations, especially during the time of divine worship; and some were disposed to think that these questionable symptoms were evidences of the work of the Spirit. Mr. Brice and Mr. Dunbar however, with great prudence and care examined into the views and exercises of the persons thus affected, and did not discover in them any deep sense of their sinful state, nor any ardent pantings after a Saviour. Wishing, however, to have a thorough examination, they invited the brethren also to come and converse with those persons; and the result was, that it was believed to be a mere delusion and cheat of the destroyer, to slander and disgrace the work of the Lord.

After Dunbar, the next labourer raised up to carry on the work of the Lord in Ireland, was Henry Colwort or Calvert. He was a native of England, and had been ordained by Knox bishop of Raphoe, May, 1629, and was

settled at Oldstone. "This able minister," says Blair, "being of a fervent spirit and a vehement delivery in preaching, and withal very diligent, was a blessing to that people." And Livingston speaks of him as one, "who very pertinently cited much scripture, in his sermons, and frequently urged private fasting and prayer." But last though not least among the ministers who settled in Ireland, was John Livingston, who had been silenced in Scotland by Archbishop Spotswood on account of his opposition to prelacy. For sometime he continued to preach in private, by stealth, as he found opportunity, and had calls from several parishes, but the bishop uniformly opposed his settlement. At length an opportunity offered for his removal to Ireland; being invited to that country by Lord Claneboy. As it was necessary for him to receive episcopal ordination, before he could be settled in any parish, since they all belonged to the Irish Establishment, he took letters from Lord Claneboy, his patron, to Knox, bishop of Raphoe, who, when he came, told him he knew that the reason why he applied to him was on account of his scruples respecting episcopacy and ceremonies, as Mr. Josias Welsh and some others had done before; and that he thought his old age was prolonged for little other purpose, than to do such offices; and that he would send for Mr. Cunningham and two or three other neighbouring ministers to be present, who after sermon should give him imposition of hands; but he said "although they performed the work he must be present: and although he durst not answer it to the state, he gave me the book of ordination, and desired, that anything I scrupled at, I should draw a line over it, on the margin, and that Mr. Cunningham should not read it." But he found that the book had been scored already, so that he had no occasion to mark anything.

Mr. Livingston was one of the most learned and eloquent preachers, who visited the north of Ireland, and probably, his success has not been surpassed by that of any minister in modern times; and no one suffered more in consequence of unshaken attachment to the principles of Presbyterianism. Besides the above mentioned ministers, who laboured in Ulster at this period, there were two excellent men, who were introduced into the sacred office in that province. The one was John McClelland; the other, John Semple; faithful auxiliaries to the older ministers. The aim of all these was the same;—the revival and extension of true re-

ligion, in this desolate land. Rarely has the church of Christ, in any country, experienced so sensible an increase in so limited a period, as under the ministry of these brethren. And the reason is obvious; rarely has she enjoyed such faithful servants. They were truly "instant in season, out of season," labouring to instruct the people, and by every means to promote practical godliness in the churches committed to their care. Their intensity of zeal and untiring diligence in their work, if ever equalled, have seldom been surpassed. Mr. Blair's account of his own labours at Bangor, may serve as a sample; and furnishes a model worthy of imitation by other ministers. "My charge," says he, "was very great, consisting of about six miles in length, and containing above twelve hundred persons come of age, besides children who stood greatly in need of instruction. This being the case, I preached twice every week besides the Lord's day; on all which occasions I found little difficulty as to matter or method. But finding still that this fell short of reaching the design of a gospel ministry, and that the most part continued vastly ignorant, I saw the necessity of trying a more plain and familiar way of instructing them. And, therefore, besides my public preaching, I spent as much time every week as my bodily strength would hold out with, in exhorting and catechising them. Not long after I fell upon this method, the Lord visited me with a fever, on which some, who hated my painfulness in the ministry, said scoffingly, that they knew I could not hold out as I began. But in a little space, it pleased the Lord to raise me up again, and he enabled me to continue that method, the whole time I was there. The knowledge of God increasing among the people, and the ordinance of prayer being precious in their eyes, the work of the Lord did prosper in the place, and in this we were much encouraged by the assistance of the holy Mr. Cunningham, and by the good example of his little parish, Holywood. For, knowing that diversity of gifts is entertaining to the hearers, he and I did frequently preach for one another; and we also agreed to celebrate the sacrament of the Lord's supper, four times in each of our congregations, annually, so that those persons in both parishes who were thriving in religion, did communicate together, on all these occasions."

Here it may be remarked, that Blair, and the other ministers whom we have mentioned, in celebrating the Lord's supper, adhered to the ritual of the Church of Scotland.

They used tables placed in the centre of the church, and communicated in a sitting posture. Lord Claneboy, Blair's patron, having been accustomed to the rites of the English Church, was with difficulty reconciled to this simple, but scriptural method, and when he and his lady first attended Blair's communion, there was danger of some confusion, as they insisted on receiving the sacrament, kneeling. Blair scrupling to administer it to them in that posture, reasoned with him on the subject, but Claneboy was obstinate; but as his pew was near the table, it was agreed that he should communicate there, as he promised that he would not kneel. Blair says, "For peace sake I rashly yielded, but was so much discomposed by it next day, that when I came to the public, I was for half an hour so deserted of God, that I was about to give over the work of that day. But the Lord in great mercy pitied and helped me. For preaching on the words of the institution, 1 Cor. xi. and handling these words, 'This cup is the New Testament in my blood,' I found light and comfort flowing into my soul; and with this assistance I went to the table and administered the sacrament. My patron, and especially his lady, when the action was ended, professed their great satisfaction with that day's service, and proved my most tender and real friends, ever after." From this we see how rigid these ministers were, in avoiding every thing which had the remotest semblance of giving idolatrous worship to the mere elements of the sacrament.

The condition of those ministers and churches was, indeed, very peculiar. They were in connexion, nominally, with the Established church of Ireland; but were in principle strict Presbyterians; and in their congregations the Presbyterian order and discipline were observed as exactly as in Scotland. "In my congregation," writes Blair, "we had both deacons for the poor and elders for discipline; and so long as we were permitted to use it, the Lord blessed that ordinance." Livingston, now settled at Killinchy, pursued the same method of discipline, as Blair. He found the people tractable, but exceedingly ignorant; so that at first he saw no prospect of doing good among them, but it pleased the Lord in a short time to bring some of them to understand their condition. He also had elders to assist in governing the church, and deacons to receive and distribute the collections for the poor. The session met regularly once a week and were strict in bringing to account such members

as walked disorderly. The religious sentiments of all these ministers were what is called Calvinistic; and these, at this period, were universally maintained throughout the three national churches of the empire. While, therefore, they willingly subscribed to the articles of the Irish church, which as we have seen were strictly orthodox, they were careful to avoid every act which would even seem to favour prelacy. Though they had as yet no presbytery organized, they enjoyed many of the benefits of presbyterial meetings, from the monthly meeting at Antrim, concerning the origin of which we have already spoken. "We used," says Livingston, "to meet the first Friday of every month, at Antrim, where was a good and a great congregation; and that day was spent in fasting, and prayer, and public preaching. Commonly two preached every forenoon, and two every afternoon. We used to come together the Thursday night before, and staid the Friday night after the meeting; and consulted about such things as concerned the carrying on the work of God; and these meetings among ourselves were often as profitable as Presbyteries or Synods. Among all the ministers, there never was any jar, or jealousy; nor among the professors. All their contention was to prefer others to themselves. And although the gifts of the ministers were very different; yet it was not observed that the people followed any to the undervaluing of others. Many of these religious professors had been both ignorant and profane; and for debts and want, and worse causes, had left Scotland. Yet the Lord was pleased by his word to work such a change, that I do not think there were more lively and experienced Christians, any where than were at this time in Ireland. I have known them to come several miles from their own houses to communions, to the Saturday's sermon, and spending the whole Saturday night in several companies, sometimes a minister being with them, and sometimes themselves alone in conference and prayer. They have then waited on the public ordinances the whole Sabbath, and spent the Sabbath night in the same way, and yet at the Monday's sermon were not troubled with sleepiness, and so they slept not till they went home. In those days it was no great difficulty for a minister to preach or pray in public or private, such was the hunger of the hearers; and it was hard to judge whether there was more of the Lord's presence in the public or private meetings." This statement of Livingston, is fully corroborated by Blair, who says: "The

blessed work of conversion, which was of several years continuance, spread beyond the bounds of Antrim and Down, to the skirts of neighbouring counties, and the resort of the people to the monthly meetings and communion occasions, and the appetite of the people, were so great, that we were sometimes constrained in sympathy to them to venture beyond any preparation we had made for the season. And, indeed, preaching and praying were so pleasant in those days, and hearers so eager and greedy, that no day was long enough, nor any room great enough, to answer their strong desires and large expectations."

The singular success which attended the preaching of the gospel in Ireland at this period, is attested by another writer. Fleming in his, "Fulfilling of the Scriptures," says, "I shall here instance that great and solemn work of God, which was in the Church of Ireland some years before the fall of prelacy, about the year 1628, and some years after, which, as many grave and solid Christians yet alive can witness, who were then present, was a bright and hot sun-blink of the gospel—yea, it may with sobriety be said, to have been one of the largest manifestations of the Spirit, and of the most solemn times of the down-pouring thereof, that almost since the days of the apostles hath been seen. I remember, amongst other passages, what a worthy Christian told me, how sometimes on hearing the word, such a power and evidence of the Lord's presence was with it, that he hath been forced to rise and look through the church and see what the people were doing, thinking from what he felt on his own spirit, it was a wonder how any could go away, without some change upon them. And then it was sweet and easy for Christians to come thirty and forty miles to the solemn communion which they had, and there continue from the time they came until they returned, without wearying, or making use of sleep; and but little meat or drink; and, as some of them professed, did not feel the need thereof, but went away most fresh and vigorous, their souls so filled with a sense of God."

They were not permitted, however, to proceed without opposition; and this arose from several quarters. First, from the Romanists, who now assumed more than their wonted boldness, from the prospect of a marriage between Charles I. and the Infanta of Spain. The friars educated at Salamanca challenged the ministers to a public disputation, on the points of difference between them and Protestants. Blair and Welsh deemed it their duty to accept this chal-

lenge ; but after the topics of discussion had been mutually agreed on, the friars shrunk from the contest, and no further trouble was experienced from this quarter. Next, they were troubled with a society of separatists, who hearing of the free course of the gospel in Ireland, came over from England, and expected to make many converts to their sect. The brethren of Ulster, upon examination, found that they were ill informed ; or that they were disposed to conceal their true sentiments. They utterly failed, however, of effecting any breach in the peace and unity, by which the churches at that time were happily distinguished.

An English conformist, by the name of Freeman, created some trouble. He was very zealous in propagating his opinions ; and challenged all the evangelical ministers of Ulster, to a public contest. Mr. Blair was appointed by his brethren, to meet him. Freeman came, attended by his patron, a certain Mr. Rawley, and, like all Arminians, commenced with an attack on the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination and reprobation ; but Mr. Blair so confounded him with arguments from scripture, that he was completely silenced, so that Mr. Rawley publicly renounced his fellowship. After which, it is said, he was deserted of his people, and became very dissolute in his practice.

These ministers were properly the founders of the Presbyterian Church in Ulster, although, through the connivance of the bishops, they were permitted to remain within the establishment, enjoying its support, while they refused to perform any acts which might be interpreted as favouring prelacy, against which they all manifested a conscientious and determined opposition. Neither were they required, during the period of which we have been treating, to conform to the liturgy of the church ; they regulated, as we have seen, the discipline and worship of their congregations, according to the usages of the Church of Scotland. But about the year 1626, bishop Echlin began to manifest some jealousy of these brethren. Blair informs us that he wrote to him to be ready to preach at the triennial visitation of the archbishop ; for, though Ussher was then in England, he had appointed two bishops and a doctor to be his deputies. But before the day arrived, Echlin sent an oral message to Blair, informing him that his place would be supplied by another ; but he having received a written appointment from the bishop, determined to prepare a sermon, which was grounded on 2 Cor. iv. 1 :

“Therefore seeing we have this ministry,” &c. In this sermon, he undertook to show, that Christ our Lord had instituted no bishops distinct from presbyters, which he proved first from scripture, and next from the testimonies of the fathers, in the purest times of the church; and lastly from the almost unanimous testimony of the reformers and more modern divines; not forgetting to rank their learned archbishop Ussher among the foremost of his witnesses. He concluded his discourse, by exhorting the bishops to use with moderation the power which usage and human laws had put in their hands. It is truly remarkable that for this sermon he was not called to account; except that the bishop of Dromore said privately to him, that he ought to be as moderate toward them, as they had been to him, and then bade him farewell.

The object of bishop Echlin, in appointing Blair to preach at this visitation, was, doubtless, to entrap him. But the device having failed, he thought of another; for knowing that one of the judges who came annually to the northern district was a zealous advocate for the liturgy, &c., he directed Blair to prepare a sermon to be preached at the assizes. This bold man did not shrink from the service assigned him. He says he came to the place, committing the matter to the Lord. As it was Easter, the judges were expected to communicate, and on Saturday, some one suggested, that it would not be seemly to spend the whole day before the communion in secular business, and proposed a suspension, to hear a sermon. It was inquired whether any one could be found ready to preach: the person who made the suggestion answered, that he would be responsible that Mr. Blair would preach if asked. Accordingly, the court adjourned, and Blair preached before their honours, and also, the next day, agreeably to appointment. After sermon, one of the judges sent for him to his chamber, and professed the satisfaction which he had from his preaching, and especially the last sermon, in which he said he had opened a point which he had never heard before, viz.: “the covenant of redemption made with Christ the Mediator, as the head of the elect;” and entreated him to go over again the heads of his sermon with him. And as he went on, he opened his Bible, and referred to the proofs adduced. And finally he protested, that if his duties did not confine him to Dublin, he would remove to the north, for the sake of living under such a ministry. He warned

him, however, when he was sent for at supper, to be cautious of what he said, because his colleague was zealous for the English ceremonies. "Thus," says Blair, "did the only wise Lord, to whom I had committed myself and my ministry, break this snare also, and bring me off with comfort and credit."

Blair and Livingston, about this time, (June, 1630,) had paid a visit to Scotland, and were both present at the memorable meeting at the kirk of Shots, where so many souls were hopefully converted under the preaching of Livingston, on Monday after the communion; said to have been not fewer than five hundred. As these two brethren were connected with the Episcopal Church of Ireland, their assisting in the services of the great meeting at the Kirk of Shots, gave umbrage to the bishops of Edinburgh and Glasgow, who transmitted to Ireland, a complaint of their uncanonical, and as it was called, schismatical conduct. Bishop Echlin, in whose diocese they lived, was much inclined to act upon the complaint, but he was a timid man, and did nothing, until Sir Richard Braton, a violent adherent of prelacy, came as a judge into the northern district. By his advice and influence, both Blair and Livingston were suspended by the bishop from the ministry. Ussher was then primate of all Ireland; with him Blair had a friendly acquaintance; immediately upon being suspended, he appealed to the archbishop; and his expectations of relief were not disappointed. He wrote to Echlin to relax his erroneous censure, which the bishop obeyed promptly, and Blair and Livingston were restored to the exercise of their ministry.

The opposition of the prelatists in Scotland did not cease; but they laid in a complaint before Archbishop Laud, against Blair, Livingston, Dunbar, and Welsh. These accusations were transmitted to the bishop, and he was directed to bring these clergymen to trial; but he chose to proceed against them in a different way. He cited Blair and Livingston to appear before him, and also Dunbar and Welsh, and required them to conform to the liturgy, and to give their subscription to that effect. They alleged, that there was no law nor canon in that kingdom requiring this. He proceeded, however, to depose all four of them from the gospel ministry. This occurred in May, 1632. Application was again made to the primate, but he said, that as the judges had been applied to, and had di-

rected a process, he could not interfere; and when application was made to the judges, they evaded all action in the case, by referring the deposed ministers to the king for redress. Blair determined to go in person and apply to the king, and having, by the aid of Livingston, who had gone to Scotland, obtained letters of recommendation from some of the chief nobility in Scotland, he betook himself to London; and after some difficulty, procured access to his majesty, and obtained from him a letter addressed to a person high in office, directing that the ministers should have a new trial; but this person having gone to England before Blair arrived in Ireland, nothing could be done. The ministers, while under this censure, did not go into the pulpit, but stood below and instructed the waiting people.

As soon as Lord Wentworth, to whom the King's letter was directed, returned to Ireland, Blair went to Dublin and delivered it. But instead of finding favour with this arbitrary nobleman, he met with nothing but abuse, and reviling of the Scottish Church. The situation of the ministers was now so bad and their prospects so dark, as to Ireland, that they determined to look out for some other residence, where they might enjoy religious liberty, and so turned their eyes towards New England. Livingston, and a Mr. Wallace, were deputed to visit the country, and ascertain its condition. But though these brethren went to London, and thence proceeded to Plymouth to take passage to America; on account of various untoward circumstances, they were induced to return to Ulster, and it was agreed among them, to continue awhile longer to endure the oppression under which they were suffering.

In the year 1634, Lord Castlestewart, a friend of the Presbyterians of Ulster, applied to Wentworth to direct the suspension of the four ministers to be removed, as they had violated no law, and had broken no engagement; and he prevailed so far as to get the deputy to write to Bishop Echlin to remove the sentence of deposition for six months. When Blair received the account of this unexpected release, he says he was unable to sleep for three successive nights; and the joy of their people cannot be expressed. And as the liberty was only for a limited time, they all resolved to improve the opportunity to the utmost; so that the people made more progress in the ways of God than ever before. This joy, however, was soon damped by the death of Mr. Welsh

and Mr. Stewart. Both these men died in the triumph of faith; and the latter on his death-bed uttered many speeches foreboding great calamities about to come on the evangelical church in Ireland, which, by the good people of that day were considered prophetic. The descendants of this eminent saint have been conspicuous in Ulster, among the zealous and influential friends of Presbyterianism, to this day.

Upon the death of Echlin, in July, 1635, Henry Leslie, a determined enemy of the Presbyterians, was appointed his successor. The liberty for a season enjoyed by the ministers was now taken away, and they could preach only in private houses. They, therefore, again turned their thoughts to New England, and having received encouragement from the governor and council of the infant colony, set to work to build a ship of one hundred and fifty tons burden, which they named "The Eagle-Wing," intending to set sail the ensuing spring; but so many obstacles arose, that they could not get off at the expected time. The new bishop required a subscription of conformity from all the ministers of the diocese; of these, five refused, and assigned their reasons. These were Brice, Ridge, Cunningham, Calvert and Hamilton. The bishop, wishing to retain these men in the church, preached a famous sermon on Matt. xviii. 17, on the "Authority of the Church." Leslie was an able controversial writer, and his ability is manifest in this discourse; which was published in the form of a treatise. He also dealt with these non-conformists in private, but without success: they stood firm.

He now proposed to debate the matter with these five brethren, in public, which offer was immediately accepted by them; and Mr. Hamilton was appointed by them to conduct the conference in their name. Accordingly, on the 11th of August the discussion commenced, in the presence of a large assemblage of the nobility, gentry and clergy of the diocese. It was conducted according to the forms of syllogistic reasoning, and great readiness and acuteness were manifested by Hamilton, and more forbearance by the bishop, than could have been expected from his sermon. Bramhall was present to encourage his brother, and very frequently mingled in the controversy, but in a very arrogant and disorderly manner. The discussion was continued with good temper and great spirit, for several hours, when Bramhall interrupted the conference, and adjourned the

meeting, first to the afternoon, and then till the next morning. But it was never resumed, as Bramhall persuaded Leslie to proceed against the ministers at once. On the next day, therefore, when they firmly maintained their ground, and refused to subscribe to the liturgy, they were forthwith deposed from the ministry. The other ministers in the diocese, who were of the same sentiments with these brethren, signed the canons, and retained their places. These severe proceedings hastened the preparations for the intended emigration to New England. This little colony, amounting to one hundred and forty persons, resolved for the sake of conscience and religious liberty, to seek a habitation in the wilds of America. Among them, were the distinguished ministers, Blair, Livingston, Hamilton, and M'Clelland; and John Stuart, provost of Ayr, Andrew Agnew, Charles Campbell, John Sumerville, Hugh Brown, Andrew Brown, and the deaf mute from the parish of Larne.

But although this little but important colony set sail for New England, and passed over more than half the distance, yet it was not the will of Providence that they should ever reach the New World. For having enjoyed favourable winds and weather for the first part of their voyage, they were now met by adverse winds and furious storms which disabled and shattered their vessel; so that it was judged by all on board, expedient to return. The determination, however, was not taken suddenly, but after much prayer and solemn consultation. They arrived in Scotland on the 3d of November, and Blair and Livingston returned to Ireland, where they remained in retirement, but preached whenever they found opportunity. But the prelatists did not suffer them to enjoy their quiet long. A certain person who had attended their preaching went to Dublin and informed against them. But here again there was a remarkable providence in their favour. Andrew Young, a servant, heard orders given to have horses provided, to go and bring to Dublin two deposed ministers; upon which he immediately called for his own horse, and made so much despatch, that he reached Belfast before the civil officers, and gave warning to Blair and Livingston, who immediately passed over to Scotland; whither several other deposed ministers came about the same time.

The west of Scotland became at this period an asylum for the oppressed people of Ulster. These strangers took

up their residence, chiefly in the shires of Ayr and Galloway, where they were harboured and kindly entertained by the people. The name of Fergus M'Cabbin deserves to be transmitted to posterity, for the noble part which he acted in relation to these persecuted people. Possessing a considerable patrimony, he kept, like another Gaius, open house for ministers and people, insomuch that his friends said that he would certainly exhaust his estate. But the event was that the Lord prospered him more than ever, and, instead of being impoverished as they predicted, he grew richer; and this prosperity continued until his dying day. David Dickson, also, then minister of Irvine, but afterwards conspicuous in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland, distinguished himself by his kind attention to these poor emigrants. Blair, Livingston, Cunningham and Ridge, were liberally entertained by him for a considerable time; and though with no small hazard to himself, he often permitted them to preach. Cunningham and Ridge ended their pilgrimage at his house. Livingston has given a particular account of the death of Cunningham, who, all agree, was one of the holiest of men, and his death was in perfect congruity with his life. The presbytery of Irvine, in a body, visited him on his death-bed, whom he exhorted to be faithful to God and his cause, and to oppose the service-book which was then urged on them by the bishops. "The bishops," said he, "have taken my ministry from me, and I may say my life, for my ministry is dearer to me than life." Just before his death, his wife sitting by his bedside with his hand in hers, he did by prayer recommend to God the whole church, the cause of God in Ireland, the parish of Holywood, of which he had been pastor, his suffering brethren in the ministry, and his children. And in the end, he said, "I commend unto thee this gentlewoman, who is no more my wife;" and with that, loosing his hand gently from hers, he in a few minutes breathed out his life.

In the year 1638, memorable in the ecclesiastical annals of the Church of Scotland, the prelates were deposed, and the Church of Scotland resumed its rights, and again enjoyed that liberty in religion, for which she has always contended. Blair was now settled as colleague to Mr. Wm. Annan, at Ayr, whence he was afterwards translated to St. Andrews; Livingston was first chosen pastor of Stranraer, from which place he was ten years afterwards

removed to Ancrum in Teviotdale; Hamilton was first settled at Dumfries, whence he was translated to Edinburgh; Dunbar was installed minister at Calder, in Lothian; Calvert was settled at Paisley; M'Clelland in Kircudbright, and Mr. John Semple became the minister of Carsphairn in Galloway; Mr. Samuel Row was ordained colleague to Mr. Henry Macgill at Dunfermline, and Mr. Robert Hamilton was settled in Ayrshire. These nine ministers, banished from Ireland but now comfortably settled in Scotland, were all zealous promoters of the measures of reformation now adopted in the Scottish Church. No less than four of the nine brethren mentioned above, were sent as commissioners to the famous Assembly of 1638, namely, Blair, Livingston, M'Clelland and James Hamilton; and took a prominent part in the proceedings of that body. The prelati- cal party objected to the legitimacy of this Assembly, on the ground that delegates were received as members, who had actually been deposed by the Church of Ireland, to which they belonged, and were still lying under censure. Mr. Blair, in his own name and that of his brethren, arose, and made what the judicious Baillie calls, "a noble extempore speech," showing most clearly that the censure was in every respect unjust; and in fact was inflicted on account of their conscientious adherence to the discipline of the Church of Scotland. Mr. David Dickson, who was well acquainted with these brethren, and with the treatment which they had received in Ireland, gave his testimony to the same effect, that the censures thus inflicted on them were altogether unjust, and, therefore, null from the beginning; and that the Church of Scotland, having no dependence on the Church of Ireland, was under no obligation to regard her censures.

The attachment of the people of the congregations to these ministers was so great, that many of them removed from Ulster to the west of Scotland, to enjoy the privilege of their ministry; and, on the days of their stated communions, many crossed over for the purpose of attending them. At one time no less than five hundred persons came from the county of Down, to Stranraer to receive the ordinance of the Lord's supper, from the hands of Mr. Livingston. At another time he baptized eight and twenty children, brought over for that purpose by their parents, who were unwilling to receive sealing ordinances from the prelati- cal clergy of Ireland. The most oppressive measures were continued against the non-conformists of the north of Ireland, by Wentworth, at the instiga-

tion of Archbishop Laud, whose directions in matters relating to the church, he implicitly obeyed. But of all the oppressive acts carried into effect, that of what was called, **THE BLACK OATH**, was the most intolerable. The purport of this oath was, 'that they would always render obedience to the commands of the king, and never enter into any covenant or engagement contrary to this oath.' All Scottish residents in Ulster, above the age of sixteen, were required to take this oath. Every attempt to have introduced a qualifying phrase, 'of just commands, legal commands,' failed. Commissioners were sent into Ulster to administer the oath, which was taken by the people on their knees, and by women as well as men. Many, however, refused to take the oath, by whom the severest penalties were endured; not only by being subjected to heavy pecuniary mulcts, but by being dragged to prison, and chained in loathsome dungeons. Some respectable families were sent for to Dublin and there tried, and so cruelly treated, that they were utterly ruined, and lay in prison for years.

The Presbyterians in Ulster, though deprived of their ministers, met together in secret, and joined together in social worship; in which meetings, pious laymen presided, and expounded scripture, and gave exhortations to the people. Those who fled to Scotland introduced these private meetings there, which occasioned a famous controversy; for Mr. Guthrie of Sterling complained of them to the General Assembly of 1640. Soon however, by the wonderful revolutions of the wheel of providence, their great persecutors, Wentworth (now Lord Strafford,) Laud, and Charles himself were visited with an awful retribution.

As soon as the Long Parliament had got the chief power into their hands, the Presbyterians of Ulster forwarded a petition to them, laying open the heavy grievances under which they had long laboured; and earnestly requesting a restoration of their liberty and their religious privileges. This petition, which contained a true representation of the various and cruel acts of oppression, of which their rulers had been guilty, was not without effect; for when Lord Strafford was tried, fourteen of the articles of accusation related to his illegal and cruel treatment of the Scottish inhabitants of the north of Ireland, among which the 'black oath' was particularly mentioned. Besides this, the parliament redressed the grievances of these suffering people, by repealing all the laws and ordinances, under which they had been so grievously oppressed.

The horrid scenes of the rebellion and massacre of Protestants in the year 1641, we shall pass over; because, although the Presbyterians suffered with other Protestants, yet as a body, they suffered less than any other class. As we have seen, their ministers, and many of the people, had fled to Scotland: and those who remained, were at first unmolested by the Irish rebels, in conformity with the royal commission; and this gave them an opportunity of supplying themselves with arms, and standing on their defence. The number of lives sacrificed, during this massacre, has been variously estimated at from 150,000 to 200,000. But by Roman Catholic writers a very different face is attempted to be given to the whole transaction. Dr. Reid animadverts with severity on the account given of this matter by Matthew Carey of this country, in his, *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*.

The Presbyterians remaining in the north of Ireland were in a great measure destitute of the ordinances of religion; but they retained their religious principles with as much constancy as they did their lives, and properties; until the return of their banished ministers and people, after peace had been restored.

It is remarkable, that though so many eminent Presbyterian ministers had successfully preached in the north of Ireland, no presbytery was organized in that country until the year 1642, when the chaplains who accompanied the Scottish troops, formed themselves into a regular presbytery. This event occurred on Friday the 10th of June, 1642. The ministers composing it were five in number, and their names were Cunningham, Peebles, Baird, Scott, and Aird. Mr. Simpson and Mr. Livingston were in the country, with their regiments, but were not present on this occasion. The sermon was by Mr. Baird, who preached on Psalm li. 13: "Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion, build thou the walls of Jerusalem." A moderator was appointed, probably Mr. Baird, but Mr. Peebles was appointed clerk, which office he retained until his death; a period of thirty years. At this first meeting, the presbytery passed several regulations respecting the appointment of elders, and catechetical instruction in their respective regiments. They also appointed a fast, and expressed their sympathy with the suffering Protestants of Bohemia and Silesia; and also with the distractions of the people of England, produced by the contest between the king and parliament. And for the present, they agreed to hold weekly meetings of the pres-

bytery, and to have each meeting opened with a sermon ; and for the subject of their presbyterial exercises, they selected the book of Isaiah.

No sooner was the fact known, that a presbytery had been formed at Carrickfergus, than numerous applications were received from congregations to be received under their care, and to obtain from them the preaching of the gospel. The presbytery advised that elderships should be immediately established in these congregations, and that as soon as possible they should endeavour to settle ministers over them. This proposal of the presbytery was altogether in accordance with the wishes of the people ; and they applied to the presbytery to send them ministers, such as they approved. Accordingly, in a short time, twelve or fifteen congregations in the counties of Down and Antrim were regularly organized with a minister and a bench of elders. But there being found a deficiency of preachers, for the wants of the people, they made application to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for a supply. And the parishes of Bangor and Ballywalter earnestly petitioned that their old pastors Blair and Hamilton, the one now settled at St. Andrew's and the other in Edinburgh, should be restored to them. The petition of the churches in Ulster was forwarded by two ministers, Messrs. Campbell and Gordon, and met with a favourable reception from the Assembly. This matter being referred to the Commission, they resolved to send over to Ireland, in succession, some of their ablest ministers ; and as Mr. Blair and Mr. Hamilton had been specially called for, they put them at the head of the list ; they were appointed to go to Ireland and remain there four months, preaching the gospel and administering ordinances. For the next four months they appointed Robert Baillie, professor of divinity in the university of Glasgow, and John Livingston, minister of Stranraer, who had formerly preached with such wonderful success in Ireland, as well as in Scotland.

Agreeably to appointment, Mr. Blair, former minister of Bangor, and Mr. James Hamilton, former minister of Ballywalter, went to Ireland, and were cordially received by the newly formed presbytery, and most joyfully by the people, many of whom remembered them, and had been savingly benefited by their former labours. They found many, who, under all their trials, had remained uncorrupted, and whose attachment to gospel truth and Christian liberty re-

mained unabated. Multitudes, from all quarters, flocked to hear them, and many came forward to declare themselves in favour of Presbyterianism. But these experienced brethren proceeded with great caution. In reorganizing the churches, they would admit none to communion who did not possess a competent degree of religious knowledge ; or who did not fully approve of the constitution and discipline of the Presbyterian church. As there were many who had conformed to prelacy, and some who had taken the black oath, none of these were received, until they publicly acknowledged their errors and renounced them. The same course was pursued in regard to such as had fallen into irregular conduct in their way of living.

The chief business of these missionaries from Scotland, was to organize new congregations, upon the strict principles of discipline which have been mentioned, and to cement the union of the people, thus formed into churches, by administering to them the Lord's Supper. The parish churches were now crowded with zealous worshippers, and once more resounded with the voice of prayer and thanksgiving. They "came to Zion with songs and joy upon their heads." The labours of the missionaries were truly great. Mr. Blair preached, usually, once every day, and twice on the Sabbath. During this short visit to Ireland, both ministers and professors enjoyed "many sweet and soul-refreshing days of the gospel, and some solemn, high sabbaths." Mr. Hamilton pursued a similar course, and both of these brethren, extended their missionary labours, as far as they could, with safety, on account of the hostile bands of the papists. Their labours, however, were principally within the counties of Down and Antrim, where most of the Presbyterians resided. The current in favour of Presbyterianism was so strong, that a number of Episcopal ministers came forward and joined the presbytery ; but they were not received until they acknowledged their former errors, and were not admitted as members of the presbytery until they were installed in some congregation. Some ministers had come over from England who were opposed to infant baptism, and attempted to set up separate congregations, against whom the presbytery directed their attention, and so instructed and warned their people that no schism was made in the churches under their care. Before leaving Ulster, Mr. Blair and Mr. Hamilton, assisted in the ordination of two ministers, who were connected with the army as chaplains.

As soon as Messrs. Blair and Hamilton returned, Mr. John Livingston fulfilled the appointment of the General Assembly, and took with him Mr. James Blair, minister of Portpatrick, in the place of Prof. Baillie. Livingston pursued much the same course of labour, as Mr. Robert Blair, preaching every day, and more than once on the Sabbath; and during his stay he attended many communion seasons; and in this time the presbytery observed another solemn fast day. When these two brethren returned to Scotland, the presbytery sent another petition to the General Assembly, earnestly requesting more ministerial aid. They also deputed one of their number, a delegate to this venerable court, who was recognised as a member of that body.

In the year 1643, the Westminster Assembly, called by the Parliament of England, convened on the first day of July. The Solemn League and Covenant intended to bind the two nations of England and Scotland by a religious bond, for the defence of the true religion, having been generally sworn by all classes in Scotland, and by the Parliament and Westminster Assembly, and by all who adhered to them, was sent over to Ireland to be there taken also. The person commissioned to be the bearer of this instrument from Scotland, was the Rev. James Hamilton, minister of Dumfries, who had accompanied Mr. Blair to Ulster, as related above. He arrived at Carrickfergus about the last of March, 1644. The presbytery convened on the first of April, when all the members were in attendance, and several other ministers from Scotland, commissioned by the General Assembly to visit Ireland. The presbytery approved entirely of all the proceedings of the Westminster Assembly, and of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and they were fully prepared to take the Solemn League and Covenant themselves, and to urge the same upon their people, which was every where sworn with great solemnity and affection. Indeed, the meetings for this purpose, appeared to be marked with evident tokens of the divine presence. In the year 1645, that indefatigable and successful preacher, John Livingston, again visited Ireland, by the appointment of the General Assembly. On this visit he had the satisfaction of aiding in settling the Rev. David Butler at Balymena, and the Rev. Archibald Ferguson in the town of Antrim. Several congregations used great exertions to retain Mr. Livingston himself, and actually presented calls before the presbytery, which however, he did not see his way clear to accept. Attempts were also

made by Mr. Hamilton's former flock, to recall him, but these were also unsuccessful. But during the years 1645, and 1646, many young ministers came over from Scotland, and settled in the vacant churches in Ulster. These young men, though inexperienced, acted with great zeal and diligence, in preaching not only in their own parishes, but in destitute places around. And although their temporal advantages, in this unsettled country, were small, they appeared to take delight in their work, and greatly encouraged and aided one another in promoting the interests of the church.

The Presbyterian cause was also greatly strengthened about this time, by a commission sent over from the English parliament, whose influence was exerted to promote the interests of the presbytery. In the year 1646 also, Mr. Ferguson, minister of Antrim, and Mr. John Edmonstone, elder, were appointed delegates to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, by whom they sent a petition for more ministerial aid. The people of Ireland did not cease their efforts to obtain the labours of the Rev. John Livingstone, for this year also, a call was sent over for him, and for four other distinguished ministers of Scotland; but though the General Assembly consented to their going to Ulster, their congregations refused to part with them. But several young ministers were induced to come over and settle, among whom was the Rev. Patrick Adair, who for half a century was a rich blessing to the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. He was settled at Cairncastle; and another valuable minister added to the presbytery this year, was the Rev. Anthony Kennedy, who became minister at Templepatrick. The presbytery also had the pleasure of ordaining several young men educated among themselves.

For several years everything was in a state of confusion and turmoil in the north of Ireland; and the history of the Presbyterian Church, during this period, is so entangled with civil and military affairs, that we are obliged to pass it over. But in these troublous times, the Presbyterian Church continued to increase, for in the year 1655, the number of ministers had risen to eighty. The presbytery now divided itself into three meetings, and soon afterwards into four, which meetings acted as large committees, subject to the control of the presbytery, until it was constituted a synod.

After the restoration of Charles II. the Presbyterians in

Ireland, in common with their brethren in England and Scotland suffered great oppression. But at the revolution the Presbyterian cause in Ireland revived again. To a man, they were friends of the revolution, and as soon as they understood that King William had arrived in London, the Presbyterians of Ulster sent a deputation of some of their most respectable members, to welcome and congratulate him on his arrival and accession to the throne. Among them were the Rev. Patrick Adair, the Rev. John Abernethy and Col. Upton. This deputation, when they arrived in London, prepared and presented to King William a very loyal and affectionate congratulatory address, in the name of the whole body of the Presbyterians in the province of Ulster; to which they received a very gracious answer, and the promise of £800, to aid in the support of the clergy. A letter was also sent by their hands on their return, addressed to Schomberg, the king's deputy in Ireland, in which the king expressed the high sense which he entertained of the loyalty, fidelity and services of the Presbyterians of Ulster, and directed him to give protection and support to them and their ministers. Schomberg discovered a disposition to carry the king's orders completely into effect; so that under his fostering influence the Presbyterians enjoyed ample protection and toleration. And when King William, in person, visited Ireland, a few months afterwards, he found them a much more respectable and influential body than he had anticipated, and not unworthy of peculiar favour. With alacrity, therefore, he redressed their grievances, and vindicated their rights; and to him, in a great measure, may be ascribed, under God, the subsequent prosperity of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.

Unhappily, in the early part of the eighteenth century, error began to creep into a church, which had hitherto adhered rigidly to the doctrines of the reformation. These errors were not openly vented, but the wrong tendency of a number of ministers was manifested by an opposition to creeds of human composition; and especially to subscription to the formulas of orthodox doctrine. An earnest contention now arose among them on this subject, which greatly agitated and injured the Presbyterian Church. This controversy was carried on not only in their church courts, but from the press; numerous pamphlets, and shorter papers, were put into circulation. The particular errors, to which there was a leaning at this time, in many min-

isters, both in England and Ireland, were those which belong to the Arian school. This corrupt leaven continued to ferment in the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, near a century; until at length some of the members of the synod of Ulster openly avowed Arian sentiments, and wrote in their defence. And towards the close of the eighteenth century, the heterodox opinions of Dr. Priestley were circulated to a considerable extent, among the Presbyterians of the north of Ireland. Those who adopted these Unitarian opinions, were denominated "new lights." About the commencement of the nineteenth century, the conflict between the orthodox and Arian parties in the synod of Ulster, became very warm; and it was found that doctrines so opposite, in regard to a fundamental point, could not be peaceably preached and propagated in the same communion. The orthodox party, being still the most numerous, determined to exclude from their body, all ministers who refused to subscribe the Westminster Confession of Faith. Matters soon came to a crisis, and a separation between the sound and the unsound was effected, but not without a violent struggle.

After the secession from the Scottish Church in 1732, a number of seceders settled in Ireland, and ministers went over from Scotland and formed churches there, distinct from the Synod of Ulster. These professed to be much more strict in adhering to orthodoxy, and maintaining discipline, than the other Presbyterian Churches; which, not without reason, were accused of great laxity in both respects. Accordingly, there was little friendly communion between these bodies, until the period when the Arians were cast out of the synod of Ulster. Finding now, that there existed no barrier between the two denominations which ought to keep them separate, since they both adhered to the same Confession of Faith, Form of Government, and Directory for Worship, it was after mutual conference and mature deliberation determined to coalesce and form one body. This union greatly increased the numbers of the Presbyterian body, and, having now more synods than one, they have constituted a General Assembly, and are in a more flourishing condition than ever before.

Ever since the donation of King William, it has been customary with the British Government, to make a grant called the *Regium Donum*, of which all the ministers who are willing to receive it, partake, and which is a great help to their support.

We were pleased to learn from the preface of the author, that it was his purpose to issue a third volume, bringing down the narrative to our own day. Whether this concluding volume has appeared, we are as yet uninformed.

Charles Scodge

ART. IV.—*The Claims of the Free Church of Scotland.*
By Thomas Smith, D. D. 1844. pp. 146.

THE delegates from the Free Church of Scotland have been cordially received by the evangelical churches of America. If, in some instances, any backwardness has been exhibited as to pecuniary contributions, it is to be attributed not to want of liberality, nor to want of sympathy with our Scottish brethren, nor to want of faith in the principles for which they are contending, but to the want of a due appreciation of the subject. It requires time to get the public mind aroused to the importance of such a movement. There is, in the first instance, an ignorance of the facts of the case; and when the facts are known, their bearing is not soon or easily apprehended. In Scotland this subject has been under discussion for years; the public mind is imbued with it; the people feel that their dearest rights and most precious interests are at stake; the matter has taken hold on their heart and conscience, and they are not likely to let it go. Men coming from a community all on fire with this one subject, must be painfully impressed with the ignorance and consequent apathy of the Christian public in America. This apathy, however, is unavoidable, until the case be fairly understood, and then we doubt not it will give place to an intelligent interest. Let the case be fully apprehended; let it be seen that the authority of Christ is the real point in dispute; let it be known that the standard which the Free Church has unfolded is no sectarian, or national banner, but the common banner of the church, that it is the banner under which we are rallied, and "which floats over the crystal battlements of heaven," and then no man who intelligently believes that "Jesus Christ is Lord," can fail to take an interest in the subject, or can stand an idle spectator of the conflict. "They who are not with me are against me." They who do not take sides with the truth, when it is called in question, oppose