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ART. I.—*The Signs of the Times: a Series of Discourses delivered in the Second Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia.* By Cornelius C. Cuyler, D.D., Pastor of the Church. Philadelphia: William S. Martien. 1839. pp. 319. 12mo.

WE have already expressed our favourable opinion of these excellent Discourses. We now recur to them again, that we may make the subject discussed in the fourth lecture, entitled "God's frowns against Covetousness," the foundation of some remarks that seem to us adapted to the existing state of things. We have nothing to say in the way of objection to the views presented by Dr. Cuyler. His leading position is, that the pecuniary distress which pervades our country is a judgment upon the people for their covetousness. But in maintaining this position, he avoids the presumption of those who, "taking upon themselves the mystery of things, as if they were God's spies," pronounce with all confidence upon the final cause of every dispensation of providence, and invade, with unhallowed tread, even the sacred privacy of domestic sorrow, that they may make every individual calamity the occasion of impeachment against the character of the sufferer. His interpretations of divine providence are suffi-

least idea of Cousin's philosophy, which he is forever recommending. Had he any insight into its nature, he would part with his right hand rather than be accessory to its propagation.* We feel it to be a solemn duty to warn our readers, and in our measure, the public, against this German atheism, which the spirit of darkness is employing ministers of the gospel to smuggle in among us under false pretences. No one will deny that the Hegelian doctrines, as exhibited above, is atheism in its worst form; and all who will read the works of Cousin, may soon satisfy themselves that his system, as far as he has a system, is, as to the main point, identical with that of Hegel.

Rev. W. S. Martien

ART. IV.—*The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and its Consequences to the Protestant Churches of France and Italy; containing Memoirs of some of the Sufferers in the Persecution attending that event.* Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication. William S. Martien, Publishing Agent. 1839. 18mo. pp. 216.

THE public seal of the National Synod of the Reformed Churches in France, as adopted in the year 1583, presented, as its device, a burning bush, with the motto, FLAGROR NON CONSUMOR; a just emblem of Christ's universal church, and of this branch of it in particular. In addition to the interest which every sound Presbyterian naturally feels in the progress of Reformed opinions, and the eventful history of their defenders, we are particularly attracted to the annals of the Huguenots, from the fact that some of the most distinguished families in America are descended from this persecuted race. For piety, refinement of manners, and improvement of mind, they have been surpassed by no one class of citizens; and the

* Another Doctor in New York, according to the public papers, recently declared in an address, that Kant and Cousin were the two greatest philosophers of the age. This simple sentence betrays a world of ignorance. Kant may indeed be spoken of in such terms, because he did destroy one system, and introduce another, which had its day. But Cousin has neither pulled down, nor built up. He has merely transfused into French a weak dilution of German doctrines. He may be a man of learning and talents; this we have no disposition to deny, but to call him one of the two greatest philosophers of the age, only shows how a man or a system may be trumpeted into notoriety, by those who know not whercof they affirm.

remark has often been made, that Divine Providence has signally favoured them with worldly prosperity.

The persecutions which ensued upon the revocation of the edict of Nantes, destroying churches and scattering thousands of exiles, produced such confusion and waste among the manuscript documents of the French churches, that it would now be impossible to gather even the fragments of their history, if it had not been the pious care of devout men in other countries to undertake the task of collection. To none of these compilers do we owe so much as to the Reverend John Quick, of London, a learned and pious minister, who lived during the latter half of the seventeenth century. About the year 1670, Mr. Quick, who had lived at Middleburg in Holland, and there met with many of the pious French refugees, discovered some collections of the manuscript acts of the National Synods, and was filled with a desire to save them from oblivion. More than a hundred and fifty of the exiled clergy afterwards came to London, and Mr. Quick was indefatigable in searching for records. Most of these confessors expressed their fear that the Minutes were irrecoverably lost. After great and anxious inquiry, however, Mr. Quick found in the hands of Mr. Foren, one of the refugees, a copy of these acts. It was extensive, filling nearly a ream of paper, and was tolerably well written, but had been damaged and defaced by moisture, so that the patient antiquary declares that it sometimes took him five hours to decipher as many lines. The manuscript was worthy of such pains, as it had been duly collated with the original, and bore the attestations of many good men. After this, he alighted upon five folios belonging to the consistory of the French church in London, by means of which he corrected the errors and supplied the *lacunae* of the other. From year to year other manuscripts came into his hands, and among these a folio containing the acts of the first twenty-four synods, and originals of the acts of two synods. The toil of arranging, deciphering, copying, translating, and digesting these papers, was immense: "but my labour," says he, "was a pleasure to me." The result was a work in two folio volumes, comprising more than twelve hundred pages.*

* The title is as follows: *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata*: or the Acts, Decisions, Decrees and Canons of those famous National Councils of the Reformed Churches in France. Being, I. A most faithful and impartial History of the Rise, Growth, Perfection, and Decay of the Reformation in that Kingdom, with its fatal *Catastrophe*, upon the Revocation of the Edict of *Nants*, in the

The size of the book, and the dry and tedious particularity of the annals, have served to keep it too much out of sight, and we take pleasure in gleaning from it some facts which strike us as promising benefit and entertainment.

The origin of the name Huguenot or Hugonot is involved in some obscurity. We have met with no more plausible account of it than that which is adopted by M. Laval, in his History of the Reformation in France. According to this, it was a contemptuous appellation given to the Protestants at the city of Tours, where they were very numerous. "Every city in France," says M. Laval, "had a peculiar word to denominate a bugbear, or a hobgoblin, and other such nonsensical monsters with which old women used to frighten children and simpletons. Now at Tours, they had their King Hugo, who, they say, used every night to ride through the uninhabited places within and without the walls, and to push and carry off those he met in his way. And as the Reformed used to resort to those places to pray to God, and hear the holy word in the night-time, daring not to do it in the day, for fear of being persecuted, they were called Hugonots, after the name of Hugo. M. de Beze, who lived at that very time, and who was at the conference of Poissy in 1561, agrees with M. de Thou about that etymology; from that time to this day the Reformed have been known in France under the name of Hugonots."*

Our desultory notices do not require us to dwell on the introduction of Reformed opinions into France, by means of Calvin and his brethren. In no kingdom of Europe did the gospel make a more triumphant entrance. The bible was translated by Olivetan, uncle of Calvin, and fifty of the psalms were put into French metre by Clement Marot; the remainder appearing afterwards in a version by Beza. Louis Goudimel set these sacred songs to melodies which are sung to this

year 1685. II. The Confession of Faith and Discipline of those Churches. III. A Collection of Specches, Letters, Sacred Politics, Cases of Conscience, and Controversies in Divinity, determined and resolved by those grave Assemblies. IV. Many excellent Expedients for preventing and healing Schisms in the Churches, and for re-uniting the dismembered Body of divided Protestants. V. The Laws, Government, and Maintenance of their Colleges, Universities and Ministers, together with the Exercise of Discipline upon delinquent Ministers and Church-Members. VI. A Record of very many illustrious Events of Divine Providence relating to those Churches. The whole collected and composed out of original Manuscript Acts of those renowned Synods. A work never before extant in any Language. In two Volumcs. By *John Quick*, Minister of the Gospel in London. London, 1692.

* But compare Maclean's note at Moshcim, vi. 372.

day, several of them being contained in our American collections.* The effect of psalmody in promoting the Reformation was striking. The psalms were sung not only in churches but in families, and no gentleman of the Reformed faith would sit down at his table without singing God's praise. It was made a part of the morning and evening worship. Their popularity made entrance for religion even at court; and king Henry II. wavered long before he would condemn them. Each of the courtiers selected a favourite psalm. That of the king was the forty-second: *Ainsi qu'on oyt le cerf bruire*: which he used as a hunting-song. The queen chose the thirty-eighth, which she sang to a lively air. Antony, king of Navarre, the father of Henry IV. adapted the thirty-fifth to a tune called the Poitou dance. Even Papists used to sing them, as Goudimel's melodies were easy and agreeable. Ten thousand copies, set to music, were dispersed through the country.† Multitudes were wont to meet in the Pres-aux-Cleres, a noted promenade, and sing the psalms in concert. Even the king and queen of Navarre with many lords and gentlemen were sometimes found there, engaged in this entertainment.‡ The cardinal of Lorraine is said to have got the odes of Horace and Catullus translated and set to music, in order to supplant these dangerous sacred hymns.

The success of the word preached was wonderful. Indeed, to use our modern phraseology, the progress of the Reformation in France was by a succession of glorious revivals. The priests complained that their altars were forsaken. There was no city where the Reformed religion was not planted. Men of every profession, not excepting ecclesiastics, embraced the gospel in opposition to all their temporal interests, and in spite of the greatest persecutions.

If the Reformed National Church of France should be measured with reference to its National Synods, the period of its existence would be only a century: but it existed both before and after these limits. During this period there were holden twenty-nine national synods, and the following schedule will be useful to show when and where they met.

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|--------------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| 1. at Paris, | | May 25, | 1559. |
| 2. Poitiers, | | March 20, | 1560. |

* It is truly delightful to find some of these very airs reproduced, after so long a time, and valued by our first musicians. See *Chants Crétiens, Hastings's, Manhattan Collection*, and Mason's *Modern Psalmist*.

† Bayle's Dict. Art. *Marot*.

‡ Quick's Synodicon, i. page v.

3.	Orleans,	April 25,	1562.
4.	Lyons,	Aug. 10,	1563.
5.	Second at Paris,	Oct. 21,	1565.
6.	Verteuil,	Sept. 1,	1567.
7.	Rochelle,	April 2,	1571.
8.	Nismes,	May 8,	1572.
9.	St. Foy,	Feb. 2,	1575.
10.	Figeac,	Aug. 2,	1579.
11.	Second at Rochelle,	June 28,	1581.
12.	Vitré,	May 26,	1583.
13.	Montauban,	June 15,	1594.
14.	Saumur,	May 13,	1596.
15.	Montpellier,	May 26,	1598.
16.	Gergeau,	May 9,	1601.
17.	Gap,	May 18,	1603.
18.	Third at Rochelle,	March 1,	1607.
19.	St. Maixant,	May 26,	1609.
20.	Privas,	May 23,	1612.
21.	Tonneins,	May 2,	1614.
22.	Second at Vitré,	May 18,	1617.
23.	Alez,	Oct. 1,	1620.
24.	Charenton,	Sept. 1.	1623.
25.	Castres,	Sept. 15.	1626.
26.	Second at Charenton,		1631.
27.	Alençon,	May 27,	1637.
28.	Third at Charenton,		1644.
29.	Loudun,	Nov. 10,	1659.

Upon a slight inspection of this table, it will appear, that the meetings of the National Synod did not actually take place much oftener than once in four years. They were intended indeed to be annual, and at the end of its sessions each Synod made arrangements for its next meeting. But in consequence of the civil wars, and the opposition of the court, long intervals occurred, and between the last two Synods no less than fifteen years elapsed.*

This first National Synod was held in troublous times, amidst strong persecutions, and at the very doors of the court. It is memorable for the Confession of Faith, and Discipline, which were there adopted. "This," says Quick, "was the Confession which was owned in their first National Synod held at Paris, in the year 1559, and presented unto

* In the following pages the word Synod is to be understood of the National Synod, except where restricted by some other term.

Francis the Second, king of France, first at Amboise, in behalf of all the professors of the Reformed religion in that kingdom; afterwards, to Charles the Ninth, at the Conference of Poissy. It was a second time presented to the said king, and at length published by the pastors of the French churches, with a preface to all other evangelical pastors, in the year 1566. It was also most solemnly signed and ratified in the National Synod held the first time at Rochelle, 1571, the year before the Bartholomean massacre, by Jane queen of Navarre, Henry prince of Bearne, Henry de Bourbon Prince of Condé, Louis count of Nassau, and Sir Gaspard de Coligni Lord High Admiral of France.”

In regard to the church polity of the French Protestants, it is the less necessary for us to enlarge, as it was substantially the same with our own. The Huguenots were Presbyterians. Their Consistories were the same with our Church Sessions; their Colloquies were Presbyteries; and their National Synod was like our General Assembly. As this, however, is a point of great interest, we may be allowed to mention some of the peculiarities of their system.

The Consistory was made up of the minister, elders, and deacons. In places where the discipline had not been established, the elders were elected by the people and minister, in established churches by the Consistory. They met regularly once a week, and oftener if there was necessity. In order that church-officers might be familiar with their constitution, the Discipline of the Church was read in every Consistory, at least every time the Lord's Supper was administered, and each elder and deacon was bound to have a copy for his private study.

The Colloquy was a Classis or Presbytery. Colloquies were required to meet twice a year, and if convenient, four times. They were opened with a sermon, as is our own custom.

The Provincial Synod was like our own, and was composed of one minister and one or two elders from each church. These brethren travelled at the common expense of their churches; and those churches which refused to pay their deputies' charges, were, after two or three admonitions, deprived of their ministry. Such was the strictness of that presbyterial rule, which some among us have ignorantly represented as a mere recommendatory supervision. If a minister came to the synod without his elder, or an elder without his minister, any instructions which he brought were

void, unless in case of inevitable necessity. "In those cases," says Laval, "if the church sent its instructions, they were received, if they were signed by a minister and an elder; on the other hand, if there were no lawful excuse for absence, they were subject to the censures of the Colloquy or Synod, even to suspension of the sacrament, according as the Colloquy or Synod thought fit. The Provincial Synods judged sovereignly in the cases brought before them, except of things wherein all the churches of France were interested, as the depositions of a minister, controversies (either concerning doctrine or discipline), &c. For in these cases, there was an appeal to the National Synod."* The elders who were deputed to Synods or Colloquies, had deliberative votes on all points of discipline, but not of doctrine, the judgment of which was reserved entirely to the ministers and professors of divinity. Whatever was decreed by Provincial Synods, as a rule of church government, required the sanction of the National Synod, in order to make it valid. In case of difference between the Synods of any two provinces, they were to choose a third to reconcile them. No deputy was allowed to depart without leave, or without a copy of the Synodical decrees. The Provincial Synods met twice a year.†

The National Synod, as has been said, was directed to meet once a year; this was seldom possible, and there are but four instances in which it was held for two years in succession. The third canon of the chapter, relating to this judicatory, serves at once to show its constitution, and to afford a glimpse of the suffering to which the Huguenots were exposed. "Forasmuch as at this time it is very difficult and dangerous to assemble the National Synod in a great number of ministers and elders, it is thought good for the present, and till such difficulties can be removed, that the brethren assembled in every Provincial Synod, shall choose out only two ministers and elders, who are persons of great experience in church affairs, to be sent in the name of the whole province." Until the year 1614, there was a show of ecclesiastical independence preserved; but the National Synod of this year seems to have found it necessary to obtain the royal license. In 1623, Louis XIII. declared his purpose that no National Synod should ever be held, except in the presence of a lord commissioner. The same was extended to Collo-

* Laval, vol. iv. page xxi.

† Discipline, chapter viii.

quies and Provincial Synods, till at length, not even a Consistory could meet but in the presence of a Romish commissioner.*

Since it has seemed good to some who call themselves Presbyterians, to abridge as much as possible the powers of church judicatories, and since, in order to this, they have been rash enough to cite the case of the Church of France, as exhibiting a milder form of Presbyterianism; we shall furnish, for their further use, an article of unquestionable authenticity, viz: the clause of submission of the provinces to the National Synod; and this we do, not as vindicating the particular practice, but as destroying all arguments founded on the ecclesiastical mildness of the French churches. This clause was inserted in all letters of commission from the provinces, and was as follows: "We promise before God, to submit ourselves unto all that shall be concluded and resolved on in your holy assembly, and to obey and perform it to the best of our power; being well persuaded, that God presideth in the midst of you, and guideth you by his Holy Spirit into all truth and equity, by the rule of his word, for the weal and benefit of his church, and the glory of his great name; which also we beg of him most ardently in our daily prayers."†

"The National Synod," says Laval, "had power definitively to decide all ecclesiastical affairs. It was to confirm or repeal the sentences of suspension, excommunication, or deposition, pronounced by the Consistories, Colloquies, and Provincial Synods, against ministers, elders, or deacons."

The following sketch may suffice to refresh the reader's memory as to the succession of events. The Reformed Church of France may be said to have been settled upon a Calvinistic and Presbyterian basis at the last Synod of Paris in 1559, being the year in which Henry the Second died. Francis the Second was governed by the Duke of Guise, a declared enemy of the Huguenots. During the minority of Charles the Ninth, Catharine of Medicis pretended for a while to hold the balance between the two great parties, and encouraged the Conference at Poissy in 1561, with this view. She soon changed her plans, and endeavoured, by no less than three wars, to exterminate the Protestants. In 1572 the massacre of St. Bartholomew's took place; the history of which might well fill a volume. Upon the assassination of the

* Laval iv. page xxv.

* Quick, vol. i. page xli.

feeble Henry the Third, the great Prince of Navarre, Henry the Fourth, ascended the throne. In 1593 he apostatized, and in 1598 issued the Edict of Nantes, which secured to the reformed church the rights of worship, and as a pledge made over to them a number of fortified towns. Then followed the brightest season in their existence. The edict of Nantes established the Protestants, not merely as a church, but as a political party; and this, while it added to their power, awakened the hatred of the court. The bigotry of Louis XIII., the treachery of his favourites, and the craft of Richelieu prevailed so far as to excite the Protestants to a war in which several of their cautionary towns were stormed. Rochelle, the most important, remained longest in their hands, but fell at length, after a desperate defence, in 1629. From this time the Huguenots may be said to have been disarmed. This was not enough for the Jesuits or for Louis XIV., as both Richelieu and Mazarin promised liberty of worship to the Protestants. When this profligate monarch passed from voluptuousness to bigotry, he was persuaded by Louvois, Tellier, Maintenon, and la Chaise, to persecute the Huguenots for the good of their souls. In 1681 were instituted the famous Dragonades; in 1685 the edict of Nantes was revoked. Then ensued a ruthless persecution. Sixteen hundred churches were torn down, thousands of Protestants were put to death, and half a million fled from the country. It is to these events that the little volume before us relates. Many betook themselves to the mountains of the Cevennes, where, under the name of Camisards, they maintained a guerilla warfare for twenty years against their diabolical foes. These persecutions were repeated in 1698, 1715, 1724, and 1744, and at each successive assault many were driven to expatriate themselves. Nevertheless, their number, about the middle of the eighteenth century, has been reckoned at two millions. From the year 1762, the Protestants were not openly persecuted. In 1787 Louis XVI. granted them an edict of toleration. Since the revolution, they have, for the most part, been protected by law. Yet even as late as 1816 they were subjected to violent persecution in the country about Nismes.

Highly respectable as is the Protestant population of France, it is, when compared with that of the sixteenth century, no more than the shaking of an olive-tree, or the gleanings of grapes when the vintage is done. No persecutions stayed their progress; indeed never was the famous saying

of Tertullian more verified, that "the blood of the Christians is the seed of the church." It was reported at the Synod of Rochelle in 1571, that the Reformed could number about two thousand one hundred and twenty churches, some of which contained more than ten thousand members. Many of these churches had two pastors, and some of them no less than five; as was the case at Orleans. When the Conference of Poissy was held, there were three hundred and five pastors in the single province of Normandy. M. Languet, in a letter of Jan. 23, 1562, asserts that there were assemblies in Paris of forty thousand people, in which three ministers preached at the same time and place.* Yet in 1603, we find the number of pastors, licentiates, and churches, in thirteen provinces, exclusive of Normandy, to be only four hundred and forty.† And in 1637 the number of pastors was six hundred and twenty six.‡ These were divided among sixteen synods, comprising more than sixty presbyteries.

The great progress of the Reformed opinions in the age following the Reformation, owes something in France, as in Scotland, to the conversion of many persons of high rank. Margaret of Valois, sister of the king of France, deserves to be numbered among the confessors; and many noblemen and some princes of the blood, shared in the same honour. From first to last, the Huguenots had the support of many persons of quality. At the third Synod, held at Vertenil in 1562, it is remarkable that both the moderator and the principal scribe were noblemen. Antoine de Chandieu, the former of these, was lord of la Roche, and pastor of a church in Paris. At this time, he was but twenty-three years old; "a youth," says Thuanus, "in whom noble birth, beauty of countenance, learning, eloquence, and singular modesty, vied with one another."§ "A gentleman," adds Quick, "of eminent piety and gravity. He was desired by the king of Navarre to be his pastor, and upon his death removed to Geneva, where he was called to the pastoral office. He never took any wages for his work in the ministry. He wrote himself *Sadeel*, which is the Hebrew of *Chandieu*, the field of God."|| Chandieu was the author of several valuable works. In looking over the minutes of the Synod of St. Maixant, in 1609, we observe that out of fifty-four deputies no less than fifteen were noblemen; two of these being pastors.¶ The great

* Quick, vol. i. p. lix. Laval, vol. i. 623.

† Quick, ii. 387.

‡ Quick, i. 22.

† Quick, i. 253.

§ Thuan. lib. xxix. p. 94.

¶ Quick, i. 310.

Andrew Rivet had a brother who was a nobleman, as well as a pastor, (Lord Champvernon.)* It would be easy to fill pages with the titles of great laymen who were of high rank. Let it suffice to name Condé, Sully, de Mornay, and Coligni; and to add that the marshals Turenne and Gassion were both bred Huguenots. This last fact is mentioned in the address of the third Synod of Charenton to the king.†

But the French Churches found it better to trust in the Lord than to put confidence in princes; their great prosperity was owing, under God, to several causes on which we shall dwell for a short time: these were the purity of their doctrines, the scriptural form of their polity, their faithful discipline, the learning and piety of their clergy, and the spirit of martyrdom which above all things else characterized their body.

As it regards doctrine, they were always Calvinistic, and in their best days, and during the whole time when they had national synods, Calvinists of the stricter sort. Their articles speak for them; and as articles may become a dead letter, their doctrinal decrees, and especially their acts of discipline, set the matter out of question. Errors did indeed creep in, towards the last, but errors such as were less dangerous than many which have prevailed in the Church of Scotland, and even in the churches of America. For who will compare the heterodoxy of Saumur with that of New Haven? So far as the documents of the church go, there is no proof of a general defection.

The Confession of Faith, which grew out of the sketch presented by the first Synod, was strictly Calvinistic; and as new forms of error arose, new guards were erected by additional determinations. At every meeting of the National Synod, the Confession was read over, and not merely subscribed, but sworn to, by each deputy, who entered into a solemn engagement never to depart from it, and moreover protested that this was the doctrine taught in all their churches.‡ That unity of doctrine prevailed in the former part of the seventeenth century, may appear from the letter of the National Synod of Castres, to the clergy of Geneva, in 1626; in which they say: "In this assembly there was found but one heart and one soul to maintain the Confession of Faith, and the Discipline of our churches."§

* Quick, ii. 288.

† Ibid. 433. Univ. History, vol. xxi. p. 314.

‡ Quick, i. 228, 429, 443; ii. 38, 39.

§ Ibid. 247.

When measures were taken towards the calling of the Synod of Dort, the French churches contributed all that the government left in their power. They commissioned four clergymen, Rivet, du Moulin, Chamier, and Chauve, (of whom three were as great theologians as then lived,) to assist at the Synod; but upon arriving at Geneva, on their way, these deputies received notice that the king had forbidden their proceeding.* The National Synod of Alez, in 1629, "after invocation of the name of God, decreed that the articles of the said National Council, held at Dort, should be read in full synod, which, being read accordingly, and every article pondered most attentively, they were all received and approved by a common unanimous consent, as agreeing with the word of God, and the Confession of Faith in these our churches; that they were framed with singular prudence and purity; that they were very meet and proper to detect the Arminian errors, and to confound them. For which reason all the pastors and elders deputed unto this assembly have sworn and protested, jointly and severally, that they consent unto this doctrine, and that they will defend it with the utmost of their power, even to their last breath."† In the next synod, however, they received condign castigation from the king, for daring to "oblige all pastors by their corporal oath to approve a doctrine defined by a foreign state." They, therefore, so altered the oath, which had incorporated the Dort articles into their canons, as to omit all reference to that council, but at the same time re-asserting the same doctrines.‡

The errors of Piscator attracted the notice of the French Churches. This theologian denied the imputation of Christ's active righteousness.§ In opposition to this, the National Synod of Rochelle in 1607, declare their belief "that the whole obedience of Christ, both in his life and death, is imputed to us, for the full remission of our sins and acceptance unto eternal life." This was merely a re-assertion of their decree of 1603. And in 1612 the National Synod of Privas sent down to the churches a formula to be subscribed by all Pro-

* Quick, ii. 14.

† Ibid. 38.

‡ Ibid. 95, ff.—see also p. 347.

§ Our readers will see into what hands the history of theological opinions has fallen in our day, when they examine a most laborious dissertation by the Rev. W. Landis, upon "the Views of the Reformers on the Obedience of Christ." In order to prove that the early Calvinists did not hold the doctrine of the imputation of Christ's active obedience, he cites Piscator as one of his witnesses; the very man who was censured for this very error. American Biblical Repository for 1838, p. 431.

posants, avowing the belief, "that our Lord Jesus Christ was obedient to the moral and ceremonial law, not only for our good, but also in our stead, and that his whole obedience yielded by him thereunto is imputed to us; and that our justification consists not only in the forgiveness of sins, but also in the imputation of his active righteousness."*

As late as the year 1645, when the last National Synod but one was held, that judicatory, meeting for the third time at Charenton, animadverted on the error of Placaeus or de la Place; the position of this professor being that the whole nature of original sin consists only in that corruption which is hereditary to all Adam's posterity, and resides originally in all men, but that the first sin of Adam is not imputed. What was the declaration of the French church concerning an error which has passed unnoticed in many a presbyterial examination in America? "This Synod condemneth the said doctrine as far as it restraineth the nature of original sin to the sole hereditary corruption of Adam's posterity, to the excluding of the imputation of that first sin by which he fell, and interdicteth, on pain of church-censures, all pastors, professors and others, who shall treat of this question, to depart from the common-received opinion of the Protestant churches, *who* (over and besides that corruption) *have all acknowledged the imputation of Adam's first sin unto his posterity.*"† On the twofold question of imputation, then, the Reformed churches of France may well compare with our own or any other.

The greatest fountain of erroneous opinions was the university of Saumur. The doctors of this seminary, led by John Cameron, endeavoured to mitigate the doctrine of predestination. Cameron, however, stopped far short of Moses Amyraud, a learned and subtle man of the same school. The Salmurensian divines, according to du Moulin, taught the following errors, over and above those of Cameron: "that the distinct knowledge of Jesus Christ is not necessary to salvation;" "that Jesus Christ died equally and alike for all men;" "that God hath taken away from men their natural impotency to believe and convert themselves to him;" and "that the efficaciousness of the regenerating Spirit is a variable suasion."‡ The character of Andrew Rivet for orthodoxy is such as to need no attestation. Now it speaks volumes in behalf of the purity of the French churches that he was

* Quick, i. 227, 265, 348.

† Quick, ii. 473.

‡ Ibid. 410.

the man chosen to defend their doctrines. His book against Amyraud and Testard, was, in 1636, recommended, among other names, by those of Polyander, Wallaeus, Thysius and Triglandius, of Leyden; Bogermann, of Franeker; and Altingius and Gomar, of Groningen.* The Saumur errors were explicitly and vehemently condemned, not only by the third Synod of Charenton in 1645, but by that of Loudun in 1659, the last National Synod which the French churches were allowed to hold. They went so far as to require that all candidates, on being received into the ministry, should "protest with hands uplifted unto heaven, calling God to witness upon their souls, that they do reject all errors rejected by the decrees of their National Synods of Alanson and Charenton about the doctrines of predestination and of grace."† Thus to the very last of their National Synods, the Reformed churches of France continued firm in avowing a confession such as in no particular varies from our own.

As a means for keeping their churches in a state of complete defence against error, the French National Synod used great care in directing and employing the best writers in their communion; and in denouncing erroneous books, and procuring their refutation. Out of many instances, a few may be adduced. As early as 1583, we find order taken respecting a French Translation of a Harmony of Confessions, by Salnar or Salnart.‡ In 1612 M. Chamier presented his controversial writings to the Synod, and received their thanks. He was directed to print three volumes, and was presented with two thousand livres to pay the cost.§ The provinces were exhorted to collect the history of their martyrs for publication.|| In 1614 the Synod approved the works of Andrew Rivet, and paid him six hundred livres.¶ He was ordered further to digest such facts as should be sent to him in respect to a history of the French church.** In 1620 they applauded Mr. Jean Paul Perrin of Nyons, for his history of the Waldenses and Albigenses.†† The same subject was, three years after, assigned to Mr. du Tilloy;‡‡ and after his death they took measures for the publication of what he had written.§§ So after the death of the great Chamier, they gave a sum of money to his son.||| The once famous Saumaise, or Salmasius, now chiefly known as the victim of

* Quick, ii. 404, ff.

§ Ibid. 354, 494.

** Ibid. 480.

§§ Ibid. 175.

† Ibid. 555.

|| Ibid. 368.

†† Quick, ii. 41.

||| Ibid. 207.

‡ Quick, i. 151.

¶ Ibid. 417.

‡‡ Ibid. 84.

Milton's satire, was in 1631 requested by the second Synod of Charenton to write against the annals of Baronius.* And in 1645 we find encouragement given to M. Bernardin, in a labour of the same kind.† In 1681 persons were commissioned to complete the great work of Chamier; and the well known Dailé was directed to print his works.‡ These particulars will serve to show how important it was thought by these sagacious men to keep a vigilant eye to their theological literature.

It was thus they sought to promote doctrinal knowledge and purity of opinion, and they do not seem to have neglected any of the other means for the same end. Regular and careful catechizing was particularly enjoined, as was the stated exposition of the scriptures in public.§ At their presbyterial meetings, the ministers were directed by a canon to maintain propositions from the word of God, in turn, and in 1609, the Synod distributed fourteen heads in theology among as many provincial synods, to be studied and discussed by ministers within the bounds of the latter.||

To secure an able ministry, the French churches fostered their universities with parental solicitude, placing their greatest men in the theological chairs. There were six of these schools, the most distinguished of which were those of Saumur and Montauban:¶ and we cannot but bless God, that to the latter of these has, within a few years, been granted the labours of two such men as Adolphe Monod and de Félice. On the reception of theological students to the ministry, there was a rigorous examination of their life, manners, talents and acquirements. The candidate had texts assigned to him, upon which he was, within twenty-four hours, to prepare two discourses, one in French and the other in Latin; and he was moreover to submit, in Latin, a confession of his faith.**

Not less notable was their case respecting ministerial faithfulness. It was their solemn judgment "that a minister being employed in the church, may not ordinarily exercise any other calling, or receive wages for it," and the exception relates to cases of persecution, "when he cannot exercise his calling in the church, and cannot be maintained by it."††

* Quick, ii. 287.

† Ibid. 489.

‡ Ibid. i. p. xxxviii. 328.

** Ibid. xvii. 229, 313. Laval, iv. p. xxvii.

† Ibid. 481.

§ Ibid. i. p. xfx. ii, 453.

¶ Ibid. p. cxvii.

†† Ibid. i. p. xx. 27.

Law and Medicine are specifically forbidden.† A minister might at the same time be professor in divinity or Hebrew, but it was thought “not seemly for him to profess the Greek also, because the most of his employment will be taken up in the exposition of pagan and profane authors.”* In the case of Blondel, it was thought necessary by the third Synod of Charenton, to pass a special act, authorizing this celebrated author to continue his learned labours at Paris, without having a pastoral charge.† In the early part of the seventeenth century, some flagrant violations of these canons occurred, in connexion with which we find on the records of the Synod of Tonneins, a long and able letter from the churches of Geneva, containing the following admonitions, which are not inappropriate in our own day:

“We conceive that there is no such difficulty in the matter, but that ministers may be kept within the inviolable bounds of their most holy calling, and yet be useful unto the public without glorying in those little arts of subtilties and surprisals, which abutt at no other mark than temporal and carnal profit. Besides that ’tis a very rare thing to find a man capable of both the one and other calling, there is this grand mischief in it; that flesh and blood seeing in the holy ministry nothing but what is mean and humble, despicable and painful, difficult and dangerous, and contrariwise meeting in the management of secular affairs with food and fuel enough for pride, ambition, and covetousness, (the ground of all envies and jealousies) and with the means and helps to carry on designs of self-advancement and domination, as tricks, craft, and dissimulation; it will be almost impossible to hinder the spread of this contagion, which creeps insensibly into the greatest wits, and seizeth upon them at unawares, and not as an unaffected and approved vice.”

“No man going to war entangles himself with the world, that so he may the better please his Captain that hath listed him. That commination is very dreadful, *The priest shall be as the people*; and that lamentation exceedingly dreadful, *All this evil is from the prophets, and the stones of the sanctuary are lying at the four corners of the streets*. Let us, most dear and honoured brethren, give up and resign ourselves to the conduct of true wisdom, speaking to us from the word of God, which is *to forsake our own*.”* So far as these counsels ruled, they could not fail to clothe the ministerial of-

* Quick, 27, 136.

† Ibid. ii. 57.

‡ Ibid. 483.

§ Ibid. 443.

fice with great sanctity. The pastors were truly the leaders of the flock. Even in the day of battle, they encouraged the people, as did the ancient priests. Among other anecdotes of the age, it is stated that M. d' Amours, who was chaplain to Henry the Fourth before his apostacy, was so much a man of prayer, that "the very papists in the army, and the greatest lords and commanders in it, were melted by him in that duty, and would call upon the king, before they went to fight, that the minister who prayed yesterday might pray again."*

The discipline of the French churches has been alluded to. True, this discipline became less strict in their latter period, as has been the case with other Reformed churches. "O," exclaims Quick, "O that the generation which succeeded the first Reformers had not laxed the reins! How happy might they have been! In the morning of the Reformation, they were fair as the morn, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners. The greatest princes of France submitted their necks to this golden yoke of Christ. A National Synod was formidable to the most daring sinner. Their discipline, duly and prudently managed, preserved the purity of doctrine, worship, and morals, among them."† In explanation of these remarks, the reader should be reminded, that the consistories of Rochelle and Pons, respectively, exercised discipline upon the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé.‡ And the good old historian will not allow even this charge of relaxation to pass unqualified; for he carries his enthusiasm so far as to add, concerning the discipline, "As to their ministers, in the worst times, it was strictly exercised upon them. If any of them proved scandalous in doctrine, or in conversation, they were not spared; the church and house of God was soon rid of them. Their Colloquies and Synods threw away the unsavory salt unto the dunghill, and it was very rare if the deposed and ejected ministers did not take up for good and all in the dunghill of the Romish Synagogue. There hath been a great complaint of much looseness among their members. Certainly they had, and still have (1690) as holy and gracious souls in communion with them as any churches of Christ under heaven, and a vast number of most zealous and faithful martyrs, far more in number and quality of sufferers for the gospel, than in any one of the Reformed Christian nations in Europe." "Those Galileans, whose blood Pilate mingled with their sacrifices were not the worst

* Quick, 183.

† Ibid. p. xvi.

‡ Laval, iv. p. xviii. Quick, p. clxiii.

of the Galileans; nor those Jews, upon whom the tower of Siloam fell and crushed to pieces, were they the greatest sinners in Jerusalem. Should we thus argue, we should offend against the generation of the righteous, who, from the infancy of the world to this very day, from their youth upward until now, have been perpetually afflicted; they have passed out of one furnace into another; oftentimes from lesser into sorer and greater fiery trials.”*

The spirit of the French Churches was a spirit of martyrdom. The structure was set up amidst blood, and after a succession of outrages was at length razed by a murderous persecution. If any are scandalized by the repeated civil wars which were waged by and against the Huguenots, they should remember that the Protestants of France were not a handful of trembling converts, but a great portion of a mighty people, comprising princes, nobles, gentlemen, and not the least part of the wealth, learning and valour of France. They durst not, in such circumstances, yield the ark of God without a blow, and the doctrine of non-resistance to tyrants had not been received. After the massacre of Vassy, in 1562, when men, women, and children, to the number of sixty, were put to the sword, while engaged in public worship, the king of Navarre complained to Beza that the Protestants went armed to church, and so invited opposition. “Sire,” said Beza, “it is most true that it behooves the church of God, in whose name I speak, to endure, rather than to give blows; for she serves unto Christ, under the cross, and yields her neck to the persecutors. But may it please your Majesty to remember, that *she is an anvil that hath already broken many hammers.*”† It was stated in 1581, as an incontestable fact, that there had been slain by the sword, or in massacres for religion, from the church of Caen above 15,000; from that of Alençon, 5,000; from Paris, 13,000; from Rheims, 12,000; from Troyes, 12,000; from Sens, 9,000; from Orleans, 8,000; from Poitiers, 12,000.‡ The tragedy of St. Bartholomew’s day, 1572, is too dreadful for rehearsal here. It is before the mind’s eye of every Protestant. Suffice it to recall one or two facts. More than ten thousand persons were destroyed within a fortnight, in Paris alone. When the admiral Coligni was mortally stabbed, the duke of Guise, desiring to see the face of his great enemy, wiped the blood away with his handkerchief, and cried, “Now I know him; it is him-

* Quick, page lviii.

† Laval, ii. 33.

‡ Quick, page lviii.

self!" and then spurned with his foot that venerable face, which when living had been the terror of all the murderers of France. That head was enhalmed, and sent to Rome. When the general massacre had begun, Charles took a carbine and fired from his window at those who were struggling in the river. When the city was made noisome by corpses, the same Catholic king repeated the words of a heathen emperor: "there is no more grateful odour than that of an enemy's carcase." The court ladies came down to gloat upon the dead bodies which were spread in the paved court. Secret orders had been sent to the provinces; the number of the slain is variously given; by papists as 30,000, by others as 100,000. These orgies were called the Parisian Matins, in allusion to the Sicilian Vespers, of 1281.*

The downfall of the Huguenots was accomplished by a series of persecutions which lasted at least fifteen years. The court first assailed them with vexatious lawsuits, and sought to extirpate them as heretics. They proceeded to deprive them of all civil and military offices, and even of the master-ships of trades. They harassed them by missionaries, who overran the kingdom, entered churches to ridicule or silence the pastors, and invaded the family circle and forced away their little ones. In 1681 it was enacted that the children of the Reformed, "were, at seven years of age, capable of reason and discernment in an affair of such importance as that of their salvation." Even infants were unmercifully beaten and bruised, in order that they might be made Roman Catholics. But a principal means of destruction was aimed at the ministers. After incurring various disabilities from year to year, they were at length absolutely silenced, and many of them brought to the scaffold. Then followed the *Récantation* and the *Dragonades*. Soldiers were quartered upon the Reformed, churches were pulled down, and the people were summoned, by the police of their respective towns, to abjure their faith. Upon their refusal, they were given over to the soldiery, who seized every passage, and reduced the places to the condition of sacked towns. The details of murder may be read in Laval, in Quick, or in the little book before us; they are too extensive and too dreadful to be dwelt on here.†

It has not fallen within our plan to say much of the great theologians of France, and time would fail us to give a com-

* Laval, iii. lib. v.

† Laval, book viii. Quick, cxxxviii., cli.

plete list even of their names. Yet it would be unjust to this distinguished church if we were not to say, that for erudition, eloquence, argumentative skill, and piety, the Reformed theologians of France were second to none in the world. The form of their theology was derived from Calvin. Viret is named, and one of his letters recorded, in the minutes of the Church. Theodore Beza was moderator of the Synod of Rochelle in 1571. These men and their coevals lived in days of peril, and some jeopardized their lives unto the death in the high places of the field. Pierre Merlin, a learned commentator, and chaplain to Coligni, escaped in a singular manner from the great massacre. When the alarm was given he leaped out of a window, and hid himself in a hay-loft, where a hen came and laid an egg for three days successively, by which he was sustained until he could fly unobserved. Six years after this he was moderator of the Synod of St. Foy, and five years later presided in that of Vitré.* No French protestant was more relied upon by his party than Daniel Chamier. "He was," says Bayle, "no less a minister of state to his party, than a minister of the church." He was said to have drawn up the edict of Nantes. The historian of that edict says, "he was one of those *fools of the Synod* (a court nickname) whom the king did not love, one of those untractable men who cannot be prevailed with; one of those stiff persons who are proof against fear and hope, the strongest engines of the court." His *Panstratia*, in four volumes folio, was the great polemical arsenal of the next generation. It was edited by Benedict Turretine and abridged by Frederick Spanheim.† Like ancient armour, it is too unwieldy for our day. The manner of his death serves to characterize the times, and will remind our reader of the arrow directed to Philip's eye, as well as the adage of the Prince of Orange, *Every bullet hath its billet*. For Chamier was killed at the siege of Montauban by a cannon ball marked with the letter C, as being the hundredth discharge on that day.‡ Bochart, Daillé, Blondel, and Rivet, are names which perpetually recur in these church records, and which the church will not willingly let die. As long as Rivet lived, and even when he was in another country, he was employed by the French Synod as the ablest and most accurate defender of contested points. His dying scenes (as we have them in Middleton) are almost without a parallel, unless in the dissolution of the protomartyr Stephen.

* Quick, i. 125.

† Buddeus, Isagage, p. 372.

‡ Quick.

There were some distinguished Scotsmen among the French clergy. Such were Welsh, Primrose, and Cameron. John Welsh was the son-in-law of John Knox, and was long settled as a pastor at St. Jean d' Angely. It is he whom Rutherford calls "that heavenly, prophetic and apostolic man of God;" adding that he had it from witnesses of his life, that he often gave a third of his hours to prayer. During his last illness, he was so overcome with heavenly joy, that he was overheard to say, "Lord, hold thy hand, it is enough; thy servant is a clay vessel and can hold no more."* Primrose and Cameron were professors, the one at Saumur, the other at Bordeaux. It was with direct reference to them that Louis XIII. signified his will that no foreign minister should be settled in France. As to John Cameron, he was an errorist, though not in so great a degree as might be hastily inferred from the tenets of his followers at Saumur. He was held to be, and his works prove it, one of the greatest theologians of his day. The misfortune was that he affected novelty, and especially to be as unlike the School of Geneva as possible. He loved to think and dispute rather than to write. The Theses Salmureinses, which still circulate among us, evince his acumen, ingenuity, and dialectic address. Amyraud and Capellus were propagators of his doctrines touching universal grace. It was said that the former carried matters so far as to copy a certain motion of his head and his Scotch accent, so that Louis XIII. observed the foreign pronunciation.

But we must reserve biographical sketches for future occasions. We have, in part, been induced to dwell at such length on the French churches, by their having been, to serve to purpose, claimed again and again, as a looser sort of Presbyterians; in other words, as tending to Congregationalism. No such tendency can be discovered, and we challenge the proof. That like ourselves, they were sometimes visited by brethren of this persuasion, appears from the following record, in 1645: "Upon report made by certain Deputies of the maritime Provinces, that there do arrive unto them from other countries, some persons, going by the name of *Independents*, and so called, for that they teach that every particular church should of right be governed by its own laws, without any dependency or subordination unto any person whatsoever in ecclesiastical matters, and without being obliged to own or

* Fleming's Fulfilling of the Scriptures. Quick, i. 324. Laval, vi. 877. Quick, i. 314, 413; ii. 95, 101, 260, 430, 508.

acknowledge the authority of Colloquies or Synods in matters of discipline and order, and that they settle their dwellings in this kingdom, a thing of great and dangerous consequence, if not in time carefully prevented: Now this assembly, fearing lest the contagion of their poison should diffuse itself insensibly, and bring with it a world of disorders and confusions upon us; and judging the said sect of *Independents* not only prejudicial to the church of God, (because as much as in it lieth, it doth usher in confusion, and openeth a door to all kinds of singularities, irregularities, and extravagances, and barreth the use of those means, which would most effectually prevent them,) but also is very dangerous unto the civil state; for in case it should prevail and gain ground among us, it would form as many religions as there be parishes and distinct particular assemblies among us:"* therefore, &c. &c. This is strong language; too strong, we are persuaded, to be subscribed by any Presbyterian even of our harsh communion, but very decisive as to the historical question, in reference to which alone we cite it. There were many points of French Presbyterianism which are not agreeable to our views, chiefly those which were caused by the political relations of the Huguenot party. But the history of these churches is so rich in suggestions respecting polity, discipline, and doctrine, that we feel surprised at the neglect into which it has been allowed to fall.

Samuel Miller, Jun.

ART. V.—*Report of the Presbyterian Church Case: the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, at the suggestion of James Todd and others, vs. Ashbel Green and others.* By Samuel Miller, Jun., a Member of the Philadelphia Bar. Philadelphia: William S. Martien, 8vo. pp. 596.†

THE parties that so lately convulsed the Presbyterian church in the United States now form two distinct and inde-

* Quick, ii. 467.

† In publishing the following article, the conductors of the Princeton Review have been led to depart from their usual rule of publishing nothing which does not express in all respects their own opinions. This article, which they have received from a member of the Bar, embraces the discussion of legal questions, in relation to some of which there exists much diversity of opinion; and were it possible so to modify it as to make it express entirely the views of the conductors of this work, it would not be just to the author thus to destroy the entireness of his argument and mar the ingenuity and force of his reasoning.