Edward Irving and the Gift of Tongues:
An Historical and Psychological Study.

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That theologians have turned their attention to the long-neglected Doctrine of the Holy Spirit, is attested by a number of books recently published on the subject, of which the most notable is "The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit" by Dr Wheeler Robinson in "The Library of Constructive Theology". "It is the living spirit of Christian experience which we seek to know, not a bunch of artificial flowers plucked from the creeds and confessions of Christendom, which never grew in any man's garden." (p26 "Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit"

That "living spirit of Christian experience" may well be studied as it finds expression in varying historical settings. Men may have mistaken the real nature of the Holy Spirit sometimes and confounded His essence with mere external by-products, as in the time of Edward Irving. But we can only be grateful to prophets like Irving for witnessing to the fact that "When the Holy Ghost departs from any set of opinions, or form of character, they wither like a sapless tree." (V. Mrs Oliphant's "Life", p173.)

I should like to take this opportunity of thanking Professor James Mackinnon, of the Chair of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Edinburgh, and Principal Hywel Hughes of the Scottish Congregational College, Edinburgh, for their encouragement & advice, but for which this Thesis would never have been written.

"The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord".  
(Proverbs 20. 27. A.V.)
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INTRODUCTION. (Note: the pages of Introduction & Thesis are numbered separately.)

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"A singular phenomenon appeared in the religious world when the first quarter of this [19th] century ran near its close. A Presbyterian minister, then unknown to fame, came to an obscure place of worship in the metropolis, and took all ranks of society by storm. . . . . .
He produced an excitement which, from the extent to which it prevailed, the class of persons it affected, & the prophetic fervour which it displayed, rose to the importance of a national event.

"He felt he had a Divine Mission to Babylon the Great... a special impulse from the Lord on high. Beyond Luther, beyond Knox, he seemed to regard himself as 'servant of the Lord', and, with earnestness unparalleled in modern times, he delivered his burden before the nation of England.

"He spoke to men at large; to people of fashion in particular. Never since George Whitfield, had any one so arrested attention; and Irving went far beyond Whitfield in attracting the respectful, even the admiring notice, of lords, ladies, and commoners. His name was on every lip; newspapers, magazines, and reviews discussed his merits; and caricatures in shop windows hit off his eccentricities". (Dr. J. Stoughton, "History of Religion in England", 2nd Ed. vol. VII. pp 374, 375.)
THE LIFE OF IRVING LEADING UP TO GLOSSOLALIA.

Section 1.

Irving's Youth & Friendship with Carlyle.

During the stormy days of the French Revolution, on the same days as Shelley, Edward Irving was born near the quiet town-cross of Annan in a home "standing midway between the homely refinements of the manses & the rude profusion of the farms of Dumfriesshire" (4th August 1792). His father, Gavin Irving, was a tanner, and the family had been long established in the neighbourhood.

We are not told much of Edward's childhood, except that he was fond of outdoor games & made friends easily (e.g. Clapperton, later a famous African explorer). On Sundays he used to trudge five miles over the moors to the Secession meetinghouse at Ecclefechan, "that poor temple" where there also worshipped in obscurity one whose career was far to outstrip his own in lasting fame—Thomas Carlyle. Both were brought up in the same tradition of "plain living & high thinking". Both listened to tales of their Covenanting forefathers over the peat fire, and grew up in the narrow but deep furrow of the Secession Kirk, the spirit of which found expression in austere piety & archaic diction. This tradition was to influence Carlyle in the form of moral austerity; while with Irving it was the dogmatism fired by imagination & warmed with unction, which one associates with Samuel Rutherford. "Very venerable are those old Seceder clergy", said Carlyle in later life, "Men so like evangelists in modern vesture & 'poor scholars & gentlemen of Christ'....there
were sacred lambencies, tongues of authentic flame which kindled what was best in one, what has not yet gone out.

It was this prophetic note which was to be so characteristic of Irving. After leaving Annan Academy Irving entered Edinburgh University at the age of thirteen. He did not distinguish himself, but attracted the notice of Professors Chrystalson & Leslie, through whom he obtained the mastership of the "Mathematical School" at Haddington on graduating (1810).

At Haddington he also studied for the Ministry (according to the scheme in vogue), and tutored Jane Faillie Welsh. In 1812 he obtained the mastership of the "New Academy" at Kirkcaldy, but failed to satisfy the parents. Whereupon a rival school was established, of which Thomas Carlyle was appointed Head. The two young men had scarcely known each other, and the situation did not seem to promise friendship. But Irving's first words to his rival were, as he welcomed him like a brother; "Two Annan-dale people must not be strangers in Fife" (1816).

Both were "intending" the Ministry of the Church of Scotland rather than that of the Seceder, for by this time the Evangelical Revival was sweeping like a great purifying wave over the National Kirk. And as Carlyle himself said; "All dissent in Scotland is merely stricter adherence to the national kirk at all points".

Both had taken to schoolmastering temporarily owing to the difficulty of procuring "livings". (In 1822 the number of students preparing for the Ministry was "the greatest on record", "an enormous glut"). The friendship of Irving &

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(1) Froude's "Carlyle's Early Life. I. plli. (2) Irving was Carlyle's senior. Carlyle first saw him while still at Mr Adam Hope's school at Annan. Irving, as a student, had come back to see his old school & made a great impression. (3) Chalmers' Reply to Dean of Kirkcaldy, 1813.
Carlyle throws light on the development of Irving's character & mind. In Carlyle's "Reminiscences" we can read how Irving kept his word; how he opened his house, his library, his heart to him; how they walked & talked together on the Kirkcaldy sands on summer evenings; how he proved a very real friend to the youth whose dyspeptic irritability made friendship difficult. How Carlyle had "grave prohibitive doubts" about entering the Church, strengthened by his reading of Gibbon in Irving's library. And how both of them finally "kicked the schoolmaster functions over", Carlyle taking up a tutorship and Irving an assistantship with Dr Chalmers. Their last walk over the moors by Drumclog was indeed a feather floating before the wind, marking the direction of human thought.

"We leant our backs on a drystane dyke, both of us loth to go. Just as the sun was sinking, Irving drew from me the confession, in the softest manner, that I did not think as he of the Christian religion, and that it was vain for me to expect that I ever could or should. He had prepared to take leave of me like an elder brother, if I would be frank with him, and right loyally he did so, and to the end of his life we needed no concealments on that head, which was really a step gained.... But for Irving I had never known what the communion with man meant." (1)

At this period Irving was clearly an "elder brother" to Carlyle, encouraging his literary aspirations, warning him in his own interests to adapt himself to his fellowmen, urging him to be less cynical. "You live too much in an ideal world, and you are likely to be punished for it by an unfitness for practical life". (2) "I pray you may not again talk of your distresses in so desperate & disagreeable manner. My dear sir... you are suffering grievously the want of spiritual communion, the bread & water of the soul". (3) "How comes it that we have such pleasant communion? I'll tell you one thing. High literature is exiled from my sphere, and simple principle from yours. Thus we feel a blank on both sides. I'll tell you another thing. Severed from the ordinary stays of men, influence, place, each in his way has been obliged to hang his hopes upon something higher; and though we may not have chosen the same thing, in both cases it is pure & unearthly." (4)

The position was soon to be reversed. But so far, there is little evidence of abnormality in Irving. We may say, however, that Irving's close friendship with Carlyle unconsciously set in motion certain currents by which he was subsequently carried away. Both had been "ardent, radical, indignant at injustice". (1) Both were lovers of literature. Irving's attitude to his friend after his break with organized Christianity was frank & magnanimous. But it undoubtedly led, in conjunction with the 'zeitgeist' to which Irving was so susceptible, to that growing suspicion of the intellect, with consequent identification of political reform with infidelity and reliance on imagination & emotion,—which was to colour his course and culminate in "Tongues".

Irving's temperament, dogmatic yet unoriginal, was far from stable: reaction against an opinion he deemed false made for rash generalisation and the rapid conversion of opinion into prejudice.

Romance too, entwines Irving's career with Carlyle's. Had Irving married his pupil Jane Welsh, as he nearly did, it is unlikely that she would have encouraged the "Tongues". (2) Irving actually married Isabella Martin (daughter of the minister of Kirkcaldy), who consistently ministered to her husband's craving for the abnormal. It was in Kirkcaldy Kirk that Irving preached his first sermons on being licensed (1815). It was generally thought that he had "ower muckle gran'ner". He burnt his Kirkcaldy discourses on returning to Edinburgh in 1818, where he attended lectures on Chemistry & Natural History for a year.

(1) Froude I.p56. (2) Froude I.p318. (3) Irving seems to have been dogged by a malignant fate. He returned many years later, a famous London preacher, to the pulpit where he had proved such a failure. But as he was crossing the churchyard he was met by a demented crowd. A gallery had collapsed,—he had something to do with it!
The next landmark is Irving's appointment as assistant to Dr Chalmers (1818) at St John's, Glasgow, where he gained a first-hand insight into social problems in a poor parish during a period of acute economic depression, unemployment, & discontent. Chalmers was hard at work trying to adapt the parochial system to 19th century needs, one of the bravest anachronisms in social history. One would have thought that such an experience would have made a grim realist out of a potential visionary. But the ugliness, filth & ignorance of Glasgow only served to draw out Irving's antique chivalry. He certainly endeared himself to the poverty-stricken weavers, surprising them by the apostolic benediction "Peace be unto this house", and quixotically distributing a guinea a day of a £100 legacy he had received. As a preacher, he was entirely overshadowed by Dr Chalmers, whose attitude to his assistant was one of genuine appreciation, but also of "doubtful, troubled, half-amused perplexity".

Section II.

"The celebrated Irving"........

Irving's prospects were not bright when in 1822 he accepted a call from a struggling Scottish congregation - the Caledonian Chapel, Hatton Gardens. The congregation numbered only fifty, while he described himself (with much exaggeration) as "a man unknown, despised, suspected, & avoided."

Yet the miraculous happened, and his church was soon crowded.

(1) Oliphant I.114,116.
What then was the secret of this sudden popularity?

Hazlitt, in "The Spirit of the Age" (published in 1825 while Irving was still at his best), cautiously characterised him as "a burning & a shining light, though perhaps not one of the fixen!"

"Mr Irving owes his triumphant success, not to any one quality for which he has been extolled, but to a combination of qualities, the more striking in their immediate effect, in proportion as they are unlooked for and heterogeneous, like the violent opposition of light & shade in a picture." (1) "To eloquence, originality, freshness he adds uncommon height. "His sable locks, clear iron-grey complexion & firm set features, turn the raw, uncouth Scotchman into the likeness of a noble Italian picture; and even his distortion of sight only redeems the otherwise 'faultless monster' within the bounds of humanity". (1)

Dr James Hamilton, his successor, spoke of "his physical overflow, which in its prodigal excess courted toil and feared no exertion. De Quincy called him " a very demon of power", fierce, untamed, irresistible energy.

At this time Irving undoubtedly stood for something new & vital. He felt that religion was a living force, rather than a carefully devised dovetailed scheme of systematic theology. Had he confined himself to dividing the doctrines of election, reprobation & predestination into his 14th, 15th, & 16th, heads, he would have died in respectable obscurity, however great his gifts. He believed that he had a special mission to present Christianity as a faith "more heroic, more magnanimous than this age affects." He felt that Protestantism had degenerated from the days of Knox, when religion was co-extensive with national life, rather than a sub-department of it. Hazlitt nevertheless realised that, far from publishing a new theology, Irving "contrary to Scripture-caution put new wine into old bottles".

"The public, as well as the fair, are won by a show of gallantry. Mr. Irving has shrunk from no opinion, however paradoxical. He has revived exploded prejudices; he has scouted prevailing fashions. He has brought back the doctrines of Calvinism in all their inveteracy. He has turned religion & the Caledonian Chapel topsyturvy. He has held a play-book in one hand, and a Bible in the other, and quoted Shakespeare & Melancthon in the same breath. He has taken the thorns & briars of scholastic divinity, and garlanded them with the flowers of modern literature. ... Relying on the strength of a remarkably fine person & manner, he has succeeded otherwise he would have perished miserably." (1)

These words of a contemporary critic indicate the variety & wealth with which Irving's mind teemed & the contradictory elements which he only could fuse. They show the necessity of viewing Irving's teaching through his personality, the difficulty of abstracting any aspect of his theology without previous study of the man himself, and the impossibility of extracting any consistent system from his sermons & collected works.

The effect of his preaching was to leave men dazzled & stupified rather than convinced or converted. He might denounce "our political expediences" in church, and Ganning would smile across to Peel. Or, "our godless systems of economics & ethics," and Bentham & Godwin would shrug their shoulders in unison.

The effects on his own character—the "inflation" which Carlyle had noticed at Kirkcaldy and the belief that he had a special mission, were to become more evident as the novelty of his preaching wore off.

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It might be well at this point, to examine Irving's views analytically by considering representative sermons & books before the more abnormal developments; and then to discuss the various influences (theologies & theologians) which exerted formative power.

It is impossible to read Irving's early works without being impressed by his modern spirit & practical sense, though it cannot be denied that there are other less desirable elements latent.

In the "Argument of Judgement to come" (1822-3), his claim is "to take like a man, not a theologian, not a Christian, not like a churchman." Like the botanist, we should give up the artificial method of treating religion; and bear down at once upon the occupation of the heart & life of man. They care not for our controversial warfare, they laugh at our antiquated methods— and so they perish, because of the unintelligible signals which we hang out." (1)

Irving seems to have realized the weakness of the Presbyterian appeal to the intellect, the Methodist appeal to the emotions, and the Anglican appeal of that day to common sense. "The tribunal before which we plead is the whole understanding of man. Not his intellect merely, but his affection, his interests, his hopes, his fears, his wishes, his whole undivided soul." (2)

His sanctified commonsense rejected current popular conceptions of the Future Life;— "Of how many lightwitted men is the constant psalm singing of heaven a theme of scorn; the fire & brimstone a theme of derision. And by how many zealous but injudicious ministers are they the themes of rhapsodies, which end in nothing but tedium & disgust of all who hear them." "They shun activity & shut up all in rest & contemplation. I cannot think of heaven, otherwise than as the perfection of every activity of body, soul, & spirit." (3)

Discussing "tests of judgement", he stands for Life rather than Doctrine;— "..Upon whatsoever future destiny is made to turn, it is not upon a refined & finical creed." (4)

Those who are obsessed with "fretted arches & long drawn aisles" seek "not Christ dismantled but Christ invested, not His members but His goodly raiments." (5) If the test were "evanescent feelings...I know not what a rabble of devotees & self-deluded enthusiasts would have rushed forward in the greatness of their self-confidence (6)

The "Argument" is characteristic of Irving in that true eloquence & vigorous thought are embedded in much inferior material. "The foundation is rotten", wrote Carlyle.

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"and the building a kind of monster architecture, beautiful in parts, vast in dimensions, but on the whole decidedly a monster." (1)

The plan ("incredibly silly" (2)) was a protest against "two most nauseous & ill-informed abortions", the respective "Visions of Judgement" of Southey & Byron, - a panegyric & a parody of George III, which appeared to Irving equally profane. The result was that Irving came into the limelight more than ever as the subject of numerous popular pamphlets & broadsides, such as "Trial of Rev. Edward Irving, a Cento of Criticism".

"The Oracles of God" (1823) dealt with the neglect of the Bible & the remedy. The method was that of the "Ancient Oration - the best vehicle far beyond the sermon, of which the very name hath learnt to inspire drowsiness & tedium! "The ministry should lay their hands on the Press as on the pulpit. They must discover new vehicles for conveying the truth as it is in Jesus into the minds of the people." (2)

The Bible is to be preferred to Catechisms; - "In the one it is presented to the intellect chiefly; in the other it is presented more frequently to the heart, to the fancy, to all the faculties of the soul. In early youth, an association takes place between religion & intellect...... The solemn stillness so favourable to rapt communion, is destroyed at every turn by suggestion of what is orthodox & evangelical; the spirit of the reader becomes lean, being fed with abstract truths; his temper ungentle; his prayers undevout recitation of opinions." "Intellect, cold intellect hath the sway." (3)

The Bible has been used too much " as a sort of elbow-monitor... rather than as a universal law to impregnate all the sources of action." (4) "Doctrines should be like mighty rivers which fertilise our island." (5) "Pour ye out your whole undivided heart before the oracles of God. Be free to catch all its moods & all its inspiration... Then shall you be thoroughly furnished for every good word & work." (6)

Irving is craving for a religion of the heart. He is reacting against the Bibliolatry & narrow Evangelicalism of his time. No one can call this craving for more of the Spirit -----------------------------------------------

morbid or unhealthy at this stage:— "The Oracles of God have ceased. No burning bush draws the footsteps of His presence chamber; no invisible voice holds the ear awake; no hand cometh forth from the obscure to write His purpose in letters of fire. The vision is short, and the testimony is sealed, and the solitary volume is the sum total". (1)

The modern note is also struck in the sermons preached during Irving's first three years in London. E.g. "Sins of the Upper Classes"; "Sins of the common people"; "Religious Meditation" (Gen. 24, 63).

Consider two sermons on the Fatherhood of God:
E.G. Matthew 6, 9. "All schemes of doctrine which uphold God in character of a sovereign—some men advancing, some reproving—from the pleasure of His will... however expedient..., are essentially Jewish, and out of place in the Christian temple, where the gate is open to all." Again, "I did not wish to leave one soul, believer or unbeliever, without a witness in his breast of God's good title to the name of "Father. It is no chattered few, but to all mankind that he makes the overtures." (2)

We read with surprise, in view of subsequent developments, these words taken from the same sermon:— "The foolish notion of ignorant men, that the further they move things from the ordinary into the extraordinary, the more they remove them into the hands of God: as if a common thing was by its commonness separated from the divine Providence, which is to destroy providence, and to make religion a succession of novelties. Among the fruits of the Spirit I find peace, joy, gentleness, truth, & a sound mind.... neither trembling, nor quaking, nor entrenchments."

It would be a great mistake to believe that Irving was an original thinker, judging him by flashes of spiritual enlightenment such as the above passages.

His mind was only too susceptible to new impressions; like a sponge he absorbed the thought of his age, which he expressed from his rostrum in graphic phrases which original thinkers might never attain to. And few young preachers have had Irving's unique opportunity of receiving the best thought of the age at first hand. Soon after his arrival in London he was introd

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(1) "Oracles", opening section. (2) Irving's Sermons, Ed. T. Oxford.
to Coleridge by Basil Montague (Barry Cornwall in "Fraser's Magazine" Jan. 1835); — "Coleridge had a mind which could only be appreciated by one of similar capacity & power; and therefore it became as great a delight to the one to impart as to the other to receive; each has recorded his high estimation of the other - Irving in his dedication of his "Missionary Sermon" (1), Coleridge in his notes on "Aids to Reflection".

(2) "We can easily imagine", says Washington Wilks in his biography of Irving; - "the handsome Caledonian loitering beside the shrunken, crooked form that shuffles from side to side of Mr Gilmam's garden walks, talking for 3-4 hours at a time in a nasal dialect of the all-expressive logos, 'onject' & 'sonject', 'vermunft & verstand." "If the Oracles of God had not preceded Irving's intimacy with Coleridge, we should have confounded cause & effect."

Coleridge's influence on Irving may be summed up as follows; (1) A pessimistic strain. The sunk condition of the world, given up to atheism & materialism, full of disbeliefs & misresults; science materialistic; the Churches themselves in a mechanical condition, mere cases of Articles, like the dried carcasses of once swift camels.

(2) The idea of transcendent methods being capable of restoring the Divine Life to human life would quicken Irving's inextinguishable hopefulness.

(3) The historic idea of the Church as a spiritual organism, which had been lost sight of during the 18th century.

(4) Salvation as something internal rather than superadded, and man as essentially a religious being; the appeal to the heart.

(5) Recognition of the power of the Holy Spirit as a dynamic, illustrated by the following diagram:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{CHRIST} & \equiv \text{PROThESIS} \\
\text{H. SPIRIT} & \equiv \text{MESOTHESIS} \\
\text{SCRIPTURES} & \equiv \text{CHURCH} \\
\text{= Thesis} & \downarrow \\
\text{= ANTITHEsis} & \equiv \text{SYNTHESIS of Ch. & Script.} \\
\text{THE PREACHER} & \equiv \text{"The sensible voice} \\
\text{of the HOLY SPIRIT."} & \equiv \text{(4)}
\end{align*}
\]

The equation of the preacher with "the sensible voice of the Holy Spirit" is distinctly bold. It was essentially the kind of speculative proposition which appeal to Irving, and as taught by Coleridge in personal converse, cannot have failed to turn his thoughts towards the Holy Spirit in religion, by subconsciously working in his mind.

But Coleridge's influence was perhaps most marked in a general sense. Dr Hanna tells how Chalmers, on returning with Irving after three hours talk with the seer at Highgate, remarked on the obscurity of the sage and declared that he liked to see all sides of an idea before taking it in. "Ha!" said Irving, "You Scotch men would handle an idea as a butcher handles an ox. For my part, I love to see an idea looming through the mist". (1)

It will be seen later however, that Irving had only absorbed a certain quantity of Coleridge's insight, and that there were several compartments of Irving's mind which had not been flooded by the warm light of the great teacher. The influence of Story, McLeod Campbell, & Erskine will be discussed later.

It is now necessary to consider the conservative strain in Irving, which was incongruously combined with the new theology of spiritual emancipation.

Irving's Secession boyhood was seed-time.

As a young man he entered into the spirit of the rejuvenated Church of Scotland, whose fruits were "highflying Presbyterianism, neo-Calvinism, rigid dogmatism, elements which could never be logically reconciled with the new theology, but which satisfied his

(1) Dr Chalmers' "Journal", 13th May, 1827.
almost pathetic craving for the positive & authoritative.

But his obsession for the Absolute demanded a return to the 16th. rather
& 17th. centuries: he had a growing aversion to the sickly
Evangelicalism of his day. He had become so steeped, indeed, in the religious literature of those centuries that he was accused of "affecting the antiquated manner of ages now forgotten!"

"I fear not to confess that Hooker & Taylor & Baxter in Theology
have been my companions, as Shakespeare, Spenser, Milton in
poetry." Dr Alexander Whyte acclaimed Irving as "The Scottish
Hooker". But this is true only in the sense that Allan Ramsay being "The Scottish Theocritus" & Klopstock "The German Milton".

The following passages, though drawn from works published several years previous to the period of Glossolalia, represent certain aspects which were present from the first, and deepened as the years passed. "The Apostolical, the Reformed, the Methodistical, have succeeded each other like the gold, silver, brass & lead ages of Christianity... Depend upon it, there will be no fifth. Ours is to gather together the crew, & warn them of a shipwreck, to undergird the ship, & keep her afloat for a while". "We have experienced the revival of a much inferior evangelical spirit, which I long hoped against hope to see perfected into the Apostolic spirit, but now behold drooping, a temporary & ineffectual shoot." "Verily, the soil is growing thinner & thinner amongst us of the Reformed Churches: the spirit of scepticism is destroying the very capacity of faith: the demonstrations of the intellect, which hold of sight, are destroying the revelations of the word of God, which hold of faith."

Irving was essentially a Churchman. "O study the history of the orthodox faith", he cried in his Ordination Charge at London Wall (1827), "And talk not like an ignorant sectary about Creeds, be of no school. Be fettered by no times, spare no man's prejudice. Preach the Gospel, not the Gospel of the last age or of this age, but the everlasting Gospel." "Imbue thyself with the spirit of our reformers & covenanters, looking through the cloud of the Papal Apostasy at the Presbyterian discipline & primitive worship of the Culdees." "As a churchman thou

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(1) Pref. to "Orations". (2) "Parable of the Sower" (1828) p. 361. ibid. p. 32.
owest brotherly love to the Church of England...but also rebuke for her backslidings in doctrine & discipline."
The Arminianism of the Anglican Church is severely criticised.(1) "A good disposition we utterly reject...then what need were there for the regeneration of the Holy Ghost.")
"To the Nonconformists also, who hold sound doctrine, thou owest brotherly love; and rebuke also for their uncharitable spirit towards all Establishments.
"To the Papist, and to, the Socinian, thou owest no mercy. Supersition and liberality, thou must fight with the two-edged sword of faith". (2)

This faith Irving shared with the rising Evangelical Party of the Church of Scotland, as well as marked political Conservatism, - a blend characteristic of the age.
But Irving showed a decided preference for the 16th. century Standards of the Church;- 
"The Scottish Confession(1560) was the banner of the Church, in all her wrestlings & conflicts, the Westminster Confession but the camp colours which she hath used during her days of peace." A virtue of the Scottish Confession was its "honest style......without affectation of logical precision." (3)
Twice a year he read the Scottish Confession to his congregation.

It will be seen later how Irving found in this earlier 'Standard justification, not only for the doctrines of Christ's Person which were generally deemed heretical, but also for the Apostolic Order with its charismata, which he claimed should be restored.

(1) "The Sower". (2) Charge at London Wall. (3) Irving's pamphlet on the Confession of 1560.
Abnormal developments leading up to the "Gift of Tongues."

The opening of Irving's new church in Regent Square, the finest non-Anglican place of worship in London, on 11th May 1827, was a landmark in his career. Behind lay true greatness: in the future pale & shadowy hands were to beckon him to the mountains of imagination. Chalmers' text on that occasion was a warning: "Ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls." (Jer. 6.16)

The church continued to be well filled, but was no longer crowded. The fashionable had long left. Had they only been drawn to him to be "titillated by his picturesque originality" when he had specially prepared himself for teaching imaginative men, & political men, & legal men, who bear the world in hand? In Carlyle's words, "Fashion went on her idle way and forgot this man, who unhappily could not in his turn forget. The intoxicating draught had been swallowed; no force of natural health could cast it out. Unconsciously, for the most part in deep unconsciousness, there was now the impossibility to live neglected; to walk on the quiet paths, where alone it is well with us. Singularity must henceforth succeed singularity". "For the last seven years Irving....shut himself up in a lesser world of ideas & persons, & lived isolated there." (1)

It must not be imagined, however, that Irving's popularity underwent any sudden eclipse. "That Irving to the very last had abundant "popularity" I know, but also that his own immeasurable quasi-celestial hope remained cruelly blasted, refusing the least bud further. Fallacious resemblances of bud it did shoot out again & again, under his continual fostering & forcing, but real bud never more." (2)

As early as 1824 overwrought imagination & lack of historic sense found dramatic expression in a sermon delivered before the London

(1) Tribute in "Fraser", 1834.
Missionary Society to a huge congregation, when instead of appealing for funds, he tore off the veil of nineteen centuries and held up the example of the Apostles preaching without staff or script as "of continual obligation, "a standing order for the Church". (1) "Though a missionary should go stocked like a trader, & accredited like a royal envoy, when he cometh into close communication with the Spirit of God & the spirit of the people... he will be taught the utter helplessness of all these helps." (2)

Again, we can trace Irving's growing reliance on the simple religion of the heart; "He took men of no name or reputation, by science untaught, by philosophy unschooled; fishermen, Galileans; a people despised of the Jews, who were themselves a despised people." (3)

The "religious world" was infuriated by this "ill-timed rhetorical display", and alienation became more marked each successive year. The dedication of the sermon in printed form to Coleridge gave Irving a reputation for unsound doctrine, which led to the examination of other writings hitherto unsuspected.

His new developments may be grouped in two divisions:

(I) Inferences from the 16th century Standards of the Scottish Church.
(II) His identification with the "Prophetic Movement".

(I) The Spiritual was so real to Irving that the vivid concrete phrases of the Scottish Confession made an immediate appeal to him. Faith was strongly contrasted with prudence & expediency: providence & judgement were in life's immediate foreground.

Again, he found that current Evangelicalism had preached less than the full truth in making the sacraments only "subjective in the believer & not elective in God". The Zwinglian view of the Lord's Supper was decisively rejected, and the gift of the Holy Ghost in Baptism stressed, "conversion" being merely the ripening

(1) L.M.S. Sermon, Works, pp467, 468. (2) ibid. p499. (3) ibid. p. 448.
of the germ. (1) The mere fact that Irving revived "Catholic Theology" (though on Reformed lines) on the very eve of the Oxford Movement illustrates his almost uncanny insight into certain tendencies of his age. From the Scottish Confession too, he drew his view of the Person of Christ, for which he was denounced by a certain clerical busybody, Mr. Cole, for asserting that "the body of Christ was a mortal, corrupt, & corruptible body like that of all mankind". (2) Further publicity resulted from the publication of J.A. Haldane's "Refutation of Mr Irving's Heretical Doctrine" (1828).

The critics completely misunderstood Irving in supposing that he believed in Christ's sinfulness, though he certainly laid himself open to attacks by his one-sided phraseology. The fact is that Irving went behind the prevalent exclusive stress on Christ's Atoning Death to the more catholic doctrine of His Incarnation. "The great point between us is, not whether Christ's flesh (human nature) was holy...but whether during His life it was one with us in all its infirmities & liabilities to temptation, or whether, by the miraculous generation, it underwent a change so as to make it different from the rest of the brethren." (3) "...Whether Christ's flesh had the grace of sinfulness from its own nature, or from the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. I say the latter? (4) This doctrine Irving found in the Scottish Confession. He derived Christ's sinlessness indirectly from God through the Holy Ghost, while his critics derived it directly from God. This stress on the Holy Spirit is significant. For over-emphasis on its power working in men afterwards laid him open to the charge of holding that its working in Christ & in men was simi-

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(1) Mrs. Oliphant, however, exaggerates when she practically equates Irving's view with "Baptismal Regeneration", as taught later by the Tractarians. (2) J. Hair, "Regent Square" (1899), p90. (3) Preface, "Human Nature of Christ." (4) Preface, "The Incarnation."
in nature & different only in degree. It certainly led in practice to "Perfectionism" in the Irvingite Circle, and then to a belief that the "Gifted" were mouthpieces of the Holy Spirit, when "in the power".

It was only gradually that the question of the continuance of the Apostolic Age engaged Irving's attention. For in 1822 he firmly believed "That in Apostolic times, there were those who could speak with the tongues of men & of angels... but who from want of charity were as sounding brass."(1)

In 1824 we notice a change:(2). This attitude is accentuated in his notes on "The First Book of Discipline":- "Today the gifts of the Spirit are not looked for by the presbyters, but certificates of professors, & petty attainments in literature & science; and flood of such unspiritual, un gifted persons are poured upon the Churches. I am one who feels that the bondage of this system, and wait on Divine Providence for a call and the work of the Spirit for a warrant to restore to the Church its ancient liberty. And I believe I shall not wait long, when it shall please the Holy Ghost to furnish men with gifts to fit them for apostles, prophets, evangelists, discers of spirits, speakers with tongues & interpreters of tongues. I am prepared for my part, and will seek to show my brethren their duty to concur with me."(3)

The idea of a "Weekly Exercise" appealed particularly to Irving. 1st.Bk.of Discipline:-

"That the kirk have judgement & knowledge of the graces, gifts, & utterances of every man; the simple, & such as have somewhat profited, shall be encouraged daily to study & prove in knowledge... and every man shall have liberty to utter & declare his mind".

Irving asks;- "Where is this ordinance now? I have no hesitation in saying, that, for want of this ordinance the Holy Ghost hath been more grieved & quenched than by almost anything else; and our church meetings from being for edification of the brethren by the Holy Ghost showing himself in the variously gifted persons, have become merely places for preaching". Preaching has its place,"but something is wanted besides."

Further, he thinks that "the office of reader ought to be revived that the Spirit might have liberty to draw out the gifts of his servants & show himself in His Church, which he is entirely prevented from doing. Not a man may open his lips of a thousand persons save one only."

(1) v."Orations",p386. (2)L.M.S.Sermon ,p14.
(3)Notes on "1st.Bk.of Discipline",p613.
"What a divergence from the primitive Church, " from the platform of our Reformed Church. "But to revive it, as our Churches are now constituted, would cause great confusion, and perhaps do more harm than good."

Commenting on the "Second Book of Discipline" he notes that "While it is stated that three out of five orders (Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists) were extraordinary & temporary, it is not declared they were done away with; but, contrarily, that God extraordinarily for a time may stir some of them up again.

He adds; "There is no hint in Scripture of the withdrawal of the gifts.....I do not mean to place them by the side of the Twelve Apostles. Gifts are now in the Church & not in any order of men. But we may not say that the Apostolic office hath ceased; and I believe the prophetic office to be in the Church at this day.

"To the doctrine that they have been withdrawn by any act of God, I can never subscribe.
"To the fact that they have not been apparent, I confess with shame and confusion.
"To the hope that they all are reviving & will soon be manifested, I cleave with strong assurance.

I hope to see the day when not ecclesiastical courts, of which we hear nothing in Scripture except for emergencies, but persons apostolical, evangelical, prophetical...shall rule over the Word of God".

It should be noted that Irving explains away the 2nd.Bk.of Discipline's distinction between "ordinary" & "extraordinary" calling, by God immediately, as was that of the prophets & apostles, "which in kirks established & already well reformed, hath no place".

This he dismisses as "a hasty conclusion drawn from a low & faithless estate of the Church." "I believe that the call of God is neither more or less than the gift of the Holy Ghost for that particular office; which, being received by anyone he exerciseth before the Church, and the Church, discriminating...recogniseth the gift".

The 1560 Confession to Irving "Seemed good against the modern notion of a spiritual coming of Christ(as they term it)-rather than in the person." "This is sound doctrine; I who am a Millenarian, ask no other Confession of my Creed."
The last statement links up the "Apostolic" & "Prophetic" in Irving's Thought. The latter element must now be examined.

(II)

Irving was a child of his age. We must therefore modify a natural tendency to dismiss him as an obscurantist, by remembering that he flourished in the flush of the great Religious Reaction which followed the French Revolution — the fall of Napoleon — a movement not conspicuous for enlightenment.

"When peasants & artizans were found to be imbibing the infidelity as well as the republicanism of Paine, orthodoxy came again into fashion....and from this period religion became a factor of more importance in the national life than it had been since the days of Cromwell."(1)

Men of the 18th. century, like Lord Cockburn, felt the full force of the landslide: - "Everything in the Empire is tinged for the present with Church". (2)

Evangelicalism was impelled by its zeal, but utterly unprepared in other respects to take the lead in this holy crusade.

Joseph Milner, whose "Church History" ranks with Scott's "Commentary" as the chief product of Evangelical scholarship, declared that "moral philosophy & metaphysics have ever been dangerous to religion", and sought to persuade his brethren from "deep researches...of any kind." (3)

Romaine held that the Greeks & Romans in regard to a knowledge of God were "no better than Hottentots", and during a brief professorship of astronomy sought to damp the ardour of his students by propounding such questions as these; "Were dying sinners ever comforted by the spots on the moon? Was ever miser reclaimed by Juppiter's belts? etc". (4)

It was not that no light had been vouchsafed to the Age; for had not "the new insight & passion arising from a larger & closer study of nature & humanity, poured itself forth in poetry?"(5)

What of the genius of Coleridge, so seminal in the world of thought & criticism? Or of that group of scholars-

"The Oriel School", who re-interpreted the new German Criticism...

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(1) J. L. Matheson, "Ch. & Reform in Scotland, 1797-1843", p. 263.
in the terms of Christian experience in the 'twenties?
Or of Erskine & McLeod Campbell's recognition in Scotland of the 'Christian Consciousness'?

This new light was generally disregarded. In a theological public opinion so unenlightened it was not surprising that there would soon arise the un-historial claims of the Oxford Movement.

The German hypothesis as to the composition of the Gospels was deemed by Bishop Horne—"Not only detrimental to the character of the sacred writings, but also as diminishing the value & importance of their testimony, and further, as tending to sap the inspiration of the New Testament".

"The mere fact", says Principal Tulloch, "that the Biblical studies of the age were mainly pursued under the guidance of this book, entirely uncritical in its spirit & method— is the best evidence of how low these studies had sunk, and how little the theological mind of the time was prepared to welcome such an essay as Thirlwall's (StLuke)?(1)

If such was the clerical level, we can well understand that to enlightened thinkers like Whately the majority of people seemed to live in an atmosphere of delusion, making N.T. writers responsible for notions that, to a just & intelligent criticism, had no existence there, and indeed were contrary to its spirit & teaching rightly interpreted. "Criticism" was merely a signal for such people to retire within the shell of Verbal Inspiration and to remain there on the defensive.

This granted, the 'insight' of the O.T.prophets and of the writers of Daniel & Revelation was entirely overlooked in favour of their 'foresight'. The prevailing 'mass psychology' was one of alarm, fear & expectation of the "end of the age". The fury & violence of the French Revolution was succeeded by the meteor-like passage of Napoleon. If the prelude was so striking, what would be the consummation? Nor was the Apocalyptic Spirit

(1) Irving wrote an able Introduction to Horne's widely circulated Commentary on the Psalms. v. Tulloch, "Religious Thought in 19th C." 177.
entirely confined to pietistic cliques, but found expression in poetry in Byron's "Earth & Heaven" & in Moore's "Love of the Angels". In art in the pictures of Danby & Martin. In religious circles, however, the tendency to dwell on the future was intensified. Christianity was conceived of as "a scheme of salvation authenticated by miracles, and so to speak, interpolated into human history. And so Philosophy, Literature, Art & Science were conceived of apart from religion." (1)

Prejudice could therefore do its work. Radicalism & infidelity were closely associated. The Whigs, associated with the "Edinburgh Review" were deemed sceptical & latitudinarian, ready to play into the hands of Roman Catholics craving for emancipation; Toryism was the bulwark not only of the Constitution but of Religion for as Cockburn said- "Devotion has changed its place & gone to the higher ranks." (2)

And, not least, the success of the Continental Catholic Revival had provoked a widespread fear of "Popery".

There was a general demand for books dealing with "unfulfilled prophecy". But works like Faber's "Dissertations" were general rather than particular in application. The ingenious Natley Frere had for some years been looking for a man who had the ear of the public, through whom he might broadcast his special interpretation. (3)

The receptive ear he found in Irving, who was only too ready to hear, adopt, & preach the new doctrine. "Henceforth the gorgeous & cloudy vistas of the Apocalypse became a legible chart of the future to his fervent eyes." (4)

He had crossed the Rubicon. The new influence was only too evident in a sermon preached before "The Continental Missionary Association", dedicated to Frere in book form as "Babylon & Infidel..." (5)

foredoomed". "I had no rest in spirit until I offered myself as your pupil" wrote Irving.

There was little originality in the book. Millenarian tenets had never disappeared in the Christian Church and consisted broadly in:— (1) A final impending battle with God's enemies. (2) The speedy return of Christ, (3) Who will judge all men, (4) and establish His kingdom on earth, which would last a thousand years.

In spite of Augustine's teaching that the millennial kingdom was already an accomplished fact, having commenced at the appearing of Christ, the old Millenarianism was transmitted through the ages in an under-current which burst out from time to time during the Middle Ages (e.g. Joachim of Floris), appeared in uncompromising strength in 16th century Anabaptism, and though disowned as "opinions judiciales" by the orthodox Reformers, found its way in a milder form into Protestant Pietistic circles, where it was closely associated with the belief in Verbal Inspiration & "Revivalism". (1)

The common stock Irving worked into a Philosophy of History by elaborate symbolisation, Daniel & Revelation being regarded as puzzles verifying each other's predictions.

For 1269 years the Saints were to be delivered over to the "little horn" (the Pope) i.e. 533 A.D. - 1793 A.D. The French Revolution, with its proscription of Christianity, the new Missionary Movement, mechanical progress — were all regarded as "signs of the end". The Second Coming was fixed 75 years following 1793. With a little re-adjustment the scheme might almost have been taken from a modern "British Israelite" pamphlet (e.g. "Superior spirit... blessings of God on British nation"). (2)

One is struck by Irving's sectarian bitterness & recklessness dogmatism. "The Reformed Church hath set aside faith in the Scriptures, and builds upon the common sense of mankind & were better to acknowledge Paine's 'Age of Reason' than the Gospel. "Poetry in Germany... the whole philosophy of Europe serveth infidelity". (3) "There is nothing but rationalism in religion & liberalism in politics". (4) "Even among such as are spiritual... there is a constant appeal to the useful. The intellect hath become all sufficient." (5) "They have come to idolise their natural knowledge... The Church is in the Laodicean State". (6) "The cloudy German, and the phlegmatic Hollander... the hardy Switzer are accused in particular of choking the seed with "the wild weeds of the human understanding." (7)

(1) Ency. Brit. "Millennium". (2) Continental Missionary Sermon. p368. (3) ibid., p308. (4) ibid. p.313. i.e. "Babylon & Infidelity..." (5) ibid. p.265. (6) ibid. p274. (7) It will be remembered that British Evangelicals were active at this time in trying to "revive" Continental Protestantism, efforts not always appreciated.
The British government, through "wicked patronage" is endeavouring to keep down "every spiritual minister as if he had the plague-spot on his forehead", while the dissenter is too full of political grievances, a sad declension from the "Puritan or Seceder of the ancient spirit". As an opponent of political Reform and Catholic Emancipation, he loathes "the specious name of toleration & liberalzity". "When our rulers permit to the worshippers of the beast, the same honours, immunities & trusts which they permit to the worshippers of the true God—that day our national charter is forfeited & we are sealed no more".(1)

It is unnecessary to quote more to illustrate Irving's growing alienation from the best thought of the age, intensified by his translation of the work of (strange to say) a Spanish Jesuit, to which he contributed a lengthy Introduction.(2)

"O Edward Irving! O Edward Irving!" cried Coleridge. "By what fascination could your spirit be drawn away from passages like These-salonians 2(1-10), to guess & dream over the rhapsodies of the Apostle.....to befit a dreaming Talmudist not a Scriptural Christian." "I preclude all prognostication of time, event, mode, persons & place of the accomplishment. It may be long before Edward Irving sees how much grander a front his system would have presented had he trusted to the proof of Scripture of undisputed catholicity, to the spirit of the whole Bible, its fitness to satisfy the needs & capacities of mankind, & its harmony with the general plan of the divine dealings with the world, and left the Apocalypse in the background. But alas! He has made the main strength of his hope to rest on a vision." (3)

It is one of the tragedies of Church History that one who had the ear of the public to so great an extent should have adopted the obscurantist views then so popular, instead of popularising the rich seminal thought of Coleridge, Erskine, & the Oriel School, -who had the treasure, but could not unlock it. Had he done so, he might have enlarged & modified English & Scottish Evangelicalism without impairing their ardour, thus preparing the Churches for the sudden outburst of Criticism later in the century.

But Irving was carried along by the swirling torrent of impulse, undir

by logic or consistency. "He had many thoughts pregnantly expressed, but they did not all tend one way." His thought flowed along, "not as a swift flowing river, but as a broad, deep & bending or meandering one. Sometimes it left with you the impression almost of a fine noteworthy lake." (1)

His conceptions were too often merely the raw material of impressions made on him by circumstances, or by those with whom he was intimate, unsifted & coloured by a restless, imaginative & rather morbid temperament, associated with a love of congenial companionship. e.g. He must have owed much of his uncritical hatred of "Utilitarianism" (the growing faith of so many in "eform & mechanical progress") to Carlyle. But Irving could not bear the relative: his judgement was apt to be absolute in everything.

Carlyle describes his visit in the spring of 1827 at Edinburgh: "He was very friendly, but had the look of trouble, of haste, & confused anxiety, sadly unlike his old self. He talked with an undeniable self-consciousness, & something which you could not admit but to be religious mannerism. 'Farewell! I must go then & suffer persecution as my fathers have done' - were his last words. It made one drearily sad. 'Dreary', that is the word." (2)

While in 1831, "He was surrounded by weak people, mostly echoes of himself. He found Democracy a thing forbidden & leading to outer darkness: I, a thing inevitable." (3)

It is only right however, that Irving's age should bear part of the blame, as has been already suggested.

To find so sane a man even as Dr Arnold writing in 1831: "Whether this be a real sign, or not (i.e. the first manifestations of glossolalia at Fort Glasgow), I believe that 'the day of the Lord' commenced, i.e. the termination of one of the great works of the human race; the termination of the Jewish in the first century, of the Roman in the 5th & 6th, were each marked by the same concomitance of calamities, wars, tumults, etc. And society in Europe seems going on fast for a similar revolution." (4)

Napoleon's lurid words "I have always followed fortune & the god of war" (5) seemed but portents of what was to follow.

As 1838 approached, strikes & unrest became chronic in Britain, and on the Continent Revolution shook the thrones that had been established before the "Council of Ancients".
re-established in 1815. Irving was merely obsessed with a question with which everyone was concerned. It is significant that his "Last Days" was edited as late as 1850 under such orthodox auspices as those of Dr Horatius Bonar.

Irving's dogmatism was now intensified through the decision of the Scots Presbytery of London that his "Orthodox & Catholic Doctrine of Our Lord's Human Nature" contained "errors subversive of the great doctrines of Christianity". He was however loyally supported by his congregation which repudiated not only the charges, but the jurisdiction of the Presbytery of London, which they were enabled to do, being technically a voluntary association. (15th December 1830). He was now a "freelance" dependent on the support of the congregation of Regent Square. But his 'prophetic teaching' had by 1826 drawn him into close fellowship with kindred spirits, some of them men who were to distinguish themselves in later life.

The presiding genius of this circle was the remarkable Henry Drummond (1786-1860) the banker, who in 1817 "satiated with the empty frivolities of the fashionable world", broke up his hunting establishment, & was on the point of leaving for Palestine, when he came to Geneva just as Robert Haldane was leaving it, and continued Haldane's movement against the Socinian tendencies of the authorities; On his forced withdrawal to French soil, he continued to foster a separate Evangelical body.

Drummond conceived the project of inviting a group of those interested in "Prophecy" to a week's conference at his country house-Albury Court, Surrey. There were present at the first meeting in 1826 19 clergy of the Church of England, 2 dissenting & 4 Church of Scotland ministers (among whom was Irving, who had brought his friend Robert Story of Roseneath). There was Hugh McNeil,
an Irishman & Rector of Albury, who withdrew from the Irvingite circle shortly after the outbreak of Glossolalia, and was for many years the leader, politically of the Conservative Party & ecclesiastically of the Evangelicals, in Liverpool. Daniel Wilson became famous later as Bishop of Calcutta.

Joseph Wolff (1795-1862) a German Jew, converted to Roman Catholicism & later to Anglicanism, was introduced on his return from missionary wanderings in the East by Irving to the Walpole family; he was a born enthusiast, setting out in 1828 in search of the "Ten Tribes" & spending most of his life travelling in India, Armenia & Abyssinia.

Then there were Hatley Frere, Percival Spencer (son of the murdered Cabinet minister), and one Tudor (a Welshman), editor of the "Morning Watch" - a periodical started as the organ of the movement.

These Conferences were held annually till 1830.

There was "perfect unanimity" on the following points:

(1) That the Christian Dispensation was to be terminated, ending in destruction of the visible Church, (as the Jewish Ch. had been destroyed) during the "judgements" the Jews were to be restored to Palestine. (2) The "judgements" were to fall principally if not exclusively upon Christendom. (3) That the 1260 years commenced with Justinian & terminated in 1795, and that the vials of the Apocalypse began to be poured out; and that the Lord would appear shortly, and that therefore it was the duty of all to press these considerations on the attention of all men. (1)

Academic views of the Second Coming gave way to a thoroughgoing Millenarianism. A sermon of the Rev. N. Armstrong (an Irishman), preached at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, was typical. The New Jerusalem was to be established on the site of Rome; "Our inheritance shall be dominion over the creation: we shall rule angels: we shall rule the earth."

And Irving: "O ye niggardly spiritualisers, ye pharisaical contemn-ers of the material creation! For my part I expect to see the Lord eye to eye, in bodily form, not in spiritual drapery, I do expect to look upon, & to rule over this world purified & redeemed, & occupied by living creatures in flesh & blood". (2)

(It will be observed how Judaistic conceptions current in the early Church & persisting in Montanism, were revived).

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This emphasis on the material is in striking contrast to a parallel stress on the spiritual. e.g., "Confessions are but a veil cast over the face of God". (3) "The Bible itself may become an idol and stand in the way of the spirit... The amazing prevalence of the notion that faith is no more than the truths believed, which operate like any other truths by a natural influence to produce spiritual life, proves how much the Spirit hath departed. Zeal is

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(1) v. Miller's "Irvingism", (2) "Last Days", p. 362. (3) Iris. on Larger Catech.
not for the Everlasting Word, but for the "written Word". (1)

Here, Irving is unfaithful to the Orthodoxy on which he elsewhere so sternly insists (e.g. Notes on Scottish Confession). But it is hopeless to look for consistency in Irving.

As 1830 drew near, the Albury School tended to stress the preparations ("signs") of the Second Coming, rather than the event itself. Hence the material aspect of the Millenium was thrust into the background, and the spiritual element came to the front. "If the period be not actually arrived, it is fast approaching when it will be necessary for the Holy Ghost to make himself manifest to God's children by visible signs, as it was in the first ages of Christianity". (2)

The anti-intellectualist prejudice already noted is now clearly expressed in the expectation that "An order of men will be raised up to use Christ's eyes with Christ's heart", to face an opposition of "clear headed men", "men of sleek speech", "of clear understanding but little faith", in whom "the Spirit speaks not". (3)

"We seem", said Irving, "To be relapsing into the condition of those disciples in Acts who did not know that there was a Holy Ghost." The Spirit must be present personally to produce any change upon the heart & life of man. "Where are the rich outpourings of doctrine—where the large manifestations of varied truth—where the huge volume of fat & savoury food, which rejoiced the former ages of the Church?" (4)

There was a craving for the gifts of the Spirit and an atmosphere conducive to charismata. It was therefore not surprising that on the last day of the last Albury Conference, July 1830, on knowledge reaching the gathering of manifestations having occurred in the West of Scotland, it was proposed and agreed:

"That it is our duty to pray for the revival of the gifts manifested in the primitive Church—healing, miracles, prophecy, kinds of tongues & interpretations of tongues, and that a responsibility lies on us to enquire into the state of those gifts said to be now present in the West of Scotland."

This was the crucial moment. We stand on the threshold of the revival of "THE GIFT OF TONGUES".

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(1) Irving, "Idolatry", 48, 80. (2) "Morning Watch", No. 7, p. 621.
(3) ibid. p. 633. (4) "Idolatry", 81, 82.
"Christianity came into a world disillusioned and despairing, heartweary, and morally ineffective, and presented itself to that world, in Harnack's phrase, as 'the religion of the Spirit and Power'.
And the dominant note of it is certainly Power, Dynamite (δυνάμεις).

The triumph of Christianity in the Empire was the triumph of ethical achievement. For those generations, beyond any doubt, Christianity meant primarily life re-charged and re-directed."

(F.R. Barry, "Christianity and "Psychology". pp.139,140)
CHAPTER II.
GLOSSOLALIA AND COGNATE PHENOMENA IN ANCIENT TIMES.

"The Divine Wisdom in all ages entering into holy souls, maketh them friends of God & prophets."
(Wisdom.7.27)

A necessary preliminary to the examination of the revival of Apostolic charismata in Irving's time, is the study not only of the "Gift of Tongues" in the Early Church, but also of Inspiration, Possession & Prophecying in Hebrew History, pagan cults & primitive religion. For the roots of Glossolalia lie deep in the past, entwined in the multifarious fibres of the human soul: in a later part of the Thesis an explanation will be attempted along psychological lines. For the present, some of the conditions giving rise to Glossolalia will be examined. And it will be seen that the phenomenon can be traced back to the earliest days, which was to find unique expression at Pentecost.

Section 1.
In Hebrew Experience.

One of the leading Hebrew beliefs was the potency of "breath" or "spirit" (ני), the violent, fitful gusts of the storm blast. But not till after the Exile was "spirit" conceived of as the animating principle of human life. י was originally associated with Yaweh and connected with Him in the creation & sustenance of life, and in the communication to man of preternatural gifts of intellect, leadership, & strength.
e.g. In Job 27.3, man’s breath-soul is a fragment, struck off, so to speak— from the Spirit of God, & finding a temporary dwelling-place in man. Death is the withdrawal from man of the ‘Spirit’ gathered back by God (Ps. 104.29).

"The Lord took of the spirit that was upon Moses, & put it upon the seventy elders... & when the spirit rested upon them, they prophesied; but they did no more" (Numbers 11.26)

"The spirit of the Lord came mightily upon (Samson)... & he smote 30 men" (Judges 14.19. & 16.20).

Many instances similar to the above could be collected without difficulty. The Spirit, it should be observed, was conceived of as something not only abnormal & fitful, but not necessarily moral. e.g. Saul is troubled with "an evil spirit from the Lord" (I Sam. 16.14). "The Lord put a lying spirit in the mouth of the prophets"—"to entice" Ahab. (I Kings, 22:22; 23).

Nor was there any assured belief in the personality of the Spirit, which was felt to be an energy, with its source in God coming into touch with man.

In early Hebrew History the loss of self-control was regarded as the surest sign that God had assumed direction of a man’s mind & faculties; there could only be most of the divine—where there was least of the human. We have a dramatic example in the case of Saul. "The spirit of the Lord" comes upon him and he is "turned into another man" (I Sam. 10.6), "And he also stripped off his clothes and prophesied, and lay down naked all that day & all that night. Therefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?" (I Sam. 19.24)

"The whole process of this dervish-like frenzy, is due to an overpowering sense of the deity—crude & unintelligible if you will, but sincere & authentic—which seems to haunt the early stages of all religions, and to linger among with the stagnant & unprogressive! (1)

In Baal, we find more immediate interest, as a trance speaker, automatically inspired. He disclaims any personal responsibility for what he says (Numbers 22:18 & 38); —"Have I any power to speak any thing? The word that God putteth into my mouth, that shall I speak! His message was not in line with volition, yet its urgency ultimately proved superior to the magnet-like suggestion of those around him.

(1) Prof. Lewis Humphries, "The Holy Spirit in Faith & Experience". pp. 41–42.
But Moseo was the first of a line of prophets of a more spiritual & ethical type, who are represented as understanding their message, "as compared to the prevailing Gentile idea, afterwards developed by the Montanists, & now held by some Pentecostal groups, that the more really inspired a man was the less control he had over himself." (1)

Amos stands apart from the Prophetic Guilds. Hosea declares; - "The prophet is a fool, the man that hath the spirit is mad". (Hos.9.7.) And the practical sense of Jehu's companions was by no means awed by the dramatic message of the prophet sent by Elisha; "Wherefore came this mad fellow to thee?...It is false". (IIKings9;11,12)

A clear distinction is made in the O.T. between the prophet who has a genuine message from God and the mere popularity-seeker (Jer.14;13-16), the shrewd fellow with energy & psychic power, stealing words from his neighbour (Jer.23,30), delivering oracles at short notice. e.g. The well-worn shibboleth "burden", based on precedent in accordance with the will of his audience - is discredited. (I Kings 22)

Jeremiah, on the other hand, knew when to be silent even when contradicted by Hananiah (Jer.28). (2) We have the grim, mysterious 'inhibitions' of Ezekiel, coupled with fiery compulsion (Ezek.3;16-21)

The true prophet, his life disciplined - his whole consciousness illuminated by the spirit of God, looks not for visions & auditions as ends in themselves (they might or might not follow), but - "ponder's long o'er the condition of his people, the will of God, & the problem of his own duty. Then some day suddenly the sought-for solution rushes...upon his tongue, and it is almost inevitable that he should preface it with the words: 'Thus spake showed me!' " (3)

During the Hellenistic period of Hebrew History, prophecy is at a discount and there is a paucity of references to the Spirit. In Apocalyptic literature there is an attempt to safeguard the transcendence of God & yet provide some sort of supernatural contact with the world, by the interposition of a host of

spiritual beings—the title "Lord of Spirits" is accorded to Yawejpi 100 times in the Book of Enoch. In Jewish-Alexandrian circles there was a tendency to identify "Spirit" with the practical "wisdom" of the sage (as in "Proverbs"), which has supplanted prophecy, and also with Hellenistic "Reason" (λογικός in Bk. of Wisdom).

There was a gain in that the conception was universalised, instead of being regarded as intermittent, "a light that flashed for a moment out of prevailing darkness... into an alien world." (1)

"The Spirit of the Lord has filled the world; (it) holds all things together; (it) is in all things" (Wisdom I:7, 7.21, 11.24)

Nor is the gift of the Spirit limited to Israel; Philo speaks of "the pure wisdom of which every man partakes." (2)

This gain in universality was however accompanied by a shrinkage in connotation; it more easily suggested a principle than a person. Professor Swete has said;

"The O.T. conception of prophesy was degraded by inspiration being regarded as an ἐνδοσύμφωνος, a possession which overpowers the prophet's reason, turning him into a mere instrument upon which the Spirit plays. Of the elevation of the moral "spiritual life of man by the immanent spirit of God Philo seems to have no knowledge." (3)

This is borne out by the following passage;

"For the understanding that dwells in us is ousted on the arrival of the Divine Spirit, but is restored to its own dwelling when the Spirit departs, for it is unlawful that mortal should dwell with immortal." (4)

It will be seen that there was a tendency to revert to an earlier Hebrew idea of inspiration in the Hellenistic period, (5)—a conception which had notable parallels in current pagan cults.

Section 2.

"Inspiration" in primitive religion & in pagan cults.

Notes (1) T. Rees, Mansfield Coll. Essays, "H.S. as Wisdom". (2) De Gigant. 5f. 12. (3) H.S. in N.T. (4) Philo, Quis Rer. Div. Haeres. c. 53. (5) N.T. citation of O.T. passages suggests the prevalence of a mechanical conception of inspiration. e.g. Litt. 1.22. 2, 5, 12-17. The Holy Ghost "utters" (Heb. 3.7; 9.8) "No prophecy ever came by the will of man: but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost." (II Peter 1.21)
"Among the lower races & high above their level, morbid ecstasy brought on by meditation, fasting, excitement or disease, is a state common & held in honour. Under its influence the barriers between sensation & imagination utterly break down."

(E.B.Tylor, "Prim.Culture", I.305, 1903)

It is important to bear in mind the light which Anthropologists have thrown on Possession in primitive times, for primitive traits have not only survived in Hebrew History & Graec (co-)Oriental Religions, but have in modern days surged through the crust of civilization in the most amazing manner.

Ecstasy, disease, madness were explained in the ancient world (1) as due to the operation of a second soul-like being, a spirit. So Homer’s sick men, racked with pain, are tormented by a hateful demon (ματαιός ὁ θάνατος). Epilepsy (επιληψις) was, as its name imports, the seizure of the patient by a superhuman agent. So Alexander ascribed to the influence of Dionysius the ungovernable drunken fury in which he killed his friend Cleitos.

While the ‘demons’ of the N.T. period survived for many centuries in Christian Church. Here we must consider Oracular Inspiration more closely. Dr Tylor describes how in the Sandwich Islands the god Oro gave his oracles through a priest "who ceased to act or speak as a voluntary agent, but with his limbs convulsed, his features distorted, his eyes wild & strained, he would roll on the ground foaming at the mouth, and reveal the will of the god in shrill cries & sounds violent & indistinct, which the attending priests duly interpreted to the people." (2)

"But could a South Sea Islander”, continues Dr Tylor, "have gone to Delphi to watch the convulsive struggles of the Pythia, & listen to her ravings, shrieking utterances, he would have needed no explanation whatever of a rite so absolutely in conformity with his own savage philosophy." (3)

The Pythia, after careful ascetic preparation, seated herself on a tripod over a fissure in the ground through which a draught of air ascended; this combined with other mantic stimulants, would be enough to throw a believing medium into a condition of mental seizure. Thereupon the Pythia (a virtuous woman of the lower classes) would deliver her oracles under the direct afflatus of the god.

(1) "An accepted tenet even of Greek Philosophy"—Tylor, "Prim.Culture" II.137. (2) ibid.II.14. (3)ibid.II.138.
"It is probable that what she uttered were only unintelligible
murmurs, and that these were interpreted into relevance & set in
metics or prose sentences by the 'prophet' and ὅσιοι ,members of
leading Delphic families, who sat round the tripod, received the
questions of the consultant beforehand, probably in writing, &
usually considered the answers that should be given". (1)

In a famous passage Plato declared;— "God has given the art of
divination not to the wisdom, but to the foolishness of man;
for no man, when in his wits, attains prophetic truth & inspiration;
but when he receives the inspired word either his intelligence
is enthralled by sleep, or he is demented by some distemper or
possession". (2)

With regard to the above quotations, it is important to
notice that there are two stages. (1) The delivery of the oracle, which
is by itself incomprehensible. (2) Its interpretation by others than
the person who delivers the oracle. Plato adds;—

"He who would understand what he remembers to have been said,
by the prophetic & enthusiastic nature, must first recover his wits;
and then he will be able to explain rationally what all such words
mean. But while he continues demented , he cannot judge. And for
this reason it is customary to appoint diviners or interpreters to
be judges of the true interpretation." (3)

But it was the possession which was stressed;—

(Plato, Ion 434.B)

Proclus, as the last great Neo-Platonist illustrates the survival
of the phenomenon in the 5th century A.D. "Going out of themselves
they are wholly established with the gods « possessed by them". (4)

Two cases may be taken from Classical Latin Literature;

Virgil draws a lifelike portrait of the prophetess"speaking with
tongues". He depicts her quick changes of colour, her dishevelled
hair, her panting breast, her apparent increase of stature as the
god draws nigh and fills her with his divine afflatus, when her
voice loses its mortal ring—'nec mortale sonans'. (5)

Lucan;—"Montemque priorum expulit atque hominem toto sibi cedere
jussit pectore"(Prove out her former inner life & bade the human
being yield to him wholeheartedly.). (6)

The "Mystery Religions" exercised a mighty influence during
the N.T. period, when Rome by her imperial administration gave
an impetus to the religious syncretism which was in the air'.

Here we find phenomena cognate to the Glossolalia which existed in

the Apostolic Church, suggesting that while direct imitation was unlikely, inspired speaking was not peculiar to the Christian communities. The idea of νευμα referring to the direct influence of God over men had made a profound impression on the popular mind, though as Professor H.A.A. Kennedy pointed out in "StPaul & the Mystery Religions" νευμα, μυστήρια were loosely used in varying senses, as scientific terms commonly are. (1)

It would be possible to give many examples from the documents of the Mystery Cults such as: "Hail, Spirit that enters into me". "Take up your stand & draw the νευμα from the Divine & say, 'Come to me, Lord'." (2)

The Magical Papyri moreover contain specimens language used by inspired persons, such as the invocation of Hermes in the Leiden Papyrus:-

(3)"

One characteristic of the Mystery Religions which seems to have found expression in the Corinthian Church, & later among the Montanists & Irvingites, is "Gnosis"—the direct pathway to spiritual perfection, a supernatural gift unattainable through reflection. Akin to this is ζωονω, belonging to the man endowed with νευμα, enabling him to become transformed in essence.

Consider the following citation,—the conception of Gnosis is quite alien to StPaul's in Eph.1.17;— "You do not recognise that you are now θεος & a child of the One". (4)

Bearing this in mind, we will find in our examination of Glossolalia at Corinth & in the Irvingite circle, that the phenomena were essentially not in themselves Christian; if regarded from StPaul's standpoint they were secondary charismata quite in order if not prized as ends in themselves; BUT IF EXCLUSIVELY VALUED FOR THEIR OWN SAKE IDENTICAL DEGRADATIONS OF PRIMITIVE TRAITS UNPRODUCTIVE OF SPIRITUAL FRUIT.

Section 1. Predecessors of the Irvingites
(Camisards, Shakers etc.) .......... p 175.
2. Glossolalia in America & elsewhere in
   the 19th. century. ................. p 182.

"Any religion can make people 'speak with tongues'."
(F. R. Barry, "Christianity and Psychology", p 123.)
Section 3.

The Uprush of Spiritual Life at Pentecost.

It is well to bear in mind the fact during the N.T. period "there was a widespread diffusion of the Holy Spirit over the Roman world. It was manifested abnormally & explosively by extraordinary elevation of human faculties, so that miracles, prophecy, glossolaly, & visions were abundant; more normally in great enthusiasm, new courage...sound knowledge of human character & comfort in suffering." (1)

The tendency was reflected in Seneca’s words;—

"God is near you, with you, within you. A holy spirit sits within us, watcher of our good & evil deeds. Can anyone rise superior to fortune save with God’s help?"

And among the early Christian believers "the presence & working of the Spirit of God are no longer conceived of as rare & isolated phenomena, but as entering into all Christian thought & work, an element in life so constantly meeting the observer, that the briefest of names was sufficient to indicate it".

In some passages in the N.T. πνεῦμα is used without the article in the familiar impersonal sense of Divine energy (e.g. Luke 11.13): in others personality is suggested (e.g. Mark 3.29)

Certainly, the whole conception of the promised Paraclete in the upper room, as presented by the Fourth Evangelist, moves well with—in the region of Personality. The Spirit was, so to speak, to fill the vacancy after the Crucifixion; the gift & the giver were to be one (John 14.26). Between Easter & Pentecost the minds which had been thrown into confusion by the Crucifixion steadied themselves. Peter’s address at Pentecost clearly shows how the interval had been spent in assimilating the truth that Christ was the fulfillment of prophetic ideals. The content of their faith was further enriched by Christ’s promise of "power, when the Holy Spirit is come upon you," before the Ascension. The Ascension meant that to

the disciples Christ's definite release from the restrictions of Incarnation. The way was open for the full manifestation of the Holy Spirit. And so, "these with one accord continued steadfast in prayer..."

The leaven was at work. It was only natural that ferment should result in explosion, as soon as occasion should offer itself. The passover was already over, but Pentecost the anniversary of the giving of the Law on Sinai, occurred fifty days later while the disciples tarried in Jerusalem. A census in Nero's reign gives 2,500,000 Passover pilgrims, but it has been estimated that Pentecost was even more popular, as it offered better weather for travelling.

The presence of such a dense mass of humanity is alone enough to produce excitement, quite apart from the fact that in this case the crowd consisted mainly of enthusiastic Asiatic pilgrims who had come up to their beloved Zion from all parts of the Empire, divided in language but united in their common faith.

Dr. Dawson Walker in "The Gift of Tongues" (1906) accepts Josephus' opinion that "it was the custom of the priests to open the gates of the Temple at midnight," so that the pilgrims might enter & have their gifts examined before the morning sacrifice.

We can well understand that "when the day of Pentecost was come" and the disciples were "all together in one place" (probably a chamber within the Temple precincts) spontaneous enthusiasm breaking through normal consciousness in "other tongues" should attract the multitude, who would rush to the scene of the disturbance (as crowds always do), and catching ecstatic praise-expressions would cry "Why, that is our language! And these men are Galileans!"

It should be observed that instead of ἑλέσθαι (Acts 2.4.) ἅλλοις γεγονοτε and Ἵελλαν (Acts 2.4.) ἅλλοις γεγονοτε is used. (This is the same word which we find in the LXX for oracular utterances, true or false). The onlookers were amazed, not so much at the "speaking in tongues", with which they were probably familiar as an expression of ecstasy, but because some of them thought that they heard their own tongues on the lips of strangers. But judging from the remarks of others - the scene was disorderly; Peter in his defence had to give some other explanation of the paraesthesia than the drunkenness which it suggested. After this explanation Peter significantly gives no further light on the nature of the tongues; he declares that the promised days of universal praise & salvation have arrived, then presses on to deal with Christ's Crucifixion & Resurrection. The "tongues" had produced confusion & derision; they were the mere concomitants of a spiritual revolution. It was Peter's sermon which pricked their consciences.

and led to the baptism, repentance, & promise of the Holy Spirit to about three thousand. The Holy Spirit which they had been promised was already working in their hearts: "they continued steadfast in the apostles' teaching & fellowship" (Acts 2.42). So tremendous were the effects of Pentecost that "all that believed were together, and had all things in common," "continuing steadfastly with one accord in the temple, breaking bread at home... with gladness & singleness of heart, Praising God and having favour with all the people" (Acts 2.44-47).

It is clear then that the important fact about Pentecost was its spiritual result: Glossolalia was a bye-product.

But "speaking with other tongues" must be accounted for.

The view that the "Gift of Tongues" in Acts 2. was designed as a permanent endowment for the Apostles to preach the Gospel with facility is of merely historic interest, but has survived till our own days. It seems to have been first propounded by Origen (Comm. Rom. 1.14), who was followed by Jerome & Augustine ("linguis omnium gentium locuti sunt omnes" - Sermo CCLVIII). Each generation developed the theory in its own way. Pentecost was afterwards construed as a providential antithesis to the confusion of tongues at Babel (a 'concrete touch' which the historian Luke may possibly have had in mind as a spiritual "philosophy of history"). Grothus seriously declared: "Poea linguarum dispersit homines; donum linguarum dispersos in unum populum collegit."

The "Permanent Endowment Theory" was taken over by the Protestant Churches, though 13th. century rationalists like Conyer Middleton deprecated "the vanity of the notion... that it adhered to the Apostles as constantly as they lived". (1)

The old view was strenuously defended by Bishop Wordsworth and criticised by Stanley & Farrar, the latter declaring "We have been taking too literally St. Luke's dramatic reproduction of the vague murmurs of a throng which mistook the nature of the gift of which they had witnessed the reality." (2)

In the second half of the 19th century the pendulum swung distinctly to the left, critics like Schmiedel (3) rejecting altogether the historicity of Pentecost, or at least, denying any "foreign language" element in Acts 2, which was generally equated with "tongue" passages such as 1. Cor. 12-14. (4)

The following conclusion seems to be reasonable.

At Pentecost the metal of the Church was still glowing,

molten, formless, and presented a rather different appearance than

(1) Middleton, "Gift of Tongues", p89. Life of Paul, I.95.
(2) V. Ency. Biblica. (4) Other critics adopted the solution that the miracle was one of hearing (e.g. Schaff, "Hist. of the Christian Ch", I.60) such a solution does not seem to simplify the problem.
in its hardening condition when Luke came to write his account.

It is difficult to describe religious experience except in concrete & figurative terms. Luke was an artist. There is more likelihood of his having in mind the Giving of the Law on Sinai as a contrast to Pentecost ("The law of Moses & the New Law of the Spirit") than Babylon. According to Rabbinical exegesis, God gave the Law in Hebrew but the voice from Sinai was divided into seven voices and from the seven voices was divided into seventy tongues. "as sparks leap from an anvil, there came a great host of proclaiming voices." (1)

Some critics doubt whether this Jewish tradition had sprung up as early as the first Christian Pentecost. (2) Even then, we have the testimony of Philo; "From the midst of the fire streaming from heaven, a most awful voice sounded forth, the flame being articulated to languages familiar to the hearers, which made that which was said so vividly clear as to seem rather seeing than hearing it." (3)

But in any case, fire & wind were the traditional accompaniments of a theophany. (4) And Luke qualifies his statements, e.g. "As... of a mighty wind" (Acts. 2.2), "tongues like as of fire", ἐφθαράων.

If then the "Permanent Endowment Theory" is unlikely from our knowledge of God's working & His respect for human personality, owing to the fact that Greek was the lingua franca of the eastern half of the Empire, and that the Apostles needed interpreters on other occasions — what is the psychological explanation of the phenomena of Pentecost? The Hebrew heart used to overflow in expressions of ecstatic praise such as "Hosanna!" "Amen!" Zacharias (Luke 1.67) probably burst out with some familiar passage drawn from the liturgical treasures of the Jewish Church. Now there is clear evidence that the Palestinian authorities sanctioned any language whatever in repeating the Shema, the Eighteen Benedictions, & Grace at meals. (5)

(1) Midrash on Ps. 68, (2) e.g. Knowling, Comm. on Acts, p99. (3) "De Decem Oraculis": 9-11, ed. Mangey, II. p185ff. (4) Compare Conington's "Aeneid" 2 (683-4), (5) Shriver, Hist. of Jewish People, II. 2, p234, E.T. A lambent flame was seen to spread sport with his locks in harmless play, and grazing round his temples (stray).
Luke emphasises the fact that at Pentecost the disciples spoke ἐξερήσεις πνεύματος. They may only have known Aramaic or Greek as languages, but it is likely that hearing the bands of Hellenistic Jews continually offering prayer in the above formula, each in the language of the countries mentioned in Acts 2:9-11, (not paying conscious attention at the time), - the words may have penetrated the "sub-conscious": there, they would probably have remained dormant, but for the emotional surge which brought them to the surface. "The Speech Centres" had been disturbed. The consequence was the removal of inhibition, stimulating speech & cognate centres (paraphasia), but in the more extreme cases producing confused utterance, which appeared like drunkenness to onlookers. (1) Similar phenomena will be encountered in chapter 7 of this Thesis.

For the present, we would do well to bear in mind the words of Johannes Weiss: "As to the facts, only complete domination by prejudice can lead to the denial that in this circle extraordinary things took place. Enthusiasm that swept everything before it, a surging full tide of feeling, an immediate consciousness of God's nearness, a sense of power without parallel, an irresistible influence over will & temperament, and even over the physical conditions of other men - these are indelible features in the picture of primitive Christianity.

"We are far from denying the supernatural reason of these phenomena. Everyone who is accustomed to receive in prayer a new strength & gladness will have an immediate comprehension of the primitive spirit-faith, and no science is in a position to pass a negative judgement thereon. Religious experience is a field which in the last resource refuses analysis & rational explanation". (2)

But it is surely possible to deal critically yet reverently with the phenomena of Pentecost, avoiding both the crass rationalism of writers like W.R. Cassels and of the traditionalist school on the other hand. We often fail to distinguish a fact and perception of it. We have already seen that we cannot exclude...

(2) "Urkristentum", pp31.
the Holy Spirit from either the pre-Pentecostal centuries of Hebrew History or from pagan religion. Pentecost was no spiritual watershed in the absolute sense, "the birthday of the Church" in Augustine's phrase. It was not that more light was given at Pentecost - the poor quality of the human window hitherto had admitted mere gleams; the Holy Spirit had been about men rather than within them. Now occurred a human in-letting as well as a Divine downsending. In Psychology we speak of sensations below "the threshold of consciousness". By training the senses the threshold can be lowered, and sensations previously unnoticed be perceived. In the same way it seems that at Pentecost the Holy Spirit exhibited Himself with such potency as to rise above this "threshold of spiritual consciousness". The outward accompaniments - audible & visible - were a natural legacy of Hebrew Heredity, as we have seen. That God takes no notice of, and makes no concession to man's dim powers of apprehension, is a view belied by the whole history of revelation. And there is no doubt that "beliefs are strengthened wherever automatisms corroborate them. Incursions from beyond the transmarginal regions have a peculiar power to increase conviction". (1)

A process is often tame & unarresting, while the climax is sudden, vivid & dramatic. The flash of lightning which suddenly cleaves the murky sky, followed by the roll of thunder, is simply the announcement of the electric battalions which have been mustering day after day. In Research work facts dissociated suddenly group together and melt into a unity, and the student has "an inspiration".

"We can follow the preparations for a new life, the introduction of the germ into the nidus.... but life is always something not accounted for by the sum of what has gone before. The beginning of life is always marvellous. And when men have felt it so, when they look back on such a beginning, still more when they attempt to describe it to others, they almost inevitably call in the marvellous to account for their experience, to confirm & justify their conviction that the miracle of new life has happened." (2)

1) A.A. James, "Varieties." p478. (2) C.A. Anderson Scott, "Fellowship of the Spirit", p35.
The coming of the Holy Spirit had been marked by dramatic accessories of ecstatic utterances to such an extent that there was a distinct tendency to conceive of the Spirit as moving in a kind of wonderland of abnormal manifestation. Thus Philip's missionary success in Samaria was unacknowledged until Peter & John came down from Jerusalem & prayed for the converts "that they might receive the Holy Ghost, for as yet he was fallen upon none of them. (Acts.8,15 & 16). And Simon Magus, "beholding signs & great miracles wrought" was apparently converted through sheer fascination (Acts.8.13). To Peter & his companions the evidence that the Holy Spirit had fallen on Cornelius & his household, was that "they heard them speak with tongues & magnify God"; that was the elec- clear test justifying formal admission to the Christian fellowship. (Acts.10,46,47). It will therefore be seen that Pentecost was held up as the standard to which conversions should conform.

But our study of Pentecost has shown that "speaking with tongues" was associated with the initiation of Christian experience. In I Corinthians (chs.12-14) we find a primitive tendency in a Christian community of pagan origin and in a city largely pagan, to stress glossolalia & kindred phenomena as essential to the life of all who would be Christians in the fullest sense, and a tendency to cherish these concomitants for their own sake.

The population of Corinth, proverbial for its wealth & luxury—a byword for its profligacy, was very mixed, consisting of Jews, Romans, Greeks & the varied nationalities that are to be found in a great seaport. The natural result was that Corinth was a city of many languages. The Christian community suffered from the pagan antecedents of the majority & the vicious environment. The Church was externally flourishing, but there was a preference for showy 

There was a marked tendency to confuse the inspired person with the Divine Spirit. (Compare "Odes of Solomon" 6: "As the hand plays on the harp, & the strings sound, so speaks the Spirit of the Lord in my members").
At Pentecost the devotional atmosphere affected the "utterance in the power" tongues. But in Corinth evil as well as Christian expressions would be likely to surge up from the Unconscious in glossolalia (the voice being ἰσαρπός) and even a saint's larynx might be taken possession of, so as to produce the pagan declaration "Jesus is anathema!" (I. Cor. 12.3).

Dr Knowling declares that "in Acts we have what we have not elsewhere—the speaking in foreign tongues,—this was not the case at Corinth." (1)

But it seems more likely that while ecstatic praise was common to both Pentecost & Corinth, and half-buried expressions—familiar & 'unconsciously familiar'—came to the surface at both occasions & places, the "speaking in tongues" was manifested in a unique & spontaneous manner at Pentecost, the manifestations at Corinth being much more artificial & 'worked-up' as a leading & permanent ἄρησις, besides being more confused.

At Corinth moreover glossolalia served only for the edification of the speakers (I. Cor. 14.2), in being addressed to God rather than to man, as opposed to the speaking in "other tongues" which at Pentecost required no interpreter.

Certain terms used by St Paul must now be briefly examined:

(2) Glossolalia was a ἀραήσις, i.e. a free gift of God, given independently of any human process of acquisition, "designed as a distinctive qualification for rendering distinctive services to men". (3) ἀραήσις is almost exclusively a N.T. word and with the exception of I. Peter 4.10, is peculiar to Paul. Another ἀραήσις was προφητεία, which was ecstatic preaching rather than prediction: "he who prophesies addresses men in words that edify, encourage & console them" (I. Cor. 14.3). This was contrasted with Glossolalia: "for he who speaks in a 'tongue' addresses God not men; no one understands him; he is talking of divine secret in the Spirit" (I. Cor. 14.2). "He who speaks in a 'tongue' edifies himself, whereas he who prophesies edifies the church" (I. Cor. 14.4). "Now I would like you all to speak with 'tongues'; but I would prefer you to prophesy." (I. Cor. 14.5).

Paul seems to have been familiar with 'mechanical inspiration':-

"Inanimate instruments, such as the flute or the harp, may give a sound, but if no intervals occur in their music, how can one make out the air that is being played?" (I Cor. 14.7).

"Well, it is the same with yourselves. Unless your tongue utters language that is readily understood, how can people make out what you say? You will be pouring words into the empty air!" (I Cor. 14.9)

"If I pray with a 'tongue' my spirit prays, no doubt, but my mind is of no use to anyone"- (I Cor. 14.14) "Suppose you are blessing God in the Spirit... your thanksgiving may be all right, but then - the other man is not edified!" (I Cor. 14.16&17)

"Thus a man who speaks in a tongue must pray that for the gift of interpreting it". (I Cor. 14.13)

The word γλώσσα does not necessarily imply the distinct language of a people, which in the N.T. is usually expressed by γλώσσας. γλώσσα was applied to "speaking with tongues" partly because the tongue was literally the organ employed, the mind remaining passive. γλώσσα (I) again, in Classical Greek was sometimes applied to strange expressions (a foreign word or foreign speech). (2) Certainly Paul speaks of "the gift of tongues in their variety". (I Cor. 12, 10 & 28)

Paul's quotation of Isaiah 28, 11 was often cited in Irvingite circles to assure critics that the object of 'tongues' was "as a sign not for believers but for unbelievers; whereas prophecy was meant for believers. Just as the disobedient Jews refused to listen to the clear & intelligible voice of God spoken through the prophets and were chastised by having to listen to the terrible gibbering of invaders, so those who refused to believe the Gospel would be punished by having to listen to wonderful sounds which they could not understand." (3)

The Irvingites however forgot that Paul declares that the conversion of an unbeliever will be brought about, not by his entry while all are "speaking with tongues" (for if so, "insanity! will be the verdict), but "while everybody prophesies", when "the secrets of his heart are brought to light, and so, falling on his face, he will worship God, declaring, 'God is really among you'". (I Cor. 14, 23-5)

Another important χάρις is συμπεριφέρεσθαι, which it is assumed, a genuine inspired speaker possesses. (I Cor. 12.10).

But there was the possibility of τις λαμβάνει τὴν μαχαίριν of prophecy, without being κολομμεινος πρὸς τὸν Ὑσοῦ. (Heb. 5.4)

Therefore the listeners are "etiam tacendo utiles ecclesiae" (Calvin). in detecting by intuitive insight into the character of the speaker, whether he is really revealing the Divine Will or merely indulging his fancy (which would be interpreted as Satan in guise of an angel of light). In the history of religious experience, there have been saints with such a gift. e.g. Elijah & Ahijah(I Kings 14,16); Catherine of Siena (who turned her back on one who seemed to Fr. Raymond to be a most devout person)

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George Fox; above all Jesus, "who required no evidence from anyone about human nature; well did he know what was in human nature." (John 14:24)

Yet the meetings are described as very spontaneous, everyone exercising the charisma with which he has been gifted" (I Cor. 14:26)

"As for speaking in a 'tongue', let only two or at most three speak at one meeting, and that in turn. If there is no interpreter, let the speaker keep quiet in church and address himself to God" (I Cor. 14:26)

Verse 32 of ch.14. is significant: "Prophets can control their own prophetic spirits, for God is a God not of disorder but of harmony" (I Cor. 14:37). The Present Tense states an established fact. The spirits of sibyls & pythonesses were not under their control; utterance continued till the impulse ceased. But this is not the case with one who is inspired with the true God; uncontrolled religious feeling is not characteristic of the true prophet. This is evident elsewhere; "Never quench the fire of the Spirit, never disdain prophetic revelations, but test them all, retaining what is good, and abstin­ing from whatever kind is evil." (I Thes. 5:19-22) At a later period we find the writer of the First Epistle of John (4.1) urging; "Do not believe every spirit, but test the spirits to see if they come from God; for many false prophets have emerged in the world".

The distinction between the various charismata may be summed up as follows; (1) Glossolalia was the ecstatic mood finding expression in unintelligible utterance. (2) "Interpretation of tongues" was a more restricted mode of ecstatic utterance, at a level nearer the normal than Glossolalia. (3) Prophesy was a first & direct expression of religious feeling with instruction or warning in view, received & communicated in intelligible form.

What was Paul's attitude to Glossolalia?

His feelings were clearly mixed. "Thank God, I speak in 'tongues' more than any of you; but in church I would rather say five words with my own mind for the instruction of other people than ten thousand words in a 'tongue'. (I Cor. 14:19). "Set your heart on the prophetic gift, and do not put any check upon speaking in 'tongues'; but let everything be done decorously & in order". (I Cor. 14:39-40). It is obvious that the Apostle had first-hand knowledge of the phenomena.

Dr Dawson Walker suggests throughout his treatise on "The Gift of Tongues" that the key to Paul's attitude may be found to some extent in the conflict between the Pauline & Cephas parties. Native Jews had come to Corinth with letters of recommendation (II Cor. 3:1, 11:22), whom Paul designates ironically as Ἰουδαίοι ἰδρυόμενοι (II Cor. 11:5). These were Christians of an earlier generation, who prided themselves on that account, as compared...
to that "mere abortion" (I Cor. 15.8), the imperfect offspring who had not received the Pentecostal initiation.

It is not improbable then that this "Christ-party" regarded 'tongue-speech' as a mark of original Christianity, which their rival refused to endorse.

Paul seems to suggest, on his part, that Glossolalia was appropriate in its right place, i.e., at the beginning of the Church's life at Pentecost, natural & proper then, but artificial & potentially insincere if perpetuated as permanent expressions of Christian piety.

'Tongues' could be "worked up" as well as sent down. "Brethren, do not be children in the sphere of intelligence... be mature." (I Cor. 14.20).

Even if one does not press Dr Walker's theory far, it will be readily granted that Paul's test of the "heavenliness of the fruits" was by the "heavenliness of the fruits".

The Church was an organism, and the abnormal to find a place must be socially useful. Accordingly we find that the place of 'tongues' in lists of Charismata is a lowly one, e.g., 8th. in I Cor. 12(3.10) last in I Cor. 12.28; second-last in I Cor. 12.29&30.

In I Cor. 13. "Jam ardet Paulus et fertur in amore" (Bengel); "Prophecying will be superseded as the Church attains maturity; 'tongues will cease'; "faith & hope & love last on, but the greatest of all is love" (I Cor. 13., 8&13).

It should also be noted that in ch.13. has parallels as regards certain expressions. In "The Testament of Job" we read of the tongues of angels" ("Hemera" spoke ἱερικὴ διάλεκτον.). (1) A hypothesis similar to that in v.1. of ch.13. can be found in Homer (2) ἀδόκιμα μεν τὰ γласα ἐν φωνῇ σφερηστος, ἕκαστα μὲν στοματειν, φωνὴ ἀρχηγος, ἡλικὼν ἔχον ἀτροφ ἐνέτη. Also in Virgil (3); - "Non, mihi si linguae centum sint, oraque centum, /Ferrae vox." - Cymbals were much used in Paul's time in the worship of Dionysius & Cybele. Perhaps he is here comparing 'tongues' to the din of gongs & cymbals in pagan cults, - loud because hollow; δικαίων καλεῖον was moreover proverbial for an empty talker.

The fundamental misconception which Paul had to remove was that the Holy Spirit was regarded as a Spirit of power rather than as a Spirit of holiness.

"The community regards as pneumatic the extraordinary in the life of the Christian, Paul the ordinary; they that which is peculiar to individuals, Paul that which is common to all; they that which is special in the Christian life, Paul the Christian life itself." (4) Though Paul's use of the term spirit was peculiarly elastic a fluid, he filled it with "a wider & profounder moral content, and by its close association with the Living Christ its meaning was lifted to a higher level of religious experience." (1)ch.47. (lllaid.11.480). (2)Aen.VI.625; Georg. II.44. (3)Gunth. O. Stevens, "Theol. of N.T." 440. (4)T. Rees, "H.S." p. 93.
The next step following Paul's was the definition of the sphere of the Spirit by the three-fold rule of canon, creed & episcopate, from the Second century onwards.

Dr Rees has declared that "the gift of tongues died out of the Church before the end of the Apostolic age. It is not mentioned in later apostolic writings outside Acts. It may have survived in Gnostic circles." (1)

It is proverbial difficult to prove such a dogmatic statement, but Professor Humphries rightly observes that in Second century literature at least, the Holy Spirit receives scant recognition". (2), and in the Epistles of Polycarp, II Clement & Diognetus - "there is not a single reference to the Holy Spirit, the functions elsewhere ascribed to it being referred to Christ. But at the beginning of the Second century prophets & apostles still hold a much higher place than the bishops & deacons in the "Didache"; prophets are to be supported on tithes for they are your chief-priests." "Any prophet speaking in the Spirit ye shall not try; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not be forgiven! But, "from his ways shall the false prophet & the prophet be recognized." (3)

Phenomena kindred to Glossolalia flourished & decayed with it. e.g. (a) Supernatural knowledge imparted through dreams. (b) Supernatural hearing. e.g. "Polycarp is martyred!" (Irenaeus). (c) Supernatural reception of knowledge. e.g. Hermas receives a book from his heavenly visitor, which he transcribes without understanding, the meaning only being revealed 15 days later. (5)

Of direct importance are quotations from Justin Martyr:

"For among us εἰς ἐννομῆς still exist, which shows that the privileges formerly belonging to your nation have been transferred to us". (6) "The divine plectrum comes down from heaven, using righteous men as a harp or lyre to reveal to us the knowledge of divine & heavenly things." (7)

The last quotation shows that Paul's lesson had been apparently forgotten, and inspired persons confused with the divine Spirit (θείος λόγος).

Two quotations may also be noted from Irenaeus: (3)

καθὼς καὶ πολλοὶ ἑκατοντάδες ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, φροντίδα καὶ χρόνιαι ἐκκλησιών, καὶ παντοτι αὐταρχήν, στὰ τὰ πνεύματα γιάννηται, καὶ τὰ κρατή τὰς ἐνθρωπίας στὰ φανερά ἑτε τὴ γνώμηται καὶ τὰ μυστήρια τὸ θεοῦ ἐκπνεύσατε.

The second is a hostile account of Gnostic Glossolalia: (4)


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Towards the end of the Second century Origen replies to the attacks of Celsus on the 'Palestinian Prophets', and indignantly rejects the mechanical notion of prophecy: "Any one who has the spirit of prophecy is not compelled to speak involuntarily, as those who have unclean spirits, but speaks when he pleases & reason requires." (3) "The throwing of her who prophecies into ecstasy, so that she does not understand herself, is not the work of the Divine Spirit." (4) Such a refutation was necessary in view of the persistence of mechanical conceptions of inspiration; it was difficult to errad uproot the idea of the Spirit using the prophets as a flute player does his instrument. (5) Yet this mechanical tradition was to find a dramatic culmination in Montanism. This movement must be briefly examined from the point of view of the present Thesis.

The Church had swollen in numbers but decreased in enthusiasm & vitality towards the end of the Second century; it had become, as Cyprian afterwards put it, "an ark of animals clean & animals unclean". Montanus (c.160 A.D.) urgently desired reformation of the Church on ascetic lines; a special community of the elect must be prepared to await the Coming of the Lord. The persecution of the Christians in 177 A.D. produced a feeling that it was "the beginning of the end"; the movement, now under Prisca & Maximilla, spread rapidly beyond Phrygia. But it was in Phrygia that Montanism crystallised into its characteristic form, in the west remaining a more general protest against "latitudinarianism".

Montanus claimed to be in the 'prophetic succession'; God's supernatural revelations did not end with the Apostles; even more wonderful manifestations of divine energy were to be expected under the Dispensation of the Paraclete.

A second characteristic of the attempt to revert to Apostolic conditions was the revival of Millenial views (modified by the assertion that Pepuza was to be the site of the New Jerusalem), 'which had been thrust into the background by the Christian Church, in fear of the effects of white-red-hot religious subjectivity.

Thirdly, the revelations of Montanus were designed to supplement, not to displace Scripture. Tertullian declared: "A process of development was exhibited in God's revelations. It had its rudimentary principle in the religion of nature, its infancy in the Law & Prophets, its youth in the Gospel, its full maturity only in the dispensation of the Paraclete. Through his enlightenment the dark places of Scripture are to be made clear, parables made plain, those passages of which heretics had taken advantage, cleared of all ambiguity." (1)

Montanists would describe read ἐκπανοῦν into such passages as that Re.Peter & Cornelius, while orthodox opponents would point to Peter's "not so" as evidence that in his ecstasy he did not lose his individual judgement & will.

Epiphanius describes the claim of Montanus as follows:— (2) ὁ ἀνθρώπος ὑστερά, καὶ ἡ ἄνθρωπος ὑστερά πληρωθαι, ὁ ἀνθρώπος κολάθαι, ἔστιν ἡ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἡ ἄνθρωπος. ἐστίν ἡ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἡ ἄνθρωπος. ἐστίν ἡ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἡ ἄνθρωπος.

It is no matter for surprise that the enemies of Montanus accused him of claiming to be himself the Paraclete. But it is evident that his aim was simply that of being the passive medium of a Divine message— a conception familiar to us in the pages of this (Thesis. We may conclude by noting that Montanism was reactionary in that it denied much of the Church's development, progress in its notion of the inner light(3), ascetic in its morality & conception of the Church, showing forth fruits of the Spirit (though often sour fruit), and manifesting a tendency to sectarianism.(4). Many of these characteristics we shall see recurring in the Irvingite circle.

But so strong was the reaction from Montanism that by Chrysostom's time Glossolalia & Prophecy were apparently unknown in the Church: "This whole place (i.e.Irenaeus VI.6)is very obscure; but the obscurity is produced by our ignorance of the facts described, which are such as then used to occur, but now no longer take place."

Some writers have sought to discredit the Glossolalia & Prophecy of the New Testament by reducing them to the

(1)Tertull."De Virg. Vel."I: "De Res.Carn."63. (2)Haer.48.4. Cp.Tertull."When a man is rapt in the Spirit...he necessarily loses his sensation(i.e.,consciousness)." (Adv.Mar.IV.22) (3)Glover."Conflict of Religions."p344. (4)Churchmen were
level of corybantic frenzies common in primitive religions, or recalling the visions & utterances of the maid of Lourdes or Joseph Smith. Others have been driven into the somewhat insec
gion of doubting the veracity of the records in which the seem-
-ingly parallel experiences are enshrined. But similarity of experience does not necessarily imply identity of cause.

The spiritual experience of the Apostolic Church was unique in its intensity. There have been 'revivals' since then indeed, but nothing to equal that breaking up of the fountains of the great deep, when new devotion surged up in the exaltation of a great revulsion from the chill of philosophy or the darkness of superstition. Our familiarity with the Gospel makes it difficult to realise what it must have meant to women & children, to slaves & sensualists, to ignorant & despised, when first they knew the grace of Christ as theirs and the tide of God's redeem-
ing love passing through them & making them reborn in Christ.

Huxley pointed out that hidden in English soil are innumerable seeds of tropical flora, and, if only for one summer we could have the heat & moisture of the tropics, we would be amazed at the wealth of unfamiliar vegetation which would spring up.

"So when the Christian of the Apostolic Age passed from the frigid realm of paganism and even from the temperate zone of Judaism into the tropical splendour of the Gospel, it is no wonder that new emotions awoke into life, and that the Church blossomed with a profusion of strange spiritual phenomena."(1)

"WHAT HAS BECOME OF THE MIRACLES & SUPERNATURAL GIFTS OF THE GOSPEL ERA?

"They were associated historically with the planting of Christianity. By such tokens Christ authenticated his mission, giving the like signs to his apostles, to be the authentication of theirs.

"If these possessions, tongues, gifts of healing, prophecies... were once facts, why should they not be so now? Does a fact become rational & possible by being carried back into other centuries?

"Is it given to us to see that Christianity throws itself boldly on its facts, in these matters, or does it come in the shy & cautious manner some appear to suppose, asserting a few miracles that occurred in the romantic ages of history where no investigation can reach them; adding, to escape all demand of such now in terms of present evidence, that they are discontinued, because the canon is closed, and there is no longer any use for them."

(Horace Bushnell, "Nature and the Supernatural", 1862, p313.)
CHAPTER ONE

THE ORIGIN OF IRVINGITE GLOSSOLALLIA IN THE WEST OF SCOTLAND.

Section 1. The influence of Irving's Friends.
2. Glossolalia & Spiritual Healing; cases of Mary Campbell & the brothers Macdonald.
3. Subsequent career of Mary Campbell & the Macdonalds; - considerations.

"Perhaps we should not be far out of the way in affirming that there has been no time since the Day of Pentecost when the gift has been more sought than in the present century. We find relatively few manifestations during the days of the early church & especially few in the middle ages. This is the more remarkable since at that time the appeal to the marvellous was one of the chief props of the reality & value of the Christian life."

(G.B. Cutten. "Speaking with Tongues, historically & psychologically considered". p8)
CHAPTER ONE.

THE ORIGIN OF IRVINGITE GLOSSOLALIA. (1830).

"Speaking with Tongues" is a phenomenon which has occurred in certain sections of the Christian Church and in various ages, since the Montanist Movement. Comparison of Irvingite manifestations with parallels in other periods will be made in a later part of the Thesis and these will be examined in the light of modern psychology. For the present, it may be said that the revival of Charismata has been due to the re-appearance of similar conditions in human nature rather than to periodic enlargements of activity on the part of the Holy Spirit, - as Bushnell tried to prove in "Nature and the Supernatural"

Section 1.
Influence of several of Irving’s friends.

It will be remembered that Irving took with him to the Albury Conference Robert Story, minister of Roseneath. Little did Irving realise the importance of Roseneath in the development of his career, when in 1828 he visited his friend's parish by the "sweet half-Highland waters of the Clyde". When he stirred the whole neighbourhood by his preaching, he little dreamt of the peasant girl, in all probability in the congregation, whose utterances were to start the "speaking with Tongues", for which he had so sincerely prayed.

On the same occasion Irving crossed the water to Row to see MacDonald Campbell, a friend of Story, who as a stranger had several months earlier called on him in Edinburgh, when Irving had declared - "God may have sent me instructions by your hands". (Oliph. II, p.25).

At Row he met, though not for the first time, Alexander J. Scott,
who was destined to exert considerable influence over Irving in the earlier stage of Glossolalia. This "Sandy Scott, a most precious youth" with "the finest and strongest faculty for pure theology" Irving had "yet met with", a Probationer of the Church of Scotland and son of Dr. Scott of Greenock, he at once engaged as his assistant. (Oliph. p. 28).

The soft shores of the Clyde provided an atmosphere conducive to intense religious experience of a kind untypical of Scottish piety. For the Calvinistic Theology of Scotland had ceased to have much living influence on the popular conscience, as Principal Tulloch pointed out. It had deeply engraved itself on the popular understanding certainly, with the result that preaching tended either towards mere moralism divested of spiritual basis, or the working out of an abstract and rigid doctrinal system, which took little account of the changing wants and questionings of humanity. The original thinkers who suggested a better way, somewhat on the lines of Coleridge and the more 'spiritual' of the Oriel Divines, were regarded with suspicion by the dominant and growing Evangelical Party.

There was the devout layman Erskine of Linlathen, meditative and introspective, a seeker after light, who replied to one who sought infallible authority: - "O no! Such a thing, if it could be, would destroy all God's purpose with man, which is to educate him, to awaken a growing perception in the man himself of what is true and right, which is of the very essence of spiritual discipline".

Erskine could never conceive of Christianity as a formal revelation or external institution. His religion has been described as "all heart", as internal light flooding the soul. Salvation was the "healing of the diseases of the soul", Eternal Life "the communion of God with the soul". Men are "already
"I have heard to-day the true Gospel", said Erskine of Macleod Campbell, after hearing him preach in 1828.

Macleod Campbell's Gospel was new to his age. So long as the individual was uncertain of being the object of God's love, and was without any sure hold of his personal safety, it was vain to induce him to serve God under the power of any purer motive than the desire to win God's love for himself, and so secure his own happiness.

"Christ died for all; faith is the believing that if so, He died for me; assurance is the confidence towards God, as forgiving my iniquities and saving my soul from sin and death, which I have when I come to believe this." (R.H. Story, Life of Robt. Story, p. 151).

As Principal Tulloch has said in "Movements of Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century", the keynote of the period is "Expansiveness". The theological mind is seen opening in all directions. There is a breaking up of the close traditional systems inherited from earlier ages. There is a new sense of the Fatherhood of God and recognition of the Religious Consciousness; a desire for a more concrete and living faith; a hankering after both the mystical and the majestic. No wonder then, that an abnormal movement like the Irvingite was enabled to arise and claim a large measure of popular support, which was only gradually withdrawn as eccentricities became marked.

Nor was this thirst for a more spiritual religion confined to thinkers. There was much popular demand for simple preaching such as that of Robert Story of Roseneath, - no genius but an earnest sincere parish minister, a large-hearted brotherly soul. MacLeod Campbell's warm and single-minded proclamation of an uncomplicated Gospel had roused the antagonism of the local Presbytery,
but had aroused the enthusiasm of the countryside. "Religion had at this crisis taken a hold upon the entire mind of the population, which it very seldom possesses. It was not only the inspiration of their hearts, but the subject of their discussions. They seem not only to have been stimulated in personal piety, but occupied in an almost unprecedented degree with those spiritual concerns which are so generally kept altogether apart from life." (Oliph. II. p. 107).

This smouldering fire might have become extinct but for A.J. Scott, who as Irving afterwards related in Fraser’s Magazine (Jan. 1835) "being called down to Scotland and residing at his father’s house, which is in the heart of that district of Scotland upon which the light of Mr Campbell’s ministry had arisen, he was led to open his mind to some of the godly people of these parts."

As we noticed in Chapter I of the Introduction, Irving was gradually coming to believe that the Apostolic charismata belonged to all Ages, and had been in abeyance through want of faith alone.

Yet he was inclined to hold (Oliph. II. p. 104) that they would only be restored at the time of the Second Advent. Mr Scott’s convictions as to the present possibility of their revival were much stronger.

"He used often to signify to me his conviction that the spiritual gifts ought still to be exercised in the Church; that we are at liberty, and indeed bound, to pray for them as being baptised into the assurance of the gift of the Holy Ghost, as well as of repentance and remission of sins... Though I could make no answer to this, I continued still very little moved to seek myself, or to stir up my people to seek these spiritual treasures. Yet I went forward to contend and instruct whenever the subject came before me in my public ministrations of reading and preaching the Word, that the Holy Ghost ought to be manifested among us all, the
same as ever he was in any of the primitive Churches". (Fraser's Magazine. Jan. 1832).

Scott undoubtedly laid the "splendid train of mischief" - the ignis fatuus which was later to lure and obsess Irving.

His preaching in Greenock and the neighbourhood produced a feeling that the revival of the "Gift of Tongues" might be possible. ("Morning Watch", V.182). He had to deal with people whose religion was fluid, if not molten. The atmosphere was favourable to revival, and the people suggestible. This is evident from the veneration with which a farm girl, Isabella Campbell, was regarded. The farmhouse of Fernicarry, Roseneath, was resorted to by her admirers, and she would certainly have been canonised had she been living in a Roman Catholic country. The religion of this young invalid was a simple pietism. To her sister she one day cried:

"O that the Lord would pour down His Spirit upon this land, for it is a land of darkness and deceit! Men think themselves alive. All think themselves Christians, but, alas! few there are who worship God in the Spirit, rejoice in Christ and have no confidence in the flesh."

These words are quoted from "Peace in Believing", a memoir of Isabella Campbell by Robert Story her minister (p. 76), a book which secured an immense local circulation, though without any literary value or narrative interest, being simply the record of rapt and ecstatic communion with God.

On her death, her sister Mary Campbell stepped into her place. It will be seen that Mary's character was somewhat dissimilar from her sister's. Mary Campbell was the "young woman" to whom Dr A. J. Scott was led "to open his mind" during his holiday in the west. (1830). She was "at that time lying ill of a con-
sumption, from which afterwards, when brought to the very door of death, she was raised up instantaneously by the hand of God."

"Being a woman of very fixed and constant spirit, he was not able with all his power of statement and argument, which is unequalled by that of any man I have ever met with, to convince her of the distinction between regeneration and baptism with the Holy Ghost; and when he could not prevail he left her with a solemn charge to read over the Acts of the Apostles with that distinction in her mind, and to beware how she rashly rejected what he believed to be the truth of God.

By this young woman it was that God, not many months after, did restore the gift of speaking with tongues and prophesying to the Church." (Fraser's Magazine, Jan. 1832).

Expectation was in the air. Just as at Pentecost, fermentation would soon lead to explosion. "I remember", said an eye witness, "hearing the cry in the Spirit, 'Send us Apostles! Send us Apostles!' The room used to ring with it." ("Restoration of Apostles and Prophets". p. 25).
Section 2.
Glossolalia and Spiritual Healing; cases of Mary Campbell and the Macdonalds.

The manifestations first occurred in the household of the Macdonalds. Robert Norton, M.D., in his "Memoirs of James and George Macdonald" (pp. 58, 59, 78) gives the following account of the brothers. They were plain men, shipbuilders. Their religion was of a quiet and unobtrusive type; it was said they read no book but the Bible. The ministry under which they sat was unimpressive, yet even when the clergy preached at them for holding peculiar views, they did not cease churchgoing. As Erskine of Linlathen testified (Letters, I. p. 176): "Although they soon became classed among the disciples of Mr Irving, who at that time was beginning to be stigmatised as heretical, the fact was that, so far as I can ascertain, they never read a single volume of his, or not at least for years after their own views were established. And although after a time they began to attend the preaching of Mr Campbell of Row, it was because they had previously been taught of God the same truths, and were attracted to Row by their love of them."

"Until the eve of the miraculous manifestations in them, the subject of spiritual gifts did not at all occupy their attention, much less their expectations and desires; nor did it even when their prayers, in common with those of other Christians, for an outpouring of the Spirit, began to be answered by the pouring out of a very extraordinary if not marvellous spirit of prayer upon themselves." (Erskine. I. p. 176).

Margaret Macdonald was dangerously ill. She had scarcely
been able to have her bed made for a week. "Mrs - and myself had been sitting quietly at her bedside, when the power of the Spirit came upon her. She said: 'There will be a mighty baptism of the Spirit this day', and then broke forth in a most marvellous setting forth of the wonderful work of God; and as if her own weakness had been altogether lost in the strength of the Holy Ghost, continued with little or no intermission for two or three hours in mingled praise, prayer and exhortation." (Dr. Norton, pp. 107,8).

"At dinner time James and George came home as usual, when she addressed them at great length, concluding with a solemn prayer for James, that he might at that time be endowed with the Holy Ghost. Almost instantly James calmly said, 'I have got it'. He walked to the window, and stood silent for a moment or two. I looked at him and almost trembled, there was such a change upon his whole countenance. He then, with a step and manner of the most indescribable majesty, walked up to Margaret's bedside, and addressed her in these words of the 20th Psalm - 'Arise and stand upright'. He repeated the words, took her by the hand, and she arose, when we all sat down quietly and had our dinner[1]. After it, my brother went off to the building yard as usual, where James wrote over to Miss Campbell, commanding her in the name of the Lord to arise." (She was suffering from consumption, as mentioned in Mr Scott's account, p. 6. She lived across the Clyde from the Macdonalds).

"The next morning, after breakfast, James said, 'I am going down to the quay to see if Miss Campbell is coming across the water', at which we expressed our surprise, as he had said nothing to us.

1. Compare Ex. 24. 11. "They saw God, and did eat and drink".
about having written her. The result showed how much he knew of
what God had done, and would do for her; for she came as he ex-
pected, declaring herself perfectly whole." (Norton).

The following is Mary Campbell's account of her experiences.
("A vindication of the Religion of the Land", Rev. A. Robertson, of
Greenock, pp. 251,254.).

"Two individuals who saw me before my recovery said that I
never would be strong, that I was not to expect a miracle being
wrought upon me, and that it was quite foolish in one who was in
such a poor state of health, ever to think of going to the heathen.

"I told them that they would hear of miracles very soon, and
no sooner had the last-mentioned individuals left me than I was
constrained of the Spirit to go and ask the Father, in the name of
Jesus, to stretch forth His hand to heal... to ask in faith, noth-
ing doubting, that by the next morning I might have some miracles
to inform them of.

"It was not long after that I received James Macdonald's let-
ter.... I had scarcely read the first page when I became quite
overpowered, and laid it aside for a few minutes; but I had no
rest in my spirit until I took it up again and began to read. As I
read, every word came with power, but when I came to the command to
rise, it came home with a power no words can describe; it was felt
to be indeed the voice of Christ,... such a voice of power as
could not be resisted.

"I felt as if I had been lifted up from off the face of the
earth, and all my disease taken off me. At the voice of Jesus I
was surely made to stand upon my feet, leap and walk, sing and re-
joyce. O that men would praise the Lord...!"
After her recovery Mary Campbell spent the summer of 1830 at Helensburgh. Meetings innumerable were held, and manifestations extraordinary were made. To ecstatic speech was added automatic writing. On the moment of inspiration she would seize a pen, and with rapidity "like lightning" would cover sheets of paper with characters believed to be letters and words.\(^1\) Story, in reply to Chalmers' queries, stated that not only did she utter "sounds altogether new to my ears for nearly an hour" on taking her by the hand to bid her adieu, but referred to the "inconceivable rapidity" of her automatic writing, which she described as "in every respect independent of her own volition, and as if she herself was unconscious of the exertion. "The greater jealousy," Story adds, "manifested by you and others the more will you serve the interests of truth, and the more I am persuaded you will be prepared to conclude that these things are of God and not of men". (Erskine. I. p. 180)

Story, as will be seen later, revised his opinion.

Mary Campbell was a young woman of intense psychical power, which found expression in religion. Had she lived at the end of the nineteenth century instead of at the beginning, her energies would probably have found expression as a "medium". She was one of the few members of the Irvingite circle who combined automatic writing with Glossolalia.

Crowds gathered round her at Helensburgh. "Among their number they can reckon merchants, Divinity students, Writers to the Signet, advocates...I have known, who rank high in Society, come from Edinburgh, join in all the exercises, declare their implicit faith in Mary Campbell's pretensions, ask her concerning the times and seasons, and bow to her decisions with the utmost deference as one inspired by heaven." (Robertson. p. 311).

\(^1\)Compare case of St. Hildegard (1098-1179), whose Glossolalic writings are preserved at Wiesbaden (words Latin, German and Hebrew). (V. Cutten, "Spk. w. Tongues", p. 41) v. Baring-Gould, "Virgin Saints and Martyrs". p. 294.
There was the same excitement at Port-Glasgow.

"Ever since Margaret was raised and the gift of tongues given," wrote one of the sisters (May 15th 1830), "the house has been filled every day with people from all parts of England, Scotland and Ireland."

Special interest was awakened where special hopes in this direction had been for some time cherished. Several people connected with the Albury Circle came from London and stayed three weeks at Port-Glasgow, among whom were Thompson (a doctor) and Cardale (a lawyer).

Mr Cardale, besides co-operating in the report drawn up of the manifestations, was quoted as an entirely competent witness by a writer in the "Edinburgh Review" ("Pretended Miracles - Irving, Scott, and Erskine", p. 106. June, 1831).

"These persons, while uttering the unknown sounds, have every appearance of being under supernatural direction. The manner and voice are (generally speaking) different from what they are at other times. This difference does not consist merely in the peculiar solemnity and fervour of manner (which they possess), but their whole deportment gives an impression, not to be conveyed in words, that their organs are made use of by supernatural power.

"Their own declarations, as the declarations of honest, pious, and sober individuals, may with propriety be taken in evidence. They declare that their organs of speech are made use of by the Spirit of God, and that they utter that which is given them, and not the expressions of their own conceptions.

"In addition, I have only to add my own most decided testimony, that, so far as three weeks constant communication and the information of those in the neighbourhood, can enable me to judge, the individuals thus gifted are living in a close communion with God and love towards all men; abounding in faith, joy and peace, and with an abasement of self, such as I have never witnessed elsewhere, and find nowhere recorded but in the history of the early church. And just as they are fervent in spirit so they are diligent in all the religious duties of life. They are devoid of fanaticism, but are persons of great simplicity of character and of sound common sense."

Erskine of Linlathen followed in the track of these delegates from London, staying no less than six weeks in the McDonalds'
His immediate impressions are embodied in the tract "On the Gifts of the Spirit" (Greenock, 1830) "Whilst I see nothing in Scripture against the re-appearance or rather continuance of miraculous gifts in the Church, but a great deal for it, I must further say that I see a great deal of internal evidence in the west country to prove their genuine miraculous character, especially in the speaking with tongues...After witnessing what I have witnessed, I cannot think of any person decidedly condemning them as impostors, without a feeling of great alarm. It is certainly not a thing to be lightly or rashly believed, but neither is it a thing to be lightly or rashly rejected. I believe that it is of God." (Letters, I. p. 182).

Three facts emerge:

(1) "The voices struck me very much, perhaps more than the tongues. It was not their loudness, although they were very loud, but they did not sound to me as if they were the voices of the persons speaking; they seemed to be uttered through them by another power." (I. p. 188).

(2) "The languages are distinct, well-inflected, well-compacted languages; they are not random collections of sounds; they are composed of words of various length, with the natural variety, and yet possessing that commonness of character which marks them to be one distinct language. I have heard many people speak gibberish, but this is not gibberish. (Specimens preserved as taken down by hearers: O Pinitos, Elelastino Halinangotos Dantita, Hmpooteni, Farini, Aristos, Ekrampos.) (I Appendix VIII. p. 392 f.)

(3) The tongues were unintelligible to the hearers unless the additional gift of interpretation was vouchsafed.

"After James Macdonald had prayed for a considerable time, first in English and then in a tongue, the command to pray for interpretation was brought to his mind, and he repeated — 'It is written; let him that speaketh in a tongue pray that he may interpret'. He then prayed for interpretation with great urgency, until he felt he had secured the answer, and when repeating over the concluding words of what he had
spoken in the tongue, which were 'disco capito', he said, 'And this is the interpretation: the shout of a king is among them'.

The impression Erskine received was: "That the passage spoken in the tongue had concluded with the prophecy of Balaam, in which these words occur. I conceived that the words 'disco capito' had been given to us as words of reference, directing us to the beautiful passage of which they form part, Numbers 23: 19,20,21." (Letters. p. 185 f. I.)

But Erskine was to revise his estimate of the Movement. He never ceased to regard the Macdonalds as sincere, and he never forfeited their confidence. (1) But he seems to have felt later that their prophesying was in some measure due, in modern terminology, to the uprush of ideas matured in the subconscious. He ascribes two instances of James Macdonald's prophecies "to seed...in the newspapers."

E.g. "He had read somewhere of a foolish rumour about the time of George IV's death, that the Ministers would probably find it convenient to conceal that event, until they had made some arrangements. This remained in his mind, and it came forth at last as an utterance in power, but wrapped in such obscurity of language as not to expose it to direct confutation; but on reading the paragraph I recognised such a resemblance that I could not doubt it, but put it to him; and although he had spoken in perfect integrity, yet he was satisfied that my conjecture as to its origin was correct."

Another utterance, clothed in the language of ch. 11 Daniel was also traced to a newspaper paragraph.

"James Macdonald did not say he was conscious of anything in these two utterances distinguishing them from the others."

"I thus see," he concludes, "how things may come into the mind and remain there, and then come forth as supernatural utterances, although their origin may be quite natural...Is there not a great perplexity in this? Does the control of a church solve it?" (Letters. I. 209, 210).

Erskine's analysis contains an important element of truth, and in a later part of the Thesis this aspect will be examined in

(1) v. Erskine's Letters, p. 118.
the light of modern psychology.

It would be well, however, to keep in mind Wm. James' declaration; "The whole drift of my education goes to persuade me that the world of our present consciousness is only one out of many worlds of consciousness that exist; and that although in the main their experience and those of this world keep discrete, yet the two become continuous at certain points, and higher energies filter in." (Vars. of Rel. Exper. p. 619).

There is such a thing as the Hyper-conscious as well as the Sub-conscious.
Erskine of Linlathen in 1837 retracted his former opinion that "the remarkable manifestations which I witnessed eight years ago were the miraculous gifts of the Spirit, of the same character as those of which we read in the New Testament. Since then I have come to think differently. But I still continue to think that the disappearance of these gifts from the Church must be a greater difficulty than their re-appearance could possibly be". Nor were the characters of the individuals concerned, in any way the cause of the change of view; James and George Macdonald received the highest praise. (Appendix to "Election")

Had Erskine known Mary Campbell as intimately as he knew the Macdonalds, it is improbable that he would have exonerated the personal element in the manifestations from blame. He would have found room not merely for the divine and the 'natural' in the subconscious sphere, but also for the malignant and the false. He would have seen that (in Wm. James' phrase) "snake and seraph abide there side by side". For Mary Campbell's character contained elements of vanity, restlessness and selfishness, - evident from even a cursory perusal of her minister's account of her career.

Mr Story remonstrated with Mary for filling her tired mother's farmhouse of Fernicarry with her admirers, while her dying brother Samuel had no peace in the midst of the babel of talking and psalm-singing. (R.H. Story, "Robt. Story." p. 195,6) He rebuked two young men present with him, who asserted it was their
object to serve the Lord as missionaries, and who objected to the learning of Eastern languages as "carnal". Shortly afterwards Mr Story received a singular letter from Mary, asserting that God suffered her to write only what He pleased; "there is now to me a delightful depth of meaning in the words being Hidden and Forbidden by the Holy Ghost."

Should she send away her friend? (Mr Caird). "The answer I received was: 'See thou do it not; I, not thou, broughtest him to this place, and it is I, not thou, who have a right to send him away'."

"I besought him," she continued, "to spend most of his time in prayer and fasting; but I could not urge him to commence the study of languages, seeing I look every day for the gift of tongues being poured out upon the Church. I look upon the system of education for the ministry to be of the devil. If God has promised to furnish His servants with every necessary qualification, what have they to do but step into the field, depending on Him for all? The eloquence of the unlearned fishermen drew glory to God, and were such eloquence again heard.....etc.

"There is another consideration. The time is short. I expect to see the Redeemer on earth long before he (Caird) could be fit, according to the judgment of men, for entering the field of Christian labour.

"All the signs of the latter day are now manifest. O that a sinful world would be warned! O my dear, dear Mr Story, cry these things in the ears of your people, for they believe them not." (p. 198. Story)

Soon after this letter was written, Mary spoke with tongues. She desired to ascertain what the tongue was that she might go to the country where it was intelligible. By and by she announced that she believed it to be the language of a group of islands in the South Pacific Ocean (a safe suggestion). Her handwriting was submitted to Sir George Stanton, whose judgment agreed with Dr. Lea's of Cambridge, i.e. "It contains neither word nor language known in any region under the sun". In reply to Chalmer's query (24th April, 1830) Story replied: "Many hero say it is of the
devil... She knows when the languages change - and the articulations are obviously different - some of them exceedingly musical - others not so. Sometimes she has an impression that what she is uttering is the language of a particular people. One she has often conceived to be Turkish; one of these she spoke in my presence she cried out she knew to be the language of the Pelew Islanders.

"She seemed greatly oppressed in spirit that the power of interpretation was not given. It has occasionally been given to some of those present. On Saturday last Lady C. G. was constrained to interpret various sentences. Macdonald, who commanded her to rise, was at first very sceptical concerning the gift which he heard Mary had received, but now the same power rests on him and his brother, and they mutually interpret. The fact of a numerous band of young persons going forth with the Gospel so sanctioned, is well fitted to reprove our dead Church... but if a delusion, the more speedily it is given to the winds the better."

Before examining Story's change of view, it is desirable to notice several points which emerge from his foregoing account of Mary (pp. 12, 13).

Her letter to her minister is interesting. It contains in crystallised form ideas which were strongly characteristic of the Tongues Movement under Irving. The perspective is dominated by the imminent Second Coming. There must be an immediate evangelisation of the world in preparation of that event: the "Gift of Tongues" is the means towards that end, as well as being one of the "signs" of the Last Days. There is a strong anti-intellectual bias, a belief in the positive rightfulness of ignorance, - which is conceived of as Apostolic, - a mechanism through which the Holy Ghost may speak without being dimmed by mere human learning.

The belief in "permanent endowment" has died hard. An article in the "Baptist Argus" (Louisville, Kentucky. Jan. 23rd. 1908) cites eighteen different instances of men and women gifted with "tongues," who had gone to India, China and Japan in the past few years trusting to these gifts instead of to knowledge of the languages necessary, and how several of these deluded people were saved from starvation by the missionaries.

But Mary Campbell was apparently an exception to the conception of the object of Tongues generally held - (1830-1834).
Robert Norton, M.D., a man of considerable education though sympathetic to the "manifestations" (author of Memoirs of James and George Macdonald) declares in fact: "It is a melancholy instance of perversion and prejudice that the assertion should be so continually persisted in that the Gift of Tongues is to enable men to preach the Gospel to foreigners, when the Apostle commences his description of the gift by asserting the very contrary....The Gift of Tongues is not evangelistic, but devotional." ("Neglected Scriptural Truths - the late Revival in the west of Scotland." (pp. 307, 309, 1839) Conyers Middleton is quoted as holding the right point of view: "It is evident that the chief or rather sole end of this gift was to serve as sensible sign, that those to whom it was vouchsafed were under a divine influence and acting by a divine commission."

Norton was perfectly right: the critics of the manifestations too hastily assumed that the Gifted Persons' object was that of miraculous preaching in foreign languages, - an imitation of Pentecost as popularly interpreted at that time.

Mary's idea of religion was somewhat akin to that of the American Southern States' negro: noise and excitement was religion - the ethical and intellectual backbone spelt degeneration - "It's all booklearnin', dey aint no Holy Ghos' in it at all." (Davenport, "Primitive Traits in Rel. Revivals", p. 56 ff).

The Holy Ghost has nearly always been interpreted in "Pentecostal Committees" in its primitive Hebrew and pagan sense, as a possessing 'energy' suddenly descending on men, and immediately superseding "fleshly ordinances".

It is interesting to note that she was conscious of changing over from one tongue to another. "The Morning Watch" (p. 871) also ascribes to James Macdonald the power of speaking "two tongues both easily discernible from the other". Davenport, in discussing Mormon frenzy, described many of the people at Palmyra, N.Y., as having "fits of speaking all the different Indian dialects, which none could understand". (p. 188). It will be seen, as the Thesis
develops, how similar in general outline are outbreaks of Glossolalia, in different countries and in different periods.

Mary Campbell, on her recovery, married W.R. Caird, the law clerk whom Mr Story had rebuked. "The persons who quitted Scotland" to go into "some region of heathendom where the difference of language had hitherto proved a barrier to all missionary labour...have for nearly two years been resident in my little parish, and edify a congregation of from 50 to 200 persons. The missionary project having been abandoned, they found out another use for the tongue. It is difficult to say how they would have managed, had γλώσσα been uniformly translated 'language'." ("Letter to a friend....." H. McNeile. 1834)

These are the words of Hugh McNeile, the Evangelical rector of Albury, Surrey, who had been a member of the "Prophetic Circle" and had welcomed the "Gifts" on their first manifestation, but afterwards became their vigorous antagonist in spite of the Lord of the Manor's (Henry Drummond) definite championship of the Tongues.

The Cairds had also been for a time lay chaplains to Lady Olivia Sparrow of Brampton Park, (an influential supporter of the Irvingite cause), between whom and Irving they had passed to and fro.

Some time after their marriage, Mary and her husband visited Scotland, passing and repassing Roseneath, but, significantly, never calling at the Manse. Story tells how one day he saw a group of elegantly dressed women and among them Mary, where not long before one of her sisters had been loading a dung-cart. He had no opportunity of private conversation. He had an interview with her later, in the presence of Lady Harriet Drummond at Greenock, with whom she was staying, which resulted in the following letter:-

"Several years before you heard a voice, that unless you arose and proceeded without delay to declare the Gospel to the heathen, you and your father's house should perish. The command was God's, or it was not. As you have carefully avoided" a per-
sonal interview, "I must judge of appearances...as your former
pastor.

"Of all persons I ever knew, you are liable to be excited by
the presence of others, and originally having a strong love of
approbation. I therefore trembled, especially...when you became
(after your marriage) the guests of dear Mr Irving. I knew you
would, without any intentional deceit, be led to do whatsoever was
pleasing to him.

"For you know, you were by his (Irving's) own writings first
led to expect what you thought you had received when the gift of
tongues came upon you. In London, amidst the adulation of an ex­
cited people, at Albury amid the splendid hospitality of your god­
ly host, you have come to the conclusion that this is not the time
to obey the voice of God. When these gifts and powers came upon
you, you were poor and destitute. You owe everything to your re-
putation for Christianity. Had the Spirit indeed left you? Had
you indeed become as a tinkling cymbal?" (Story, pp. 214-217).

Mrs Caird vouchsafed no reply, but an answer came from

Henry Drummond:

19th June, 1834. "Sir, Mrs Caird, in absence of her husband
has put into my hands, as her pastor, a letter in which you charge
her with professing religion from mercenary motives. Partly
through Mr Irving and from my own knowledge, I can prove the charge
as false as it is base; and it comes with peculiarly bad grace
from a man notoriously holding opinions which have drawn Mr John
Campbell out of the Church of Scotland, contrived...so as to retain
his stipend."

"Story characteristically replied reasonably. To an angry
tirade on the part of Mr Caird, he replied:­

"Is the first exhibition of speaking in tongues to confirm
in their sinful and dishonest idleness some foolish boys...is it to
command their stay in her poor oppressed mother's house? Is the
agony of suffering which a patient sufferer endured through the
noise night after night, spiritual joy? Or the fearful things
transacted in the chamber of the dead?" (i.e. a horrible and vain
attempt to "raise" Samuel Campbell's corpse).

So stung was Caird by Story's disbelief in the "fruits of
the Spirit" manifested by his wife, that he converted the corre-
spor dence into one about money, demanding more than the £600 which
the minister had paid to the Campbell family as proceeds of the
"Memoir of Isabella Campbell". Story's firmness, however, led to
the collapse of the lawsuit. (p. 223)

The devoted parish minister had tried to rescue Mary from
"perilous fellowship" during "those tumultuous meetings in Helensburgh", and "with much ado succeeded in prevailing on her to live in the quiet of the cottage at Mamore", where his family was staying.

"Then, away from scenes where such gross familiarity was dared with the name of the Eternal, she came to herself, and confessed that she had spoken and prophesied in the name of the Lord God Almighty, when only giving vent to her own fancies." (p.231)

But such a confession was remorse rather than repentance.

At an earlier period she and her husband had refused to go to Prince Edward Island when Story laid before them a letter urgently calling for preachers. And she afterwards fully identified herself with every excess of the Irvingite movement in London. She died in 1840, still a young woman. She was not even fully trusted by the Irvingites themselves. "The Edinburgh Review" (June 1831), commenting on the later part of No. 8 of "The Morning Watch" (p. 948), states: "It seems allowed that it may be necessary to give up the case of Mary Campbell, and that of other persons of weak judgment, who shall have proved, by their extravagant and unwarranted presumptions, that they have mistaken false confidence for faith."

In 1832 Edward Irving wrote to Story:

"Oh, Story, thou hast grievously sinned in standing afar off from the work of the Lord, scanning it like a sceptic, instead of proving it like a spiritual man. Draw not back, brother, but go forward. Keep your conscience unfettered by your understanding."

The biographical details given in the foregoing pages may appear to be in the nature of a digression. But they throw a flood of light not only on the character of Mary Campbell through the eminently fair life of Story, but also on Edward Irving's lack of insight into human nature and his blindness to anything which ran counter to the movement he had espoused. Irving in absolute faith received from Mary Campbell what was virtually the result of his own speculations, developing in her sub-conscious mind, and surging up in the form of revelations. Thus was he built up in his belief, mistaking the echo of his own voice for the voice of God, as the traveller on the Brocken mistakes his own shadow in the clouds for a phantom giant.
The later career of the Macdonalds is very different from that of Mary Campbell. A reaction against the manifestations led to their narrow escape from being mobbed. (Norton, "Memoirs of James and George Macdonald". p. 185) But when the cholera came to Port-Glasgow, they were almost the only individuals who would enter the houses of the sick. (Norton, p. 198), which secured them "at least a silent respect".

Another characteristic feature was their refusal to accept "the pressing invitation made by some of the affluent and influential members of Mr Irving's congregation, to go up to London". Neither of the brothers could see the Lord's hand in this call, - even when backed by generous financial support. (p. 198) They believed that the gifts were liable to be abused there. "At its commencement, the work bore every scriptural mark, as far as we know." (p. 211) But regarding "Mr Irving's apostles appealing almost solely to an assumed prophetic gift calling them to such an'office, we find no parallel to this in Scripture." (p. 215)

"One great source of your error is the place given to the word spoken, as if it were of equal authority with the written word, the Scriptures. There is implied in the very command to judge what is said by the prophet a warning of the possibility of being deceived. With the written word this cannot be." (p. 217)

James Macdonald became seriously ill during the autumn of 1834. A friend who came from a distance to visit him asked if he still had no doubt that the extraordinary manifestations in him had been from the power of the Holy Ghost resting on him. He simply replied: "I can no more doubt it than I doubt that God is my God." He died on 2nd February, 1835. His brother followed him (14th September, 1835). The twins were born in 1800. It is a striking fact that they both died of consumption,(1) and that it was of this disease that Mary Campbell was cured.

Their abnormality was probably a combination of the physical

(1) So also did Isabella Campbell. (Erskine: Letters, Feb. 6th 1835).
and psychological, but a genuine religious passion was the controlling factor in the lives of the brothers, though this was mixed with baser elements in the case of Mary Campbell.

The Irvingite Movement has been examined in its birthplace. It now emerges into the wider setting of thought and experience in London.
Chapter Two.

Historical Sketch of the Progress of Glossolalia in London in the Time of Edward Irving.

2. The Tongues in Church; their effects ... p. 32.
3. Irving's last days; the movement freed from his control.... p. 37.
4. Spread of the Movement; Conclusions. p. 4 p. 42.

"Dim as the borrowed beams
Of moon and stars
"To lonely, weary, wandering travellers
Is REASON to the SOUL."

(Dryden, "Religio Laici").
CHAPTER TWO.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PROGRESS OF GLOSSOLALIA IN LONDON IN
THE TIME OF EDWARD IRVING.

Section 1.
The Beginnings in London.

On the return of the Albury delegates from the West of
Scotland, a meeting was held in October 1830 to consider results.

The "Gifted Persons" had declared "that their organs of
speech are made use of by the Spirit of God, and that they utter
what is given them, and not the expression of their own conceptions
or their own intention". "But I had numerous opportunities", said
Mr Cardale, the leader of the delegation, "of observing a variety
of effects confirmatory of this. I repeatedly observed that it had
no exhausting effect upon them, neither loudness of manner nor ve­
homence of action". (Cardale's Letter to "Morning Watch", II. 872).

The committee's report was approved, and throughout the
autumn of 1830 prayer meetings were held in private houses in Lon­
don, where prayer was made "for the outpouring of the Holy Ghost".
Several of these meetings were held weekly in Mr Cardale's house.
These were not confined to any one congregation, nor does Edward
Irving appear to have taken any part in them. The 'miraculous'
cure of Miss Fancourt in England (a clergyman's daughter) on 20th
October 1830, a case remarkably parallel to that of the Macdonalds
and Mary Campbell, (1) though entirely independent, was a 'sign'
(1) "All automatisms, psychologically considered, are fundamentally
equivalent. They are closely related and form a group, the unity
of which should be recognised. "It is rarely that an individual
presents only one kind of automatic manifestation. If he speaks
with tongues, he is likely to have visions or hear voices...etc."
(Cutten. p. 161).
which stimulated the craving for the revival of Apostolic "gifts". "Miracles", commented the "Morning Watch", "have occurred in all ages of the Church, depending only upon the faith at any particular time". (III. 150)

At length on 30th April 1831 the first case of speaking in tongues occurred in London, when Mrs Cardale uttered "with great solemnity" three distinct sentences in a tongue and three in English, in interpretation ("The Lord will speak to His people - the Lord hasteneth His Coming - the Lord cometh"). She repeated the last words several times, "with gradual increasing and then diminishing strength and loudness." At a later meeting a Miss Hall (governess in the family of Percival Spencer) "sang in the Spirit".

These events were notified to Rev. Hon. Baptist Noel, clergyman of the parish (subsequently a distinguished Baptist Minister) who not only refused his sanction, but preached against the gifts. ("Morning Watch". V. 185) The Cardales for some time continued to attend his church, then "went elsewhere", and finally found in Irving a man of note who was ready to lend his patronage and sympathy to the manifestations.

Meanwhile, as was pointed out in Chapter I, Mary Campbell, as one of the "sources" of the movement, was influencing those friendly to it in the south of England, passing and repassing through London. It was not till the end of 1831 that she and her husband returned to London definitely, remaining there till May 1832, when both finally left. ("A letter in reply to certain statements in the 'Old Church Porch'." p. 15)

The above stages in the growth of the Movement in England are authoritative, and are quoted by Miller in his "History and
We can trace Irving's connection with the manifestations back to the Prayer Meetings which were held in Regent Square church at 6.30 a.m. for a fortnight preceding the General Assembly of 1831 (Oliph. II. p. 173), when Scottish Churchmen and puzzled English adherents joined in supplication on behalf of the ecclesiastical authorities who were about to brand him and his friends as heretics. At that General Assembly Macleod Campbell was deposed, and of Irving's protégés, A.J. Scott had his licence to preach withdrawn and H.B. Maclèan's case was remitted to his Presbytery. A motion was carried on the occasion of a "Report upon Books and Pamphlets containing Erroneous opinions", urging the duty of any Presbytery of Scotland, within whose bounds Irving might be, to inquire whether he were the author of certain books (e.g. "Christ's holiness in the flesh"), and to proceed thereafter as they should see fit.

The effect of this reverse, the refutation of a Churchman for what he deemed orthodoxy, the rejection of a prophet who had declaimed against the errors of the age, was to strengthen Irving's fatalistic belief that he must suffer as his fathers had done, and to make him all the more ready to welcome new light. The "prophetic" and the "priestly" had always been strangely mingled in Irving; the "prophetic" element was now to prevail, though several years after his death the "Catholic Apostolic Church" which rose out of the nucleus of his congregation swung back to the "priestly" extreme in their compilation of an eclectic High Church Liturgy (1840).

After the General Assembly of 1831, those who attended the early morning prayer meetings at Regent Square during the crisis, resolved to continue the meetings, and direct their prayers to interests more immediately their own. (Oliph. I. p. 183) So as May
brightened into June, they prayed for the bestowal of the miraculous gifts of the Spirit, about which they had heard so much. Continual and persistent prayer, in which the worshippers ceased to be units, setting their minds on one object, produced the desired fruit. The very atmosphere of the early morning, and the fasting which was usual, were powerful stimulants. The first public intimation that the manifestations had occurred in answer to prayer, is contained in an incidental reference in a letter of Irving to Story (July, 1831): "Two of my flock have received the gift of tongues and prophecy". Not till four months later, however, did the new wonder manifest itself publicly.

During the interval Irving took the part of an investigator. The whole process of examination he explained in a speech before the London Presbytery a year later. Speaking of the prayer meetings he said: "We cried unto the Lord for apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers...because we saw it written in God's Word that these are the appointed ordinances for the edifying of the body of Jesus..."

"The Lord was not long in answering our prayers...He sealed first one, and then another; and gave them enlargement of spirit in their own devotions when their souls were lifted up to God...He then lifted them up to pray in a tongue which the apostle Paul says he did more than they all....."

"I say as it was with Paul at the proper time...namely, in their private devotions, when they were wrapt up nearest to God, the Spirit took them and made them speak in a tongue, sometimes singing in a tongue, sometimes speaking words in a tongue;

"and by degrees according as they sought more and more unto God, this gift was perfected until they were moved to speak in a tongue, even in the presence of others.

"But while it was in this stage I suffered it not in the church, acting according to the canon of the apostle; and even in
private, in my own presence, I permitted it not; but I heard that it had been done. I would not have rebuked it, I would have symp­pathised tenderly with the person who was carried in the Spirit and lifted up; but in the church I would not have permitted it.

"Then in time, perhaps at the end of a fortnight, the gift perfected itself, so that they were made to speak in a tongue and to prophesy; that is to set forth in English words for exhortation, for edification, and comfort, for that is the proper definition of prophesying as was testified by one of the witnesses.

"Now when we had received this into the church, in answer to our prayers, it became me, as the minister of the church, to try that which we had received. I say it became me, and not another, as minister of the church; and my authority for that you will find in the 2nd chapter of Revelations."

(Here we can see that so far, the priest in Irving has not yet vanished in the prophet.)

"I then addressed myself to the task of putting them to the proof...I durst not shrink from it.

"The first thing towards the trial was to hear them prophesy before myself; and so I did. The Lord in His providence (I cannot remember the particulars, nor do I charge my memory with them), gave me ample opportunities in private prayer meetings (of which there were many in the congregation for this purpose established) of hearing the speaking with tongues and prophesying; and it was so ordered that every person whom I heard was known to myself, so that I had the double test...first, the blameless walk of persons in full communion with the Church of Christ; and next, privately hearing the utterances, in which I could detect nothing contrary to sound doctrine...; and beyond these there are no outward or visible signs to which it can be brought.

"Having these before me, I was still very much afraid of introducing it to the church...For look you at the condition in which
I was placed. I had sat at the head of the church praying that these gifts might be poured out. Was I to disbelieve that which in faith I had been praying for?..."I, as Christ's dutiful minister, standing in His room and responsible to Him (as are you all) have not dared to believe that, when we asked bread, He gave us a stone, and when we asked fish, He gave us a serpent." (Oliph.II. pp.187-9)

It is clear, knowing Irving's mind, that in him the critical faculty was weak. He examined the candidates to satisfy his conscience, but he had strong prepossession in favour of the gifts. It was true that he might be able to detect cases of obvious imposture. But he could scarcely differentiate between the genuinely inspired and those weak-willed suggestible people who are so often the passive victims of revival mania. To differentiate between true and false candidates would be beyond the power even of one who combined the most intense psychic power, psychological insight, and spiritual sensitiveness and intuition. It would require the power of reading men's souls which only One Man has ever possessed.

Irving's faith was simple and absolute: he had neither historic sense nor knowledge of the maze of motives and cross-currents which are found in men's minds and hearts. He was unable to control the current of prophecy he had set in motion. Warning and re-proving voices interrupted his prayers and exhortations in private meetings, telling him that he was restraining the Spirit of God.

"Next morning," he says, "I went to the church, and after praying, I rose up and said in the midst of them all, 'I cannot be a part in hindering that which I believe to be the voice of the Holy Ghost from being heard in the church'. (After reading I Cor. XIV. 23.) 'I permit... that everyone who has received the gift of the Holy Ghost, and is moved by the Holy Ghost, shall have liberty to speak', - and I pointed to those whom I had heard in private.
"Now, observe, I took to myself, according to the commandment of Jesus, the responsibility of trying the prophets in private, before permitting them to speak in the Church. I then gave the Church an opportunity of fulfilling its duty; it belongeth not to the pastor alone, for beyond question, it belongeth to every man to try the spirits." (Oliph. II. p. 195).

Before this decision the utterances were restricted to private meetings. The following account of this was given by Rev. David Brown, who succeeded A.J. Scott as Irving's assistant towards the close of 1830 and served till the beginning of 1833 (v. "Expositor". VI. p. 216 ff.) If Scott was "a restless, dissatisfied inquirer", who swung from the extreme of credulity to that of agnosticism (while in later life Principal of Owen's College, Manchester) Brown was a close and accurate observer during the meetings when Glossolalia took place, presiding when Irving was absent. His future career developed along normal lines; he afterwards became Principal of the Free Church College, Aberdeen. The account given is trustworthy evidence, and it is to be regretted that he did not publish an accurate and impartial account of the Irvingite Movement in London.

"After the morning meetings a select number of us would go to breakfast with Mr and Mrs Irving. At one of these breakfasts a sweet, modest young lady, Miss Emily Cardale, began to breathe heavily and increasingly so, until at length she burst out into loud but abrupt short sentences in English, which after a few minutes ceased. The voice was certainly beyond her natural strength, and the subject-matter of it was the expected power of the Spirit not to be resisted by any who would hear. Other such utterances followed...first by Miss Hall, and then by a man who rather repelled me (a teacher of the name of Taplin) who professed to speak in an
unknown tongue. (Mr. Taplin, later an important figure in the circle of 'prophets', was the son of a clergyman, and was well acquainted with Hebrew, Greek and Latin, says Miller (p. 68. "Hist. of Irvingism").) "All that was uttered in English seemed to me so poor, and the same thing over again, that I was kept in uneasy suspense; and the only thing that might seem to indicate a 'power not their own' as its source, was the unnatural - I could not say preternatural - strength of it." (John Hair, "Hist. of Regent Square Church. 1899. p. 105,6)

The matter was, however, soon taken out of Irving's hands. The "tongues" soon burst their banks, dragging Irving and his restrictions with them. Publicity soon became a feature of the movement, which suddenly attracted universal attention.
Section 2.
The Tongues in Church; their effects.

The following article, extracted from the "World", appeared in the "Times" of 19th November 1831:-

"On Sunday, the Rev. Edward Irving delivered two sermons on the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, on each of which occasions the congregation was disturbed by individuals pretending to the gift of tongues. During the sermon in the morning, a lady (a Miss Hall) thus singularly endowed was compelled to retire into the vestry, where she was unable, as she herself says, to restrain herself, and spoke for some time in the unknown tongue to the great surprise of the congregation, who did not seem prepared for the exhibition."

Miss Hall, as Mr Pilkington, then one of the Irvingite circle, relates in his Narrative, so acted, "respecting the regulation of the Church", "whilst another, from the same impulse, ran down the side aisle, and out of the church". "The sudden, doleful, and unintelligible sounds, being heard by all the congregation, produced the utmost confusion; the act of standing up, the exertion to hear, see, and understand, by each of perhaps 1500 or 2000 persons, created a noise which may easily be conceived."

"Mr Irving begged for attention, and when order was restored, he explained the occurrence, which he said was not new, except in the congregation. He expounded I Cor. 14. 'in order to elucidate what had just happened'. The sister was now returning from the vestry to her seat, and Mr Irving, observing her from the pulpit, said, in an affectionate tone, 'Console yourself, sister! Console yourself!' He then proceeded with his discourse."
It was a Communion Sunday. In the evening, as an elder's wife said (Mrs Hamilton):—"There was a tremendous crowd, and from the commencement of the service there was an evident uproariousness, men's voices continually mingling with the singing and praying in the most indecent confusion. Mr Irving had nearly finished his discourse, when another of the ladies spoke. The people heard for a few minutes with quietness comparatively. But on a sudden, a number of the fellows in the gallery began to hiss, and then some cried 'Silence!' and some one thing and some another, until the congregation, except such as had firm faith in God, were in a state of extreme commotion. Some of these fellows (who it afterwards appeared were a gang of pickpockets come to make a 'row') shut the gallery doors, which I think was providential...for many lives might have been lost.

"Mr Irving immediately arose and said, 'Let us pray'. 'O Lord, still the tumult of the people!' over and over again in an unfaltering voice.....Certainly the Lord did still the people.

"Before the blessing, Mr Irving intimated that henceforth there would be morning service on the Sunday, when those persons would exercise their gifts, for he would not subject the congregation to the scenes they had witnessed.

"Some called, 'Hear! hear!', others 'Down! down!' The whole scene reminded one of Paul and Ephesus."

"Host of the Session dislike all this," wrote Irving to Mr Macdonald on 7th November 1831, "and had I not been firm, the voice of the Holy Ghost would, ere this, have been put down by one means or another. Our morning worship is attended by nearly 1000 persons. I seek the blessing of God, then we sing. Mr Brown and I read a chapter, and the Spirit confirms our interpretations, or adds and exhorts in a few words, without interruption, but with great strengthening; then one of us, or the elders, or the brethren prays, and then I fulfill the part of the pastor or angel of the church with short instructions, waiting at the intervals for the Spirit to speak, which He does sometimes by one, sometimes by two, and sometimes by three,—which I apply, and break down, and make the best use of for edifying of the flock and convincing the gainsayers; with short prayers as occasion serveth; and I conclude with prayer and the doxology, and the blessing."
"Every Wednesday night I am preaching to thousands 'the baptism with the Holy Ghost', and the Lord is mightily with us. But many adversaries. Oh, pray diligently that Satan may not be able to put this light out!...Farewell! P.S. The Cairds are with us again."

A movement which drew a thousand people regularly to church at 6.30 a.m. in dark November mornings, with the yellow fog rolling up from the Thames, can hardly be dismissed as the gibbering of a handful of fanatics. The meaning of the manifestations will be shown later.

Here it can only be briefly pointed out that Irving felt he had taken an irrevocable step. It is not possible to-day to share the surprise of the "Record" (21st November 1831) at his "statement that he had committed an error in forbidding the exercise of the unknown tongues at the usual Sabbath services, on November 13th". On Sunday November 20th this removal of the last barrier was significantly approved by a woman (probably Miss Cardalo), who commenced in an unknown tongue and passing into English cried out: "He shall reveal it! He shall reveal it! Yes, heed it! Yes, heed it! Ye are yet in the wilderness. Despise not His word! Despise not His word! Not one jot or tittle shall pass away."

The judicious William Hamilton, an elder and one of his greatest friends, represented the general opinion prevailing in Irving's congregation, as opposed to the crowds who had converged on Regent Square, attracted only by Irving's personality and the manifestations which were now especially associated with his name, though Irving himself is never once said to have spoken in tongues. To Dr. Martin of Kirkcaldy Mr Hamilton expressed his conviction that all the speakers are "very holy and exemplary persons"; the
general anxiety and desire of the congregation to "wait patiently and see more distinctly the hand of God in the matter": and at the same time the inclination of "some of the trustees to enforce the discipline of the Church of Scotland, according to the provisions of the trust-deed". "Edward is most conscientious and sincere in the matter; and he is so thoroughly convinced in his own mind that it is impossible...to induce that caution which the circumstances seem so imperatively to demand." (quoted, Oliph. II. p.214)

In this Thesis we may well draw a veil over the painful controversy between Irving and the Trustees who had now joined the press and "religious world" in their protest against the state of affairs at Regent Square.

Suffice it to say that it culminated in the Trustees having recourse to the Presbytery of London, whose jurisdiction they had with their minister, previously disowned. (12th March, 1832).

The trial was fixed for 26th April, 1832. That very morning Mr Robert Baxter,(1) a Doncaster lawyer - one of the "gifted persons" - called to state his conviction "that we had all been speaking by a lying Spirit, and not by the Spirit of God".

At this stage his assistant Mr Brown felt he could no longer associate with his minister, though he continued, "while there was any shadow of ground to think this work was divine. Then that was gone I had no option." "Your intellect, sir, has destroyed you," replied Irving. "Yes, sir, I confess it. I am responsible for the use of my intellect, and I have used it." "With his hand held to mine, he left me," relates Principal Brown ("Expositor". vol. VI. p.216 ff.) "...whose name can never be uttered without a feeling of mingled reverence and love rising within me."

Irving conducted his defence in his usual dignified and prophetic strain. Replying to one of his accusers' criticisms that he had failed to acknowledge to the Presbytery that Miss Hall, a (1) Baxter's "Narrative", one of the most valuable sources for the inner life of the Movement, will be fully examined in a later part.
"gifted person" had owned herself deluded, he cried: "She is one of the lambs of my flock - she is carried in my bosom. And shall I bring one of the lambs of my flock, who may have been led astray, before a public court? Never, never, while I have a pastor's heart!"

This was received with involuntary applause. Irving's single-minded sincerity never failed to impress his harshest critics.

"Is there anything in the constitution of the Church which forbids the exercise of the prophetic gift, supposing it to be real?" asked Mr. William Hamilton. The Presbytery confined themselves generally, however, to the assertion that unauthorised persons "neither ministers nor licentiates of the Church of Scotland", and in some cases "neither members nor seatholders" of the congregation, had been permitted to "interrupt the public services of the church".

"Prophesyings," pleaded Irving, had been provided for by the "First Book of Discipline"; but apart from that "ye are ministers of the Word of God, and not ministers of the standards of any Church". (compare this with his previous eulogies of Creeds and Confessions.)

Further, "I say that it is not persons but the Holy Ghost that speaketh in the church... This is what I rest my case on. This is the root of the matter. Come and hear for yourselves. The church is open many times in the week; and the Lord is gracious to us, and speaks through his servants very often. Therefore the decision must entirely depend on this; whether it be of the Holy Ghost, or not. For if it be, who dare gainsay it?"

(It will be seen that Irving regarded the "gifted persons" as the passive instruments on which the Spirit played. ("Letter to his opponents" n.d.) He admitted the possibility of deception, which he ascribed to the devil. He scarcely seems to have appreciated the difficulty any human being would at once encounter, who should essay "trying the Spirits".)

The verdict was inevitable. Irving was declared "unfit to
remain the minister of the Scottish National Church", (2nd May 1832),
though he continued to be still a minister of the Church of Scot-
land. He, characteristically, spent the day after the trial in
preparing for his Communion Season. On Sunday morning he and his
adherents found the doors of Regent Square Church barred.

Section 3.

Irving's last days: the movement freed from his control.

The evicted worshippers found refuge in a large room in
Gray's Inn Road, which had been occupied by Robert Owen (to the
horror of the "Morning Watch"), where 800 communicants followed Ir-
vng. A portrait in the hall of Regent Square church depicts him
preaching in the Square gardens to an immense crowd, with the twin
towers in the background. He preached everywhere in the open air,
and the common people heard him gladly. Mrs Oliphant pictures him
pausing with wrapt looks when the burst of utterance comes upon
some obscure man or woman in the crowd; for that utterance is to
him the voice of God, and for it he has borne "deprivation of every-
thing save life, itself"; therefore he gives magnificent thanks in
unconscious humility, for what he believes to be confirmation from
heaven; "a sight, if that voice were true, to thrill the universe;
a sight, if that voice were false, to make angels weep with utter
love and pity; any way, whether true or false... an attitude noble
and affecting". (Oliph. II. p. 303)

In the June number of the "Morning Watch", with reference to
the cholera scourge that was sweeping over England, there appeared
a long letter from Irving advancing the opinion that disease itself
was due to sin or was a test like Job's affliction, and that no man
with faith should be overpowered by it. The keynote was I. Cor. 12.
9. - "To another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit". A
personal experience of his own is given in confirmation. (Oliph. II. pp. 309-313) I allude briefly to this as a late attempt of Irving's to reproduce another charisma of the Apostolic Church in addition to Glossolalia.

The "Morning Watch", a quarterly review, abounding in discussions and expositions of the "gifts", served to hold the new community together. It was also the visible sign of the control which Henry Drummond and other wealthy and influential men began to exert over the movement, which had so far been "Irvingite" owing to the prestige of the great preacher who had thrown the cloak of his patronage over the infant "denomination". When West's picture gallery in Newman Street was taken over by the evicted congregation, the very arrangements intimated a far-reaching change.

"Instead of a pulpit," says Baxter in a second pamphlet "Irvingism", "there was a raised platform, on the front of which are seven seats; the middle seat is that of the angel; the three on each side are elders. Below them are seven other seats belonging to the prophets, the middle seat being allotted to Mr Taplin as chief of the prophets. Still lower in a parallel line are seven other seats appropriated to the deacons.

"The angel ordered the service, and the preaching and expounding was generally by the elders in order, the prophets speaking as utterance came upon them."

Baxter, whose "Narrative" has yet to be examined, might eventually proclaim his experience a delusion, but many of his principles took hold; particularly the authoritative way in which he interpreted prophecy, and uttered predictions. Up to his time the speakers, of whom the majority were women, seem only to have given stray gleams of edification. He declared "in the power" moreover that the Church no longer retained the privilege of ordaining, but that all spiritual offices were henceforth to be fill-
by the "gifted", or by those called by the "gifted", through the Spirit of God. As Mrs Oliphant remarks:

"This new development introduced, instead of the steady certainty of an established law, the unsettled and variable condition naturally resulting from dependence upon a mysterious spiritual authority, which might at any time command an entire change in their proceedings, and was besides liable to be intruded upon by equally mysterious diabolic agencies, which could with difficulty be distinguished from the real influence of the Spirit." (II. p. 320)

The last act in which Irving presided over the new congregation was the opening service at Newman Street (24th October 1832). On his describing the Church as barren, "conceiving, but not having brought forth" (during his exposition of I. Samuel. 1.) an ecstatic voice interposed "in the power" - "Oh, but she shall be fruitful, oh! oh! oh! she shall replenish the earth! Oh! Oh! she shall replenish the earth and subdue it - and subdue it."

Other utterances followed, few of them adding in any way to the sense of what was said, and some of them having little apparent point, e.g. in the sermon Irving is exhorting his hearers to believe that "there is salvation in Christ for every one of you", when the utterance bursts forth by the voice of Henry Drummond:

"Ah, shut Him not out - shut not out your Saviour! Ah, you are proud of your dignity! Ah, truly your power is fearful! Ah, you have a power of resisting your God! Ah, you are not straitened in your Father; you are straitened in yourselves! Oh, receive Him now! The day is almost closed. Ah, enter now! delay not - delay not, delay not. Ah, wherefore stand you back?"

Several other utterances burst from various "gifted persons". After the intimation of ten weekly services, Henry Drummond's voice again broke out:
"Ah, be ye warned! Be ye warned! Ye have been warned. The Lord hath prepared for you a table, but it is a table in the presence of your enemies. Ah, look you well to it! The city shall be builded - ah! every jot, every piece of the edifice. Be faithful each under his load - each under his load; but see that ye build with one hand, and with a weapon in the other. Look to it - look to it. Ye have been warned. Ah! Sanballat, Sanballat, Sanballat; the Horonite, the Moabite, the Ammonite! Ah, confederate, confederate, confederate with the Horonite! Ah, look ye to it, look ye to it!

In March 1833 Irving was summoned by the Presbytery of Annan, convicted of heresy regarding Our Lord's Human Nature from his books, and deposed from the Ministry of the Church of Scotland. On his return to Newman Street he was received, not with extraordinary honours as a martyr, but with an immediate interdict, forbidding him to exercise any priestly function; he was admitted as a mere deacon - the lowest office of the new hierarchy. Yet not a syllable of complaint fell from his lips. Other men, as Mrs Oliphant says, "have founded sects to rule them; Irving, no founder of a sect, came forth through repeated anguish and conflict, at the head of his community, only to serve and obey".

At last, as the authorised "Chronicle" states:

by "the concurrent action in manifested supernatural power, both of prophet and apostle, he was called and ordained angel or chief pastor of the flock assembled in Newman St." at the hands of Mr Cardale.

But Irving had now ceased to exert any real influence; he became a cog in a new machine where the Spirit was identified with the subjective utterances of the most influential leaders; in sad resignation he bowed to the inevitable. Yet not willingly, as his brother-in-law, the Rev. J. Brodie of Monimail, testified, when, on Irving's "fencing the tables" at a Newman St. Communion Season, a voice broke in: "And if there be any one who does not acknowledge that the Spirit of God is amongst us, let him abstain; let the
unbeliever depart."

"On Mr Brodie's explanation to Irving afterwards that under such conditions he could never communicate, the latter paused and then said, 'Ah, yes, the Spirit hath so enjoined us'. "I saw that it was not without a struggle that he gave up the liberal and catholic feeling by which he had formerly been led to regard all true believers as brethren." (Oliph. II. pp. 365,6)

Irving was a spent force. The last few months of his life he travelled in Wales and Scotland. From Glasgow he sent a curious letter to the Newman St. congregation, "full of questionings and dubieties upon the tongues". As Carlyle pointed out (Froude's "Early Life", p. 265.II), "Henry Drummond & Co." printed this letter for private publication, but afterwards laid hands on every available copy which could be destroyed, until every one but he, had forgotten its very existence.

Irving died at Glasgow (7th December 1834), his last words being - "If I die, I die unto the Lord".

"Every other consideration," said the ultra-orthodox "Scottish Guardian", "was forgotten in the universal and profound sympathy with which the information was received."

He was buried in Glasgow Cathedral crypt, the lancet window over his being characteristically a representation of John the Baptist.

He was only forty two; and his surviving son Martin lived to be a distinguished Australian Professor, proving that however unbalanced Irving may have been, he transmitted no strain of marked insanity.
Section 4.

Spread and Development of the Movement: Conclusions.

The voluminous publications of the Catholic Apostolic Church never fail to resent the title of "Irvingite". And to some extent they are therein justified, although it was to Irving they were indebted for publicity.

Before Irving finally left Newman St. a congregation had grown up under Rev. Nicholas Armstrong, an Irish clergyman of the Church of England. In January 1834 Rev. H.J. Owen of Park Chapel, Chelsea, also resigned his charge after a lengthy correspondence with Bishop Blomfield, and organised a congregation of his own.

A Miss Hughes, afflicted with curvature of the spine, had suddenly been cured on hearing of Miss Fancourt's cure. Owen (who had been a member of the Albury circle), preached and published four sermons upon this, and generally asserted that the gifts of the Holy Ghost should still be possessed by the Church. News of this teaching reached the bishop on Owen's father-in-law, Dr. Bayford, crying out "in the Spirit" at the close of a sermon: "the darkness, the darkness, the darkness, covereth the earth, and great darkness the people thereof".

In the Appendix to "The Lord's Work" (c.1899) Mr Owen is described as having recourse to "trying the Spirit" in Dr. Bayford; "most glorious and Scriptural was the conclusion"..."I did not go out of my sphere to look for these things...they were forced upon me by God". (p. 115)

In Bishopsgate Independent Chapel Mr Miller, the minister, had been teaching Christ's imminent Second Coming and personal reign on earth, and the bestowal of spiritual gifts. In his church the voices of the prophets were heard from 12th June 1832 onwards, expressions of praise, warning and deliverance. Till on 12th May
1832 Mr Miller was forbidden to administer Communion, by an utterance in the Power. He applied to Newman St. for instructions, and was afterwards ordained by Mr Cardale as an Angel, when his church became the second of "the Seven Churches of London".

"The Lord's Work" also tells of the sympathy shown towards the movement by Messrs Hinton and H.B. Bulteel (the latter a man of considerable talent and formerly incumbent of St. Ebbe's), the Baptist ministers of Oxford. Here again, the "signs of the times" pointing to the Second Coming, were preached and prayer meetings held for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. (p. 41) In the autumn of 1833, "the voice of the Comforter was heard, especially in the branch chapel at Eynsham. Among the simple farmers and labourers the Spirit found a willing and fruitful soil.

"Their joy found utterance in songs of the Spirit, sweet and musical even to the ears of persons who understood not whence they came. On one occasion a child said in the congregation: 'O hush, mother, what beautiful music over the house!' Again, a woman who was by no means converted by what she heard, yet said: 'What can these people be about? I have heard such wonderful heavenly music over their meeting-house.'"

Mr Bulteel, we are told, was most ardent, at first, in support of the movement, but drew back after 1833.

At Edinburgh Mr Tait, formerly of the College Church, had espoused the cause. The outpourings in his congregation had been accompanied by some utterances so debased as to be rejected by the better type of 'prophet'. Irving was sent in 1834 to deal with these 'unclean spirits', and from all accounts seems to have been effective.

'Prophecy' was, however, destined to be supplanted. It was discredited by its subjectivity. Continual doubts repeatedly arose over Mr Taplin ('who kept an academy in Castle St., Holborn')
'the chief of the prophets'. At Regent Square on rebuking Mr Irving, he was himself rebuked by utterance through Miss E. Cardale; and after some days confessed that he had harboured unjust thoughts against Mr Irving, and that he had spoken this rebuke "by the power of an evil spirit".

At Gray's Inn Road Miss E. Cardale in the power called on an individual present to confess his sin. After some time Mr Taplin came forward and confessed that he had been guilty of mingling his own thoughts with the utterance.

The Sunday after Mr Irving's burial, Mr Ryerson in a sermon at Newman St. was showing how a man might have the gift of the Spirit without the gift of God in his heart, alluding, as was generally understood, to Mr Taplin, when Miss E. Cardale again "broke out in the most appalling utterance" - 'He never had it - He never knew it.'


Mr Drummond's Ordination as Apostle and pastor of the Church at Albury (December 28th 1832) marked progress in the abandonment of the 'prophetic' leadership. "It is the Lord's will," declared Cardale, in a commanding manner, "that thou proceed to feed this people with the body and blood of Christ. See thou to it."

The new Apostle might add, before administering Communion: "I may give you the bread and wine, but this is not to have communion with the Lord - it is the Spirit that quickeneth".

But the Prophetic Movement had burnt itself out within the next few years. Out of the molten material of healing, prophesying, and speaking with tongues, there emerged an institution essentially priestly (though more 'apostolic' in framework than the Catholic Church which it so closely resembled), twelve apostles planting and watering churches throughout the world, on whose decease the Second Coming was expected. It is without the scope of this Thesis to describe the organisation of the "Catholic Apostolic Church", but it is essential to notice the rapid transformation from spontaneous enthusiasm to hierarchical and sacramental order, which the

(1) Yet Prof. Schaff heard Glossolalia in a N.Y. Irvingite Congregation - "broken, ejaculatory, unintelligible, uttered in a state of apparent unconsciousness and rapture, and without any control over the tongue." Dr. Briggs also witnessed it in the chief Irvingite Church in London, as late as 1879. (v. Cuten. p. 112)
Irvingite movement underwent between 1834 and 1840, - a striking contrast to the more gradual and natural evolution of the Apostolic Church from primitive simplicity to ecclesiasticism. Yet it is interesting to note that if the Prophecy of the Old Testament inspired the Irvingites in their earlier days, later development proceeded on the close and even fantastic analogy of the Old Testament Priesthood.

We may date the transition from the Irvingite Circle to the "Catholic Apostolic Church" from the winding up of the "Morning Watch", June 1833. Few editors have made such a statement as this:

"The followers of Christ and the followers of Antichrist are now gathering... Christ is gathering His children into the true Church, to do Him service there, and, in so doing, to be prepared for His coming; Satan is gathering his hosts under the standard of Liberalism to become the pioneers of that 'wicked one, the man of perdition', the personal Antichrist.

"In the progress of this work, Christ hath been calling for...the personal services of nearly all the regular correspondents of this journal; and He hath at length called the editor to take the place of an elder in His Church, and hath claimed all his time for the special duties of feeding and overseeing a sixth part of the flock in London. To this higher calling the editor now resolves to devote himself wholly, and at the same time brings the "Morning Watch" to a close, as he will not transfer to any other person such a solemn responsibility."

A footnote to this chapter is devoted to the brief examination of an extremely interesting parallel to the Irvingite Movement which occurred in South Germany at about the same time, unknown to the "gifted persons" in London. In 1842 a certain Johann Lutz received a letter from his friend Leinfelder, recommending Caird (husband of Mary Campbell): - "'In England there are churches such as there were in the beginning.' I was much surprised. 'Who directed these churches?' 'Apostles'. 'What Apostles? I have been waiting for a special work of God in the Church for fourteen
When did these people (i.e. in Germany) speak in prophecy? asked Mr Caird. I told him that it was at the same time that persons in Scotland began to speak in the power of the Holy Ghost! ("A Chapter in Church History from South Germany. Being passages from the Life of J.E.G. Lutz", by L.W. Scholler. E.T.Longmans, Green, 1894. p. 156)

Born in 1801, Lutz was influenced by the saintly Bishop Sailer. While Roman Catholic priest at Karlshuld on the Donau moos (1826), he felt that his flock were craving for spiritual teaching which the Church did not provide. He had preached a Revival sermon on New Year's Eve, 1827. Next morning he was awakened at 3.15 a.m. by a crowd wanting to confess. A peasant woman advised him "to rely more on the Spirit." Many spent the night of Ash Wednesday in prayer, when a man and woman commenced suddenly to speak under the influence of a higher power. "We know nothing," they said, "of that which we utter until we begin to speak; a power comes upon us, and the words which we are to speak are given to us."

Words were spoken in the power in church and in the people's homes.

The first words spoken in the power were: "Know ye not, ye children of God, that ye are living in the last days, the days in which the Lord will come. Know ye not that before the Lord comes, He will give you again apostles, prophets, evangelists and pastors, as at the beginning.

No record was taken of the utterances, but Lutz distinctly remembered the following: -- "Ye are living in the time when Jesus will awaken the sleeping ones." "This generation shall see it!" "The Lord gives again Apostles and Churches as at the beginning!" (The last two often repeated) "The Lord will pour out His Spirit as at the beginning!"

There were visions and dreams, but also demoniacal attacks. Lutz believed that treasure was contained in earthen vessels (II. Cor. 4.7); the gift was not manifested in a pure form. (He remembered the case of a gifted young woman who was almost idolised, but from want of proper control, miscarried herself with one of the men who idolised her).
The author of Lutz’s life criticises him for allowing the “heavenly light of prophecy to grow dim”, instead of perfecting it.

Scholler then refers to the Movement in Britain in 1830:

"Here also it was connected with (1) The preaching of the love of God in Christ;
(2) And of the true human nature of Our Lord;
(3) As well as with the study of the prophetic portions of the Holy Scriptures.
(4) And here also did the word of prophecy point to the speedy coming of the Lord, and to a work of preparation to be done through apostles...which should precede His coming.

"The shoot within the Roman division, being touched by the frost...withered, - the one in the more favoured Protestant part of the Church was able to gain strength and thrive."

It was only till July 1828 that speaking in the power flourished; after that it was occasional in Lutz' parish.

At that time in fact he considered supernatural gifts unnecessary adjuncts to the Christian life. Only later (p. 59) did he attain the conviction:

(1) "The Holy Ghost Who dwells in the Church, would by means of these gifts continually testify to Jesus, and illuminate the path of the Church.

(2) "That these gifts are absolutely essential if the Church is to be built up for the habitation of God through the Spirit, and to be prepared for the coming of the Lord.

It is interesting to note that his congregation continually complained of the burden of ceremonies, officially petitioned Lutz for the Scriptures. He was supported by the Government, and opposed by the Chapter; sought a refuge in the Protestant Church, but, appalled by its rationalism, returned to Rome (1832) as priest at Oberroth, where he met Caird. The result of intimacy with Caird was an accusation of Irvingism, for which he was eventually
excommunicated (26th Feb. 1856). The rest of his life he spent in the service of the "Catholic Apostolic Church", after his reception by Henry Drummond, acting as Angel at Berne.

The life of Lutz shows that in the third decade of the nineteenth century there was something in the Zeitgeist favourable to the revival of Apostolic charismata, which found expression both in Britain and on the Continent, in Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches, and which would probably have developed in the latter on Irvingite lines but for Lutz's caution and for ecclesiastical opposition. In both cases the gifts tended to be the hot-house fruit of a warm pietism, stimulated by ascetic practices. In Germany there was a revolt of the Spirit against the bondage of ritual; in Britain against the bondage of idolised Confessions and Biblical literalism (though the exegesis of the Irvingites was generally grotesque). In both Britain and Germany, the murmur of revolutions, wars and industrial conflict seemed to be signs of the Last Day, - a result which readily suggested itself to the readers of a Bible not yet understood in the light of Modern Criticism.
CHAPTER THREE.

EDWARD IRVING AND THE 'THEOLOGY' OF THE GIFT OF TONGUES.

Section 1. His Book on "The Church"...p49.
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"Many persons demand that Christianity shall do precisely the same things which it did, or claims to have done, in the first times; not observing that the doing of a thing given thing is commonly a good reason why it should not be done again, and that the great law of adaptation, which is a first law of reason, will always require that there should be a change of administration."

CHAPTER THREE.

EDWARD IRVING AND HIS THEOLOGY OF THE GIFT OF TONGUES.

A necessary preliminary to inductive study of the manifestations is the study of Irving's attitude, as far as that can be revealed in works and periodicals. The development of Irving's views has been examined in some detail in the Introduction (ch. I), up till the outbreak of Glossolalia in the West of Scotland. An attempt must now be made to open up his mind, at the critical period which followed.

Section 1.

His book on "The Church".

"It is not by putting a book into every man's hand, but it is by a continuous Church. God's witness to every nation and generation... But lo! The Bible Society is our Church, and the Bible is our God!"

Mention has already been made of the manner in which Irving reacted against the more progressive thought of his time, though in certain respects he maintained a tinge of liberalism. This process was greatly accelerated after 1830, when any abnormal happening in religion he was only too ready to welcome, as a confirmation of his earnest hope and desire. "This power of miracles", he said, "must either be speedily revived in the Church, or there will be a universal dominion of the mechanical philosophy, and faith will be fairly expelled, to give place to the law of cause and effect. What now is preaching become, but the skill of a man to apply causes which may produce a certain known effect upon a congregation? - so much of argument, so much of eloquence, so much of pathos, so much of doctrine;
and all to bring the audience into a certain frame of mind, and so dismiss them well wrought upon by the preacher and well pleased with themselves."

"The effectual check to all this would be to dispute with the enemy in his fortress; to stop the sun like Joshua; to make him travel back like Isaiah; to walk upon the water like our Lord! (p. 478)

"But now the Church is shaking herself from her bonds. Now she is beginning to breathe a purer air and her faculties are returning."

"The power and glory of a risen Lord, as well as the holiness of a Lord in the flesh, is beginning to be understood."(p.501)

"I would say that this gift hath ceased to be visible in the Church (1) Because of her great ignorance concerning that work of Christ at His Second Coming, of which it is the continual sign:

(2) Because of her indifference to the world without, for preaching to which the gift of the Holy Ghost is the continual outfit of the Church.

(3) The dignity and office of the Church hath not been preached and is almost lost sight of - little else besides the baptismal and eucharistic gift, and the justification and sanctification of the believer. (Poliy...and the standing of the civil magistrate...are almost the only things which have come into question among Protestants)". (p. 500)

"Till the Reformation this opinion (that the gifts have rightly ceased) was never mooted in the Church. It is only of latter days that one hath dared to assert that the gifts of prophecy and healing are no longer to be looked for. Read the lives of the Reformers, of the Puritans, of the Covenanters, written by sound and zealous Protestants; read the histories of the Church written more than fifty years ago, e.g. our Petrie." (Irving might have added Howie's "Scots Worthies", where the marvellous is naively spoken of as naturally happening). "Who has not heard of the Prophecies of Muss, and of Wishart? Among Protestants of the older
day I can find no such hard scepticism as hath been sounded abroad within these months past." (p. 500)

"These gifts have ceased, I would say, just as the verdure and the flowers cease in winter, by the chill and wintry blasts which have blown over the Church. But if the Church be still in existence, and that no one denies; then, though she hath been brought so low, her life is still in her, and that life will, under a more genial day, put forth her native powers....Now I see a glorious revival worthy of the name - a revival of doctrine, of discipline, of holiness." (pp. 501.2.3)

It would be difficult to find a better illustration than the above quotations, of Bushnell's thesis, that in the History of the Church the pendulum has been constantly swinging between the extremes of rationalism and credulous belief. In Irving's theology, we have belief red-hot.

Irving eulogises Old Testament Prophecy - "Clear, true, warm and tender; fresh from the heart; redolent with the affections of God to sinful men; piercing and penetrating yet not appalling, but cleansing and comforting to the conscience." (p. 482)

"It seems to me," he concludes, "that this gift of prophesying (of the Church) is the same which was ministered by the Old Testament prophets - the faculty of showing to all men their true estate in the sight of God, their nearness to His judgments and the way of escape, foretelling being but only a part of it." Yet he qualifies this by adding: - "I believe that the word prophet in all cases in the Scriptures signifies a man speaking in the power of another Spirit not his own." Concerning New Testament Glossolalia, he observes "now no gift had a completeness in itself, but wanted the neighbourhood and help of another". (p. 485) "To another s-
"The one brought the precious metal from the heavenly treasury, the other assayed it, lest it should have contracted any defilement or intermixture in the transmission."

The Apostolic tests of John and Paul ("Jesus is come in the flesh": "Jesus is Lord") Irving with considerable dexterity applies to the opponents of his own theology, but suggests no practical method by which true inspired speakers could be distinguished from false:

"It is very ominous that these are the very two points for which we are now persecuted by many, who deny Christ to have had flesh without the law of flesh; and deny that His lordship is of this earth." (p. 486).

Irving concludes:

(1) That the Gift of Tongues is "like an ambassador's commission", "that the Church may preserve her missionary spirit", for "Paul spoke more abundantly with tongues than they all did (I Cor.14.18) and Paul was the greatest missionary of them all." (p. 491)

Though a man speaking with tongues could not understand what he said, yet "he tasted the sweetness and had a first fruits of the profitableness of that truth which the Spirit was passing through his tongue to the understanding of another man". (p. 491)

If prophecy was for the instruction of the believer, the object of tongues was to warn the unbeliever, urged Irving in another book, "The Holy Ghost". Here he follows St. Paul in I. Cor. 14.21. "By men of strange tongues will I speak unto this people." He evidently has the 28th chapter of Isaiah in mind, for he pours scorn on the current "pride of intellect and glory of learning", and calls on men to adopt "the childhood way of teaching and learning, which is by faith. (p. 543)."
"God will use those gifted with tongues as a means of reduc-
ing His mighty voice, which heretofore shook Sinai. As John was
the voice of Christ preparing His way, so these persons speaking
with tongues are the voices of the Spirit seeking access into our
hearts by our ears, for the indwelling God to abide in us, and act
and speak forth of us for ever." ("The Holy Ghost", p. 539)

(2) "This gift doth put beyond all doubt the Unity of Christ and
His members.

"Speech is the means by which an embodied Spirit doth mani-
fest its existence. Christ is proved to be in me, when He doth,
through the organs of my body express His own mind to those whom I
can by no means reach by any expression of my own." ("The Church".
pp. 491-492).

The subject was in a state of absolute passivity:-

There is "No necessary connection between speaking with a
tongue and understanding what was spoken - both speaker and inter-
preter being alike ignorant - until the Spirit moved again." (Ibid.
p. 488)

"By the truth that the spirit of a man out of the world
dwells in many men in the world at one and the same time, and con-
tinues this habitation from age to age, what less is proved than
that this person is also God?" (Ibid. pp. 492-3).

"For who but God can connect that which is not in the world
with that, which is in the world?

"Christ's soul being a limited substance, how can this lim-
ited substance which is now out of the world, be yet in the world,
in the souls of men?

"This can only be by means of another Being, proceeding from
Christ, of one substance with Christ, a person to the bounds of all
space and time.

"This power (a) shows Him to be the fountainhead of speech,
the Word.
(b) While by His power to enter into all forms
of reason, He is the One Reason, who light-
eth every man...." (Ibid. p. 493)

(3) "He that speaketh in a tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto
God: for no man understandeth - he edifieth himself." (I.
Cor. 14. 2,4).

"All forms of the reason within, which speech expresseth out-
wardly, may be inactive, 'fruitless,' and barren— and yet the spirit itself be receiving great edification from God, through means which are wholly independent of intelligence." (p. 494) (It is only fair to Irving to state that he bears in mind the Apostle's limitations of the value of Glossolalia).

(4) "Of Interpretation of Tongues little need be added".

"It did not consist of their knowledge of the strange words, or the structure of the foreign languages. It was not akin to translation; the Spirit did not become a schoolmaster at all."

"When the man with the gift of interpretation gave it out in the vernacular tongue, we would be filled with awe. Methinks it is altogether equal to the speaking with the trumpet from the thick darkness of the Mount."

(5) "The using of man's organs is, indeed, a mark of a new dispensation foretold to come to pass after Christ ascended on high. The strange tongue taketh away all source of ambiguity, proving that the man hath nothing to do with it, and leaves the work wholly in the hands of God. "And therefore tongues are called 'a sign to the unbeliever.'" (I Cor. 14.22) (p. 496).

"Just as the voice given at Bethabara over the baptised
"I cannot but look upon this gift of tongues as sealing up the sum of God's dealing with men."

Irving's plea that there was nothing heretical in the restoration of charismata, which had never been abrogated, was perfectly sound. But he stressed these gifts, and especially Glossolalia, to such an extent that the whole proportion of Christian Doctrine was dislocated. At times his doctrines resembled those of the Montanists.

"In the incarnation, Christ's identity with fallen man was shown, yet without sin; "in the Church Christ's identity with God is shown...that all men might believe in His name."

"This Gift of Tongues is the crowning act of all."

None of the old prophets had it; Christ had it not; it belongs to the dispensation of the Holy Ghost proceeding from the risen Christ: it is the proclamation that man is enthroned in heaven, that man is the dwelling place of God, that all creation if they would know God, must give ear to Man's tongue." This statement is qualified, however: "It is not in us as men that God speaks; but in us as members of Christ, as the Church and body of Christ." (p. 497).
Section 2.

Articles in "Fraser's Magazine", 1832. (1)

These three Articles are of greater importance than the book just examined, in the sense that they were addressed by Irving to the educated public of his day, who would not be likely to spend much time reading his works, but who would turn with interest to a matter of current importance such as "the tongues", as accounted for by their 'author' in a periodical of standing. Irving is, as he tells us, unwilling "to cast pearls before swine", but recognises the need of "sowing beside all waters".

In the January Number Irving describes how the "way had to be prepared...before the Holy Spirit could have anything to witness unto". This was to be achieved by "the full preaching of Christ's coming in the flesh and His coming again in glory, - the great divisions of Christian doctrine which had gone down into the earth, out of sight and out of mind". "I confined myself," he continues, "to confession of our sins and the sins of our fathers...I had not made sure or taught my people to pray for the restoration of the spiritual gifts. Thus we stood when the tidings of the restoration of the gift of tongues in the West of Scotland burst in upon us like the morning star, and turned our speculations upon the true doctrine into the examination of a fact".

Then came the inquiry of A.J. Scott, described in chapter (pp. 3, 4) which finally persuaded Irving that the gifts were from

(1) "Believe it? As much as I believe the high priest of Otahiti!" replied Lockhart to Fraser. (Carlyle's "Reminiscences", p. 251). In the appreciation of Irving, on his death, Fraser's Magazine definitely dissociates itself from his views on spiritual gifts.
God. "I felt it a matter of too great concern to yield up my
faith to anything but the clearest evidence, not to leave a stone
unturned; for if it should turn out to be true, I perceived at
once that it would revolutionise the Church."

The root of the theology which underlay the 'tongues' is
found in the following sentences, referring to Mary Campbell:

"In December 1829 the young woman was led to read by a new
light chs. 14-16 of St. John. She came to see what I had been
preaching six or seven years, that all the works of Christ were
done by the man anointed by the Holy Ghost, and not by the God mixing Himself up with the man. (John. 12.14: Acts. 10.38).

"She straightway argued, if Jesus as a man in my nature thus
spake and performed by the Holy Ghost, which he even promiseth to then ought I, in the same manner, by the same spirit, to do like-
wise." (Mark. 16,17)

It was this theology which underlay "speaking with tongues". By it, Christ was practically reduced to the status of manhood, - into whom the Holy Spirit breathed power, enabling Him to do mighty
works: an energy of similar kind, though differing in degree, was
conceived of as inspiring human beings, who might attain unheard of heights of holiness. This is by no means the sole passage where
such a doctrine is advanced. If it were, we could scarcely press
Irving's words too far, as he was notoriously vague, inconsistent,
and one-sided in his arguments. But such words constantly recur in his works, and we need not be surprised that he was charged with heresy, in spite of Mrs Oliphant's laboured defence of his ortho-
doxy. It is true that his faculty of popular and picturesque ex-
pression may often have led him into verbal inaccuracies, as was undoubtedly the case in the controversy over Our Lord's Human Nature. But the Irvingite Circle, laymen for the most part—though in London often laymen of considerable education,—received his teaching at its face value, often in a grotesquely exaggerated form, as will be seen later.

The January number concludes with several observations:-

(1) The Holy Spirit is conceived of as coming down without any intervention (as at Pentecost and in the case of Cornelius).

Irving anticipates the possible restoration of Apostles (which actually came to pass not long afterwards). "But if Apostles were raised up again, as I believe they will be, they may again have this effectual laying on of hands for the seal of their office. But when they shall come, they shall stand humbly under Christ, as prepared channels through which His virtues may pass."

(2) "As there was but one giving of the Law, and one Incarnation, so there is but one day of Pentecost...and to expect another is folly and delusion. The gifts then came into the Church, and are in the baptised Church now as ever."

Irving held that the "experiment made of these tongues (at Pentecost) doth ever attest them for ever to be the true tongues of men". But he constantly denied the accusation of his opponents that the revival of tongues in his own time was designed as a short cut to the speaking of foreign languages: on the contrary, it was merely for a 'sign' to the outsider, as in I Cor. 14. In this, he was followed by most of the members in his circle, though it will be remembered that Mary Campbell thought that the gift of miraculous speaking several foreign languages (e.g. Turkish and that of the Solow Islanders) had been bestowed on her.
Interpretation, moreover, was "a spiritual gift, and not an act of translation." (Fraser. March, 1832) "As the speakers spake the unknown words, the meaning thereof rose in upon the interpreter's heart, and the proper native words came to his lips. But he was all the while as ignorant of the foreign words as the utterers and hearers". A Mr Pilkington, who had been for some time a strong supporter of the manifestations at Regent Square, had towards the end of 1831 professed himself disillusioned, and declared the tongues to be snatches of foreign languages. Irving asserted that it was Mr Pilkington himself who had been deluded in failing to understand the true meaning of the tongues. This protest was first sent in a letter to the "Times" (December 27th, 1831), but was rejected as "trash, with which it had nothing to do" - a summary judgment of England's greatest newspaper, indicating Irving's fall in the estimation of the educated public generally. It appeared, however, in a slightly altered form in the March Number of "Fraser's Magazine", now under consideration.

"There has occurred but one instance of excited enthusiasm, in the case of a stranger, a Mr Pilkington, of whom I knew nothing, until at one of our morning meetings, he spoke out as if moved by the Spirit; and the next morning, while I was praying for the gift of interpretation, he lifted up his right hand, and spake forth words as the interpretation of what had been spoken in a tongue at some meeting.

"This man I treated as a pastor ought to...For who was I, that I should say God had not given him such a gift, seeing that he seemed a devout man, waiting always upon God's service? Of the acts of kindness which I showed him, I understand he has made a bad use. It is not the first time that I have been so treated.

"...He tried it by translation and enthusiasm. Had he been ingenuous, I could have set him right at once, having written fully a year ago, upon the nature of these gifts; but receiving a mixed and confused account from him, that the words came to him by a spiritual influence and not by an intelligible
labour, I was afraid to prejudge the matter, knowing that a man might receive a gift who was not able to give a distinct account of it.

"I therefore took time, and gave him all the opportunities of proving the matter, till I could fairly say that it is not of the Holy Ghost, but of his own enthusiastic fancy, erroneous understanding, and partly from an unclean heart."

Mr Pilkington's "Narrative" will be fully examined in a later chapter, and its value estimated as an explanation of speaking with tongues.

Irving proceeds in the March Number to give a description of the tongues and their effect on the "Gifted Persons".

Section 3.

"Fraser's Magazine" descriptions continued.

"The whole utterance, from the beginning to the ending of it, is with a power, and strength, and fullness, and sometimes rapidity of voice, altogether different from that of the person's ordinary utterance in any mood; and I would say, both in its form and in its effects upon a simple mind, quite supernatural.

"There is a power in the voice to thrill the heart and awe the spirit after a manner which I have never felt. There is a march, and a majesty, and a sustained grandeur in the voice, especially of those who prophesy, which I have never heard even a resemblance to, except now and then in the sublimest and most impassioned moods of Mrs Siddons and Miss O'Neil."
"It is a mere abandonment of all truth to call it screaming or crying; it is the most majestic and divine utterance which I have ever heard, some parts of which I never heard equalled, and no part of it surpassed, by the finest execution of genius and art exhibited at the oratorios. And when the speech utters itself in the way of a spiritual song, it is the likest to some of the most simple and ancient chants in the cathedral service, insomuch that I have been often led to think that those chants, of which some can be traced up as high as the days of Ambrose, are recollections and transmissions of the inspired utterances in the primitive Church.

"Most frequently the silence is broken by utterance in a tongue, and this continues for a longer or a shorter period, sometimes occupying only a few words, as it were filling the first gust of sound; sometimes extending to five minutes, or even more, of earnest and deeply-felt discourse, with which the heart and soul of the speaker is manifestly much moved to tears, and sighs, and unutterable groanings, to joy, and mirth and exultation, and even laughter of the heart.

"So far from being unmeaning gibberish, as the thoughtless and godless sons of Belial have said, it is regularly-formed, well-proportioned, deeply-felt discourse, which evidently wanteth only the ear of him, whose native tongue it is, to make it a very masterpiece of powerful speech." ("Fraser's Magazine", March, 1832)

Mrs Oliphant's comment is:

"I can neither explain nor account for phenomena so extraordinary." ("Life of Edward Irving", II. p. 209)

Modern Psychology may not be in the position to give a full
explanation of Glossolalia, but as will be seen in a subsequent chapter of this Thesis, can at least throw considerable light on the phenomena.

For the present, we may continue considering Irving's own account, bearing in mind the fact that the descriptions of his opponents were sometimes as one-sided in scepticism, as his in credulity.

"Useful, brother?" he asks his opponents. "It is most useful for thee, in order to get the better of thine unbelief and irreverence, to abate thy trust in thine own understanding, by showing thee a thing which it cannot enter into - to make thee fall and acknowledge God speaking by His Spirit."

"It is the standing symbol of the communion of the saints, and their fellowship with the Father and the Son, not by means of intelligence, but by means of the Holy Ghost.

"But because intellect cannot grasp it, intellect would dash it to the ground, and deny that there is a spirit in man deeper than the intellect - that there is a Holy Ghost binding God to Jesus, and Jesus to the Church, and the Church with one another.

"The unknown part of the discourse is the symbol of the fountain secret, unseen and unknown. Doth a man refuse to drink of the clear, flowing stream, because he knows not the hidden and secret cavern from which it hath flowed out!"

Irving tells of a "Gifted Person" who described his inmost experience of the Tongues:

"When I am praying in my native tongue, however fixed my soul be upon God, and Him alone, I am conscious to other thoughts and desires, which the very words I use force in before me. I am like a man holding straightforward to his home full in view, who, though he diverge neither to the right hand nor to the left, is ever solicited by many well known objects on every hand of him."
"But the moment I am visited with the Spirit, and carried out to God in a tongue which I know not, it is as if a deep covering of snow had fallen on all the country round, and I saw nothing but the object of my desire and the road which leadeth to it. I am more conscious than ever to the presence of God. He and He only is in my soul. I am filled with some form of the mind of God, be it joy or grief, desire, love, pity, compassion or indignation; and I am made to utter it in words which are full of power over my spirit, but not being accessible to my understanding, my devotion is not interrupted by associations or suggestions from the visible or intellectual world: I feel myself, as it were, shut in with God into His own pavilion, and hidden close from the invasions of the world, the devil, and the flesh."

Irving continues:

"In the same breath, in perfect continuance, sometimes in constant sequence, sometimes with such a pause as a speaker makes to take his breath, the English part flows forth in the same fullness, majesty and grandeur. As God speaketh in the Church for edification, this is always the largest part, four or ten times, as much being known as is unknown. The unknown is the sign that the known is a message from God, prophesying under the power of the Spirit, and not any offering of the enlightened and pious mind for the benefit of the brethren - that it is Jesus occupying the speech, and using the tongue of His servant, to speak the things which He desireth at that time to be spoken and heard."(1)

(1) So we find Irving refuting his opponents' charge of disobedience to Apostolic precept re women speaking in Church: "It is not they, but the Holy Ghost that speaketh in them."
At this point Irving proceeds to qualify this statement by one which virtually annuls it: "The person is not used as a trumpet merely for speaking through, but as an intelligent conscious creature, to be possessed in these his inward parts and used by the Lord of all." A little further on, however, he speaks of "Jesus using his will, and through the spirit and tongue of the man, uttering forth what words he pleaseth." And yet again: "In uttering the unknown and the known, he is alike under the power of Jesus, equally conscious in his speech to the thing which is uttered". This is contradicted unmistakably in a sentence which follows: "There is no difference in the state of the speaker, - he is equally unconscious, equally unintelligible."

"He is all the while a responsible agent. But the work of responsibility is entirely confined to the will of the person, the mind...the heart being only the serving creature, with which the spirit hath nothing to do but to keep to its work and entreat it kindly.

"It seems to me to realise the views of man's being that I was wont to hear from the mouth of that most profound thinker, our dear Coleridge, as he hath blessed me more instruction than any other uninspired man." (1)

Two alternatives could end Glossolalia:

(1) A man might either refuse his Will, and thus quench the Spirit.
(2) Or being commanded by those...who rule over him, he can cease to give his Will, and so arrest the utterance of the spirit."

These conflicting statements, occurring not merely in the same paper, but within several sentences of each other, are given to show that Irving was of all men the least logical; he had certainly drawn a vague diffuseness from Coleridge, - which rendered his thought like a meandering river or lake, as was pointed out in the Introduction, Chapter I. There seems no doubt, however, con-
sidering his writings and the actual course of the Movement, that he held the inspired person to be a passive instrument of the divine voice, - a man's own piety being temporarily deflected, in order that the absolute and perfect holiness of the Deity might communicate uncontaminated messages.

Irving believed that there was "no difference between the actual state of the speaker in uttering the known and the unknown words, the one being as pure an utterance of the Holy Ghost as the other. As to the virtue of the unknown tongue, not only did human associations prevent a full "absorption in God"; there was the temptation of learning beforehand what to say. Further "a man's faithfulness is put to a sterner proof, for as word draweth on word, and sentence followeth sentence, he may shrink from the consequences of going forward, e.g. His feelings of love, friendship and favour to those whom he called upon to rebuke, may arrest the current of his willingness. Every prejudice, every passion, every fibre of the flesh which remaineth uncrucified, will now arise to prevent the spirit from uttering what it is his mind to say, for the flesh lusteth against the spirit."

"I can conceive a thousand temptations in the way of hindrance. The utterance in English is far more trying than the utterance in the unknown tongue. It is only by the strong hand of the Lord that the utterance is not marred or mangled."

In the words of one of Irving's greatest contemporaries:

"Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass
Stains the white radiance of eternity."

Irving's final article in "Fraser's Magazine" appeared in April 1832. He opens by claiming that tongue-speech was the same form of utterance given at Pentecost, - whereas in his March arti-
cle he distinctly denied that Glossolalia in his time was designed as a miraculous way of evangelising by languages unlearnt, - Pentecost being unique and his manifestations resembling rather those at Corinth. Quite seriously, he describes God as "raising up weak women and uneducated men", resulting in the "driving away, in utter disgust, all but simple-minded, single-hearted disciples. These it is building up, rooting and grounding them in love, and it will, like good food, bring the Church into a perfect man". Then follows the account of the repeated prayer meetings for bestowal of the Gifts, quoted at length in an earlier part of the Thesis; they had asked for bread - would God give them a stone?

To "this suspicious generation, which examineth religious questions as an Old Bailey lawyer doth a thief" he addressed two parting challenges.

(1) "If, as Scripture teaches and all orthodox divines have given their verdict, there is a real union between Christ and His Church, the wonder is not that there should in our time be like manifestations, but that they should ever have ceased. For the gifts of the Spirit are as much the property of the Church as are the graces; nay, these two are not separated, - but the outward and inward forms of the same indwelling of Christ."

(2) "Again, no one doubteth that Christian baptism doth convey to the believer the gift of repentance towards God, and the remission of our sins by the regeneration of the Holy Spirit; and why should they doubt that it doth convey also the baptism with the Holy Ghost for speaking with tongues and prophesying? Nay, far more specifically do the supernatural manifestations of the Holy Ghost belong to

Christian baptism than repentance and remission." For speaking with tongues and other gifts accompanied the establishment of the Church at Jerusalem (Acts 2), at Samaria (Acts 8), and among the Gentiles (Acts 10).

Irving's argument has been treated fully in order that a "composite photograph" of Irving's mind may be produced, as his thoughts on the Gift of Tongues revealed themselves in his writings. This Thesis could scarcely claim to be a "historical and psychological study", if it failed to do justice to the complexity of his thoughts, motives, and feelings - the cross currents which mingled in his fertile mind and generous heart.
"His speech was like a tangled chain; nothing impaired but all disordered".
CHAPTER IV.

THE MANIFESTATIONS DESCRIBED FROM VARIOUS POINTS OF VIEW.

Section 1.

Glossolalia in Irving's time will now be described from a number of contemporary accounts.

"Anti-Cabala", in his "Morning Visit to Rev. E. Irving's - an inquiry into the alleged return to the Church of the Gift of Tongues" (1832), opens by pointing out the fact that "fanaticism at Regent Square developed under the sanction of an individual not to be classed with those whose defective education and consequent susceptibility to erroneous impressions" easily accounted for pretended wonders; further, "several persons have become its votaries of whom better things might have been expected". This is an interesting point which deserves some notice. For as Davenport and similar writers on the Psychology of Revivals have pointed out, "bodily effects", "speaking in the power" and cognate phenomena have usually been associated with movements among the uneducated - the eighteenth century English poor, the "Shakers", the backwoods population of Kentucky, the negroes of the Southern States, the Mormons. The Albury Circle, on the other hand, was composed of educated men of good social position; so also a number of Irving's leading disciples in London, who as Carlyle says in his description of a Reception where he was present, "were all prophetical, Toryish ultra-religious", (1) led by Henry Drummond, "a very striking man, erect as a plummet.

(1) Aug. 22d. 1831. Carlyle to his wife. He adds: "I emitted, notwithstanding, floods of Teufeldrökest Radicalism, which was not ill received. We parted with friendliest indifference."
with a high-carried, quick penetrating head, a singular mixture of all things - of the saint, the wit, the philosopher - swimming, if I mistake not, in an element of dandyism."

Carlyle adds in his "Reminiscences" (p. 246), that in spite of Drummond's "fine qualities and capabilities", he was "well-nigh cracked by an enormous conceit of himself, as pride and vanity seemed to pervade every fibre of him and render his life a restless inconsistency. That was the feeling he left in me, nor did it alter afterwards. He did my poor Irving a great deal of ill."

Then there were Robert Baxter and J. B. Cardale,(1) both eminent lawyers, Robert Norton, a doctor, and A.J. Scott, a minister of high intellectual calibre. Pilkington was obviously an educated man, Taplin a schoolmaster. People like Lady Olivia Sparrow,(2) were drawn to the movement by its very novelty, as such women of leisure are to-day drawn to Spiritualism or Christian Science. It is a striking fact that women took an important part in the actual manifestations, as in the Montanist movement. Carlyle's uncomplimentary allusions to their activities will be noticed in a later section.

The Irvingite circle being influenced by men and women of education, it is all the more surprising that such a marked anti-intellectual bias made itself felt; this feature allies the movement with others whose constituent membership was far from educated.

Such a characteristic was noted in an earlier part of the Thesis, and we will be constantly confronted with it as we proceed.

How did the speakers react to the "power"?

"Anti-Cabala" describes how "a man of placid demeanour", (1) J.B. Cardale is noticed in "Dictionary of National Biography": also H. Drummond.

(2) The women who actually exercised the Gift, however, appear to have been of a much lower class.
after expounding chs. 33 and 34 of Exodus on a certain occasion, paused. And presently, in startling dissonance, burst forth in an unknown tongue. "I could not see the speaker, or to be more correct, the roarer. I should judge, by its harshness, that it was the voice of a man. It lasted but a minute or two, and ran off into English words, 'Abide in Him! Ye shall behold His glory! Ye shall behold His glory!' etc.

The whole was uttered in a tone of varied cadence, but so loud, revolting and unnatural (not unearthly) that operated on me like a shock from which I could not immediately recover.

"The second speaker was a female. Her utterance was accompanied with considerable heaving of the chest and head - the loudness towards the end in both cases, and the heaving also, like a gentle subsidence of breath and motion in a pair of bellows when allowed to expire of itself, as though the exciting influence within were mechanically operative and insensibly withdrawn."

"The speakers at Mr Irving's appear to lose all self-control, and to be operated on by a foreign influence." Anti-Cabala notes the "tones of terror calculated to shock and derange the nervous system of many persons", and cites one case mentioned in the "Times" of the fatal effect on a young lady's mind ("past recovery").

Mr Pilkington in his pamphlet speaks of a terrific "Crash". ("cras-cran-cra-CRASH!!!"), the vociferation being sudden and rapid. Sentences were short, and it was difficult to distinguish the 'Tongue' from the English part, as both were chanted.

"Power and authority" were characteristic of male utterances, "plaintive and affectionate emotion" of female speech.

The speaking was 'mechanical', thus agreeing with Anti-
Cabala's account. Pilkington was informed by Irving, he tells us (p. 14), that the gifted persons had informed him that the power "operated on the end of their tongues". He describes the physical process as follows:

"Her whole frame was in violent agitation, but principally the body from the hips to the shoulders, which worked with a lateral motion. The chest heaved and swelled, the head was occasionally raised from the right hand, which was placed on the forehead, while the left hand and arm seemed to press and rub the stomach.

"She was but a few seconds in this state when the body swayed, the neck became stiff, the head erect; the hands fell on the lap, the mouth assumed a circular form, the lips projected, and the 'Tongue' and 'English' came from her in an awful tone.

"During the utterance I noticed a violent exertion of the muscles at the back of the jawbone; and that the stiffened lips never touched, to aid the articulation of the 'Tongue', but they closed sufficiently to express the labials of the English part of the delivery, and instantly resumed the circular form."

George Grenville adequately represents the ἱδρώτης, of whose unfavourable judgment Paul warned the Corinthians:

"The voice of the speaker after ejaculating three 'ehs!', one rising above the other in tones very musical, burst into a flow of unintelligible jargon, which whether it was in English or gibberish, I could not discover. This lasted five or six minutes, and, as the voice was silenced, another woman, in more passionate and louder tones, took it up. This last spoke in English, and words, though not sentences, were distinguishable. She spoke sitting, under great
apparent excitement, and screamed on till, from exhaustion, as it seemed, her voice gradually died away, and all was still." (Memoirs. III. ch. 22).

A private letter from a visitor from Aberdeen is quoted in the anonymous pamphlet "The Unknown Tongues or Rev. Edward Irving and Rev. Nicholas Armstrong arraigned". The letter is dated Nov. 3rd, 1831:

"I went at 6 a.m. to Mr Irving's. It was full, containing at least 700. The dim, grey light, scarcely sufficient to permit the distinction of one individual from another, gave a sepulchral solemnity to the scene, which was heightened by the awful, breathless silence. A paraphrase was sung, and Mr Irving stood up with his hands raised as far as possible above his head. Then Mr X read from Isaiah, during which he broke out every few verses into the most unintelligible gibberish. He ended, and the rev. gentleman explained the meaning of the unknown tongues, after which he said: 'Now let the Lord do as seemeth Him fit among the people.'

"An awful stillness prevailed for about five minutes. Suddenly an appalling shriek seemed to rend the roof, which was repeated with heart-chilling effect. I grasped involuntarily the book desk before me; and then, suddenly, a torrent of unintelligible words, for about five minutes, followed by 'When will ye repent? Why will ye not repent?'

The account of the difference in process is interesting. "The young lady who uttered" the above words was "quite scarlet. She was close to me; she sank down exhausted."

"In an instant another mild-looking girl, two seats behind me, began the 'Unknown Tongue', but like a schoolboy saying his lesson. She soon sat down."

"A man beside me seemed working himself up, but said nothing! The minister then rose and said: 'It was visible that the Spirit of the Lord was actively at work.' He asked a blessing and we departed. I was ill all day afterwards."

The same pamphlet also gives a long utterance delivered in the tongue, but in English. It is somewhat similar to those mentioned on pp. 31-32:
"Men dare to doubt - they dare to doubt. The worms of the dust - the worms of the dust - the works of His hand they dare to doubt. Think you that He will arise? That He will plead His own cause? That He will plead His own cause? Beware of going on, of going on - beware - beware! Know that the Lord He is God, know that He made all things. O know it - O know it! You will know it you will know it! O know it now - O know it now! Put away your unbelief - put away your unbelief! Come to Him now - come to Him now. Oh, He is not known - He is not known! Men do not know what it is to walk before Him; they do not know that His eye searcheth them; they do not know that at the great day of God, they shall have to give account. Oh, it is a fearful thing! Oh, it is a fearful thing! - Oh, it is a fearful thing! Oh, mock not! Oh, it is your peril if you mock! Oh, mock not at your God! Oh, mock not at your God!"

Section 2.

Further contemporary accounts: - the actual words spoken in "Tongue".

A highly eulogistic account is given of the Tongues by Archibald McKerrell, as observed by him at Greenock. ("Apology for the Gift of Tongues", 1831)

(It should be noted that McKerrell probably received full accounts of the manifestations in London from time to time, from David Ker, a deacon at Regent Square, one of Irving's staunchest supporters among the office-bearers and a relative of Alan Ker of Greenock, with whom Irving used to correspond frequently.)

The account is very like that of Irving:

"The exhibition of the gift transcends all power of description. The deportment of the speaker is extraordinary in the last degree - the countenance receives a dignity and a ravishment of expression superhuman - all traces of a self-agent are fled from the features - the tone of voice is quite unearthly. You stand in the immediate presence of God. You feel in the condition of a spirit ushered before that God from its tenement of clay. There
is a positive shrinking from the feeling of existence. The unseen
gaze of the Almighty is felt to be upon you, but it is the gaze of
Jesus.

"The awe and suspense felt during the continuation of the Tongue is somewhat relieved when the speaker begins to interpret.
The interpretation is, again, worthy of God, its truths so exalted,
its language so sublimely beautiful, every word a living power."

Yet even here there is a note of realism:

"In the midst of private conversation they are often compelled to speak out in tongues. A previous silence, and an extraordinary, change of countenance, will generally intimate to others its approach; and it will then often occur that they will clench the nearest friend by the hand with an iron grasp, and speak out in the tongue - part of the time perhaps with the eyes closed, and then opening with the most intensely searching look."

Before commenting on the above quotation, let me turn to Carlyle's opinion of the Tongues, - which is, as we might expect, decidedly adverse.

The first reference we find to Glossolalia is in a letter to his wife (Aug. 22nd. 1831): "Friday I spent with Irving in the region of the supernatural. Understand that the 'gift of tongues' is here also (chiefly among the women) and a belief that God is still working miracles in the Church - by hysterics. I learned that poor Dow of Irongray (i.e. minister of) is a wonder worker and a speaker with tongues. His autograph letter was read to me detailing all that the 'Laart' had done for him. Poor fellow! It was four days after his wife's death.

"Irving hauled me off to Lincoln's Inn Fields to hear my double (Mr Scott). For a stricken hour did he sit expounding in the most superannuated dialect (of Chroist and so forth). The good Irving looking at one wistfully...so piteously as though he implored me to believe."
"Poor Edward Irving", he wrote to Mrs Carlyle (20th Oct. 1831):

"His friends here are all much grieved. For many months he has been puddling in the midst of certain insane jargonings of hysterical women, and cracked-brained enthusiasts, who start up from time to time in public and utter confused stuff, mostly 'ohs' and 'ahs', and absurd interjections about 'the body of Jesus';

"they also pretend to work miracles, and have raised more than one weak bedrid woman, and cured people of 'nerves', or as they themselves say, 'cast devils out of them'.

"All which poor Irving is pleased to consider as the 'work of the Spirit', and to janner on at great length, as making his church the peculiarly blessed of heaven, and equal to or greater than the primitive one at Corinth. This, greatly to my sorrow has gone on privately a good while with increasing vigour; but last Sabbath it burst out publicly in church; for one of the 'prophetesses', a woman on the verge of derangement, started up and began to speak with tongues and as the thing was encouraged by Irving, three or four fresh hands started up in the evening. Whereupon the whole congregation got into foul uproar, some groaning, some laughing, some shrieking, not a few falling into swoons - more like a bedlam than a Christian church.

"Happily, neither Jane nor I were there. We had not even heard of it, when going next evening to call on Irving, we found the house all decked out for this same 'speaking with tongues'; and as we talked a moment with Irving, who had come down to us, there rose a shriek in the upper story of the house, and presently he exclaimed, 'There is one prophesying, come up and hear her!'

We hesitated to go, but he forced us up into a back room, and we could hear the wretched creature raving like one possessed: hooting and hooting, and talking as sensibly as one would do with a pint of brandy in his stomach, till after some ten minutes she
seemed to grow tired and became silent. Nothing so shocking and altogether unspeakably deplorable was it ever my lot to hear. Poor Jane was on the very verge of fainting and did not recover the whole night."

In his "Reminiscences" (p. 251), he described the sound of the Tongues as "little or nothing else but l's and a's continued for several minutes - Why was there not a bucket of cold water thrown on those lah-lalling madwomen? thought we."

As to the actual words purporting to be in 'Tongue', we have the statement of the "Morning Watch" itself (p. 371) that they contained "many Greek and Latin radicals, and with inflections also much resembling those of the Greek language". "I heard Mr Taplin and what I heard was this," declared Rev. Hugh McNeile in his 'Letter to a friend'. "I write in all seriousness before God, without scoff, or sneer. Neither more or less than jargon, uttered 'ore rotundo', and mingled with Latin words, among which I distinctly heard more than once, 'amamini, amaminor'."

This is certainly confirmed by written specimens which have been preserved. The first is one collected on various occasions at the beginning of 1831 by Archibald Mc Kerrell, in which he heard "the same individual speak in a Tongue, written down" by him on the spot "while the individual was speaking". "The words...are none in the order in which they were spoken, except those marked with inverted commas:-"

Hippo Gerosto - Hippo - Booros - Senoote -
"Foostarin - Gorin Hoopo Tanto Noostin."

Hoostarin - Miparos - Hipanos - Santos - Boorin - "O Pinitos"

Elelastina - Halimungitos - Dantitu - Hampootini - Farimi - Aristas

Ekrampos - "Epoongos Vangini" - Beressino - Tereston - Sastinootino

So readily did the tongue-speakers swing into rhythm, even in their English utterances (e.g. p. 72. Thesis), that it is not surprising to find writers of pamphlets resolving utterances in the power into verse. It should be understood, in reading the enclosed "hymns", that the actual recitation must have been much more irregular:

"Hippo gerosto nigaros
Boorastin farini
O fastor sungor boorinos
Epoongos menati.

The following is quoted by A. Robertson in "A vindication of the Religion of the land":

"Hey amei hassan alla do
hoe alors leore
Has heo massan amor ho
ti prov his aso me."

"Tongue-speech" almost suggests to us Esperanto, with its mixture of Greek, Latin, Italian etc. (1) But Esperanto was not evolved till 1887. Mr Pilkington, who published a pamphlet on becoming disillusioned, gave it the following title:

"THE UNKNOWN TONGUES
Discovered to be English, Spanish, and Latin
And the Rev. Edward Irving
proved to be erroneous in attributing these utterances to the influence of THE HOLY SPIRIT.

Serious interesting colloquies between the writer and Mr Irving and his followers, and observations which manifestly show that they are all under a delusion. By George Pilkington,
Who interpreted before the congregation.
London, 1831."

(1) Compare Walloon and "Romansh" Dialects.
Mr Pilkington was apparently a very "suggestible" person.

After "attending the prayer meetings at Mr Irving's church at 6.30 every morning and was but once absent, for nearly three months before Sunday 16th October 1831" (when there were manifestations in church) -

he began "to think more seriously of the gift, not only because it was relied on by such a devout man as Mr Irving (whose method praying and argumentative way of expounding the Scriptures had a very powerful effect on my mind and feelings), but because those persons were themselves remarkably pious, and I concluded that they would scarcely have ventured to utter such direct and remarkable prophecies, if they were not so gifted."

On October 17th (the day after manifestations in church)

he declared that he was "strongly excited by a very powerful feeling" which he was "unable to describe", "to exhort and forewarn them of impending difficulty; but I resisted it, until Mr Irving in his discourse said it was sinful to suppress such movements.

"I could no longer restrain, and with a sudden burst of utterance, used the following detached sentences: 'The second sword is now drawn in this church'. 'Deny me no more' etc.

"Mr Irving praised God for opening 'another mouth', and said 'we have heard the voice of the Shepherd'. I now concluded that the excitement I felt was the same as that which influenced the 'gifted persons', but that they experienced it in a higher degree, which produced the utterance of Tongue.'

Irving afterwards took Pilkington back to his house for a talk; who explained to him that he had previously been a Deist, before attending services at Regent Square. (No doubt the attraction of the manifestations were due to the neglect of the Holy Spirit in his former and faith) Irving observed "that he was deficient in theology, but had a deep sense of his duty to God."

Turning to a secretary in his study he said (Mr A.):- "Our brother fancied he understood the tongues. The stranger replied: "Such an occurrence happened in Scotland, and the gentleman who interpreted spoke by the power of the Spirit, without the agency of his own understanding." "That was not as it occurred to me," replied Pilkington boldly.

(1) The manifestations on Sunday 12th Nov. were described in Ch. 2. There is some confusion about dates, but it may be taken that the first Sunday manifestations which attracted universal attention took place on October 16th and November 6th.
"I explained that as I knew several languages, I might have heard some familiar sounds." Irving replied that he had not the least idea of the meaning of Tongues, and "aspired to be no more than the humble pastor of the flock." ("This humility filled my heart with a mixture of love and admiration for him.")

Pilkington left Irving's at 1 p.m. and spent the time till 3 in earnest prayer, tortured by the fear of being considered an outsider. At the 3 o'clock prayer meeting in the vestry there were 9 or 10 people present, the 'missionary' presiding. On catching four words in the utterance which followed from a woman, he wrote down as an interpretation of "this dilemma" - "I will undertake this dilemma" (but afterwards recollected that the word was 'assume', and that the first syllable was lost by the preceding word ending in a vowel).

The paper he gave to Mr A. (whom he had already met); it was passed on to the missionary, who asked: "What did he intend by it?" with surprise. "This is what I understand the Tongues to mean. How can you, sir, undertake to interpret the words of God? Do you wish to upset the Church?" Pilkington replied that he came simply for the purpose of interpreting, as brother A. would testify. The missionary gave an inquiring look at Mr A. who appeared to be ignorant of the circumstances. At which Pilkington, exceedingly hurt, turned to the missionary: "I offer the words in all humility - if they be of no value I trust you will believe that I have merely done what was required of me." He replied: "You cannot interpret by human understanding; interpretation must be given by the Spirit."

A few days later, Pilkington accosted Mr A. on his way home from a meeting. The latter appeared as if he wished to avoid him. Then a 'gifted brother' came up: "Pray, Sir, are you the gentleman who spoke in the church on Monday?" Pilkington admitted the fact. "How do you feel, sir? Could you avoid it, Sir?" "I think I could have avoided it." Well, since you have confessed that, allow me to advise you not to speak again, unless you cannot help it."

It is clear that here was an organised group, united on a given basis, and hostile to the intrusion of individuals and ideas out of harmony with its principles. Yet Pilkington was extraordinarily persistent, in spite of his one-sided interpretation of the movement. We find him again taking part in a meeting of the inner
circle in the Regent Square vestry. (pp. 19 ff.) Sister No. 1 utters the words "Hozquin alta stare". He first translates this as "Hosanna in the highest". But on comparing it with a following utterance, ("Hozehameneostra"), he decides it should be "Jesus in the highest". He does not clearly remember the remaining words, but quickly jots down their supposed meaning - "Will take care of this house". She afterwards repeated it three times - "Hozehamena-nostra". The interpretation he gives as: "Jesus in the highest will take care of this house."

On being challenged by Irving, he declared that "Hoze" was Jesus; "ha" a contraction of habeo; "mena" - hands; "nostra" - ours. e. "Say no more about it," replied the minister, anxious to know the truth - and yet fearing the opinions of the circle.

Sister No. 2's utterance "Holimoth holif awthaw", Pilkington dismissed as bad enunciation of "Holy most holy father". ("I didn't speak in English, did I?" he heard No. 2 ask her neighbour.)

On a member suggesting that if the Gifted were to speak in church, they should be 'well-placed' and should endeavour to say as little as possible, Sister No. 2 cried out in English: "Do you not know that it burneth in the bone - burneth in the bone?"

A final utterance came from Sister No. 3. "Casa sera hastha caro". He whispers to Irving that it is Spanish; "the house will be in my care". Irving anxiously listens and both try to keep the unsympathetic group from hearing. ("I thank you, sir")

The meeting ends, and Pilkington remembers that he has eaten nothing all day, - a significant stimulant to ecstatic religion.

Pilkington now began to have definite doubts as to the soundness of the movement.

"I was neither a mocker nor a scoffer - God forbid! But He has given me understanding." Had not 'the missionary' rebuked him for 'presuming to interpret'? And had not Mr A. refused to admit that he had been invited by Mr Irving to take part in the meetings? (though it was but two hours since he had united with the minister in prayer for the perfection of the Gift).
"As the sap passes through the trunk and branches and each contributes relief in proportion to its luxuriance... I reasonably expected that the 'Gifted Persons' would sympathise in the feelings of a spirit so wantonly afflicted, but all were silent."

"Nor did my suspicion want authority when I remembered - 'How instantaneously they burst forth, as if the trigger of a loaded gun had been pulled, when Mr Irving declared that the law permitted them to speak by the Spirit (if the power was so very overpowering!); and how suitably they could restrain the Spirit till the 'second service' of the prayer meeting, apparently with as much ease as the owner makes of a stop-watch'. (Irving divided the prayer meetings into three parts, one of which was specially reserved for utterances in the power).

The secrecy, the sectarian spirit, and disinclination of the gifted persons to make use of his interpretations, confirmed Pilkington's suspicions of the movement.

Decisions in the spiritual world, however, are seldom reached without a struggle. Pilkington's faith in the Tongues was temporarily confirmed shortly afterwards, when he "stood up and holding his hand above his head... and was influenced to utter words other than his own," giving as interpretation of a 'gifted sister's' utterance "yoo cogo nomo" - "I know the law". He added: "Let that which is of the Spirit be proclaimed on the housetops, and that of the flesh confessed; For there is one fold and one door, and those who would climb over the fence are thieves and robbers."

"Now, Mr Pilkington," Irving called, "I believe you really are in the Spirit." This seems to indicate that anything was welcomed which confirmed the supernatural character of the gifts in the eyes of the distinctly subjective 'triers'. Pilkington himself realised this after that meeting: - "I thought less of 'discernment' than of other gifts - but now I perceive that, as it involves a knowledge of the human heart, it cannot be possessed by any but the omniscient. I would have Mr Irving recollect that he endeavoured to persuade his congregation that these persons were gifted because he prayed for the gift, and argued ("egg: scorpion") that the Almighty would not give an impure spirit.

"He prayed that I should be gifted with interpretations, but rejected it, because I acknowledged that I translated by the understanding."
"Was not this a proof that the supposed Tongue was a known language?" "Might not this be considered the opportunity afforded by God, in answer to prayer, for Mr Irving to discern, by another test, the impure spirit of these supposed Gifted Persons.

"False prophets shall arise...to deceive even the elect." "A full confidence in Mr Irving's zeal and discernment induced me to believe in the reality of the gifts."

On October 19th, 1831, he wrote to Irving stating that he wished to state his position before witnesses. Next morning a meeting was held in the presence of the "inner circle", - witnesses on whom the minister declared "he could depend". Pilkington had not proceeded far, when he was interrupted rather hastily by Irving: "You will occupy all our time, sir." ("I must confess that I was very much surprised; for I thought that Mr Irving's time could not be better spent than in paying very minute attention to any information that would help him to discern the purity of the Spirit.")

Irving: "I wish to refer to what you said in the church: - was it by your own understanding or by the Spirit? Were you in the Spirit, you would know; because the Gifted Persons say it is impossible to mistake the feeling."

Pilkington: "I felt that I was under the powerful feeling of piety and devotion."

Mr. B. (Baxter): "If I understand you rightly, it was a mere excitement of the flesh, under the influence of devotion, which compelled you to utter expressions dictated by your own understanding."

Pilkington: "Certainly, it was so, except when I interpreted."

Mr. B.: "But were your interpretations merely translations?"

Mr. Pilkington: "They were, from expressions which I heard in English, Spanish and Latin." (I Cor. 14:2 urged)

Mr. B.: "I am very glad that you are now satisfied that you are not in the Spirit."

Mr. Irving: "But you say that you heard the Tongue in English; pray, how did you know where the English commenced?"

Mr. Pilkington: "By the same means you would know the first from the second part of a tune. Also, 'broken English'."

The controversy now turned on whether a certain "gifted
sister" had spoken in English, using the word "dilemma", Mr A. denying the fact. "I not only did not hear it, but the sister herself said she did not utter it," reiterated Mr A.

"How then," retorted Pilkington, "could the sister know what she uttered, "for if I pray in an unknown tongue my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful" (I. Cor. 14.14).

Later, Pilkington was reprimanded by Mr E.:- "Should you ever feel so disposed again (i.e. to speak), I would recommend you to keep silence, and tell Mr Irving what you intended to say."

Pilkington:- "You may depend upon it that I will never speak again in the church." ("All seemed pleased")

Irving added (who ever appeared to be conscientious on this point):- "Unless you can possibly avoid it."

Mr A.:- "Not even then! For the Gifted Sisters tell me they can restrain themselves by prayer." (How then, asks Pilkington, is it a power?)

After the minister's prayer, Mr B. (one of the witnesses on whom Irving "could depend") told Pilkington "Not to repeat publicly what had happened because there was a difference of opinion on the subject." This, Pilkington indignantly notes, was the man whom he heard talking in a corner of the church to Mr A.:- "Truth is such a comprehensive word, and so beautiful. Purity is also a word I am fond of using in prayer - it flows from the mouth so sweetly", as he repeated it once or twice as if honey on his lips.

Pilkington tells us he was "encouraged by two very pious persons to attend the prayer meetings for the remainder of that week." "On Sunday I determined to go to some other church. But something whispered to me to see the end of it." The church was crowded to excess, but the "gifted persons" were silent because "God did not wish to speak". The Monday morning prayer meeting was fairly full. The "gifted persons" having spoken, Irving declared:- "Brethren, you have heard the words of God". ("I felt an involuntary tremor and my mind was filled with horror"). "I afterwards read 12 and 14 I. Mr. under guidance of my own reason, divested of the bias it had
acquired in the deep theological attainments of Mr Irving, whose persuasive eloquence and transcendent ability are so attractive and irresistible."

Pilkington's last interview with Irving was a private one, and took place immediately after the prayer meeting referred to.

Pilkington pointed out that when the human understanding is the principal agent, and the individual takes upon himself to declare that his words, so uttered, are words from God, each sect shall produce a Spirit to establish its particular doctrine, till at length there would be nothing but a confusion of tongues; whereas the Holy Spirit would declare but one doctrine in any church or country.

He pointed to I. Cor. 14, 13 and 28. Interpretation alone could justify speaking in a tongue in public, particularly with verse 36 in view:—"What? Came the word of God out from you? Or came it unto you only?"

Irving was evasive: "You do not understand; let me teach you. You are a stranger to me, but I conclude you are enthusiastic; and believe me, that is sinful."

"I thought it was no use to prolong the interview, so I determined to ascertain, by a plain and direct question the difference between our ideas..and that of that which acted on the 'gifted persons', and said:—'Pray, sir, allow me to ask if they speak by the same power and influence as that which acted on Balaam's ass?'

'So, sir,' replied Irving, 'the ass had no understanding and no sympathy with God; do you observe the plaintive and affectionate manner in which the words are uttered by these persons?'

(It will be seen that Irving and his circle conceived of the "gifted persons" as mere mechanical mediums, but in withholding understanding from them, stopped short at an absolute denial of humanity).

As Pilkington was about to retire, Irving said "Stop!" and prayed for the eternal and temporal prosperity of his family.

"I have discontinued all intercourse with Mr Irving and his followers; because I have discovered error and discrepancy in their proceedings, which cannot exist in any work that emanates from God."
so closes a remarkable account, which falls, however, to do justice to the manifestations, in narrowing down the inquiry to the tracing of known languages in the tongue speech, though it cannot be denied that this element contributed to the movement.

Section 4.

Consideration of several pamphlets of the period in their relation to the Movement.

There is a vast literature of pamphlets and sermons bearing on the Gift of Tongues in the time of Irving, both in support of the movement and in opposition to it. Of these a large number, on both sides, are written from preconceived opinion, without serious first-hand examination of the phenomena, and are therefore of little value beyond indicating the general feeling of the public.

Considering first the 'literature' adverse to Irvingism, we find that Hugh McNeile in his "Letter to a friend..." (1834), written when the movement had reached maturity, has indeed first-hand information about the earlier stage of the movement, but soon rules out any possibility of good, by his hard-and-fast adherence to rigid "Verbal Inspiration". E.g., he exhibits what to us would appear lack of imagination unfitting an educated man, in stressing the fact that when Mr. Taplin read I. Peter "in the Spirit", his ear was "struck by deviation from our authorised version", (McNeile having a Greek Testament in his hand). No doubt the reading may have been incorrect, but the critic is to blame as well as the criticised in conceiving of the Spirit as an energy whose primary characteristi-
We are constantly met with three arguments directed against the Tongues. (1) The Canon is closed, and the Gifts, revived after they have served their appointed end, mean a New Dispensation. (2) The Gifts are associated with heretical Doctrines. (3) The "Gifted Persons" do not show forth the "fruits of the Spirit".

Nothing is to be gleaned from sermons of the period, except sidelights on Irving's unpopularity with his clerical contemporaries Presbyterian, Anglican, and Methodist. A few suggestive sentences occur in a discourse of Irving's nearest neighbour, Rev. Wm. Harness of St. Pancras' Parochial Chapel, Regent Square (Nov. 6th, 1831), who diagnoses the Movement as "Not the result of premeditated imposture, but the effects of a strong and much to be lamented delusion. For the sake of charity and as a part of Christian duty, I would entreat you not to be led to these services from motives of curiosity." (p. 17)

"Nothing can put an end to these excesses but their meeting with neglect. Fanaticism, like every other malady of a fevered imagination, is heightened by the presence and supposed sympathy of numbers," (p. 19)

But the manifestations seem to have been taken advantage of by many of the clergy for the purpose of displaying their own flowers of rhetoric, as in the following:

"Thus the turbid visions of phrenzied enthusiasts, and the idle rhapsodies of delirious fanaticism, assume the privilege of celestial inspiration, and array themselves in the hallowed garb of prophecy..." etc.

(Rev. A.C.L. D'Arblay, W.A. Jan. 8th. 1832, at Camden Chapel, St. Pancras.)

Of greater value is Rev. David Thom's "Miracles of the Irving School shown to be unworthy of serious examination", though the title does not seem to promise fairness. Mr Thom was minister of the Scotch Church, Rodney St., Liverpool, in 1832. If the
Irvingites possess the power of working miracles, there was but one alternative - "to bind up the lucubrations of Mr Irving with our Bibles" or "by the word of God to beat down every pretension to miraculous power". Secondly, the "gifted persons" ignore the fact that 1 Cor. 13 alone is a warrant for holding that charismata were of a transient nature; they revert from comparative maturity, like the Corinthians to childish imbecility. Thirdly, Irving in his "Last Days" was quite wrong in identifying the foretold time of miracles with his own age; the "latter days" referred to constituted the old arc of the Jewish Dispensation, which in Apostolic times was "ready to vanish away".

As far as the last point is concerned, Mr Thom was undoubtedly in advance of his generation. "The religious world" of Irving's day might reject the revived miracles as conducive to disorder, but it shared with him generally a belief that the end of the world would be preceded by signs and portents. It has already been noted, that as late as 1850 Dr. Bonar edited Irving's "Last Days". And Dr. Cumming, who preached Irving's funeral sermon in which he criticised his vagaries while appreciating his personal character, gained no little notoriety in London in early Victorian days by repeated and confident predictions of the "End of the World" in the immediate future, whose failure did not damp his ardour, though it roused the amusement of "Punch".

Had Irving lived fifty years later, when eschatology was studied more carefully in its Jewish setting, and literalism more discredited among educated men, it is unlikely he would have been led to believe in the restoration of Apostolic charismata, lacking
a common "point de départ" in the eschatological background which he shared with a large section of public opinion, and to which he could appeal.

One of the forces most bitterly opposed to "our modern pretenders to spiritual gifts" was the "Edinburgh Christian Instructor", the organ of the Evangelical Party in the Church of Scotland.

This journal made little attempt to find out what exactly the "gifted persons" believed. The September Number for 1832, for example, accuses them of "endeavouring to show that Corinth was a parallel case", finding they cannot bring forward as much evidence as in Acts 2. That gift (at Corinth) was not for the end of teaching, but to serve as a sensible sign that those to whom it was given, were under a divine influence and acted under a divine commission."

This was precisely what the Tongue speakers professed the Tongues were for, in London at least: they were for a "sign", not for preaching the Gospel. It is clear that the opponents of the Movement did them less than justice sometimes.

Yet the "Christian Instructor" was not without a sturdy common sense:

"If a man tells us that" spiritual gifts should be revived and should never have been discontinued. "we shall tell him that he has not a particle of scriptural ground for his persuasion, that a cry for miracles argues an unbelieving and unspiritual state of mind, and that he is acting like a man who should urge that the scaffolding should not be removed from the beauty of a new house, because the house being built by means of it, cannot stand without it.

"If, however, men come forward bristling with anathemas, advancing an exclusive claim to the possession of the Spirit, and meeting our slightest expressions of doubt or hesitation with the direct assurance that we are blaspheming the Holy Ghost, we begin to doubt whether there be in such men aught of the Spirit of God." (p. 275)
Many of the pamphlets are full of complaints such as "the bitter spirit of censoriousness, and of arrogant assumptions concerning other churches, and especially of other ministers than Mr Irving..." "Holiness, moreover, is prayed for as a means to an end, viz. that the miraculous operations of the Holy Ghost might be manifested in the recipients." ("A Morning Visit to Rev. E. Irving's", 1832)

"The New Apostles" pamphlet points to "the noble army of martyrs" and the millions of witnesses who have had no guide but the will of God, as revealed in Scripture. The expectation of Spiritual Gifts on the part of "the weary and disheartened children of God" is condemned as restless discontent with God's natural order. "Blessed are those who have not seen, but have believed."

"In search for spiritual food, these fanatics were not very careful of its quality or source."

"The New Apostles" was published about 1860 and is virtually a criticism of a late-Irvingite book, "Events affecting...the Church" (1847). Like many anti-Irvingite pamphlets, the "New Apostles" was not marked by any liberality of thought. A.P. Stanley, in fact, who had just published his epoch-making Commentary on Corinthians, in which he anticipated the modern position, is attacked for "having tried to throw the light of Paganism (II) on the subject, and illustrate the gift of tongues by the ecstasies and ravings of the Montanists, the prophets of the Cevennes, and, most important, the Irvingites, declaring at the same time his disbelief in their divine authenticity: in fact he illustrates, by parallelism, truth by falsehood."

Another characteristic of many of these pamphlets is their way (common to the controversialists of all ages), of wrenching sentences from their context (from the "Morning Watch", his works, or the utterances of the Gifted Persons) and putting them in such a setting as would render them doubly grotesque or blasphemous, as the case might be.

Another class of pamphlet (on both sides) is distinguished for its portentous learning. Rev. Henry Blunt, rector of Streatham, for example, quotes Chrysostom, Augustine, Isidore of Seville, etc., to prove that the Gifts died out in the Early Church when they had served their object. He cites, with much point, Richard Baxter's
answer to the question of the non-continuance of the Gifts:

"When Christ hath fully proved to the world the truth of His relationship, must He still continue the same actions? Is it not enough that He sealed it up at once, but must He set a new seal for every man that requireth it in every age?" (Vol. XX. p. 21. ed. 1833)

A second quotation is of vital interest:— "I must confess that we have been much to blame in not making known to common Christians somewhat more of the nature of the heresies of the first ages and the effects of them, by which they might have been better fortified against them; for now, for want of such information, the poor wretches take old, rotten, damnd heresies, and many are ready to run after them to their own perdition, little knowing that ever these heresies were in the world before." (Baxter. "Practical Works", p. 287)

Luther's reply to Melancthon's query about the "Celestial Prophets" who claimed "to be on the same footing as the Prophets and Apostles", is also quoted:— "Try the spirits. Their bare assertion of a Divine afflatus is not a sufficient ground for receiving them." (Milner's Ch. Hist. V. p. 45)

As an Anglican Mr Blunt feels that the opinions of Origen and Basil are final: "The prophets did not, as some suppose, lose their understanding, and speak from constraint of the Spirit". (Orig. in Ezech. c. XVI) "There are some who say that they prophesy in a state of ecstasy, their human understanding being overshadowed by the Spirit. But this is irreconcilable with their boast of having the Divine presence with them, that they should abstract the mind of him who is divinely inspired." (Basil. Comm. in Is.)

Of the literature which appeared in defence of the revival of spiritual gifts, Robert Norton in his "Neglected and controvert-ed Scriptural Truths" follows much the same method as that of the writer just cited.

Dr. Norton was able to find the Fathers as sound exponents of Glossolalia and kindred gifts, as Mr Blunt had found them opponents. The Apology of Athenagoras, for example, is confidently cited:—

"I call them prophets who, being out of themselves and their
own thoughts, uttered forth whatsoever by the impelling power of the Spirit, He wrought in them; while the divine operator served himself of them and their organs, even as men of a trumpet." (Apol.)

Also Cyprian: "The disciples of God over us never cease, both by night and day, to correct and reprove; for not only by the visions of the night but by day, even the innocent age of children is filled among us by the Holy Spirit, and they see, hear, and speak in ecstasy such things as the Lord vouchsafes." (Ep. 16)

Dr. Norton was evidently a man of considerable education. For he traced, (as modern students of Abnormal Religious Psychology have done) the history of Glossolalia through the centuries to Irving's time, referring to the Camisards and the "Great Revival". He quotes an interesting segment from Wesley's Journal (15th Aug. 1750)

"By reflecting on an old book...I was fully convinced of what I had long suspected; that the Montanists were real scriptural Christians; and that the grand reason why the miraculous gifts were so soon withdrawn was that...dry, formal, orthodox men, began even then to ridicule whatsoever gifts they had not themselves...as either madness or imposture."

He quotes Neander ("Church History"), in order to give a good definition of the object of the "Tongues":

"The connected instruction of the teacher served to uphold the hearer in the intellectual consciousness of faith; the province of prophecy was to stir up the life of faith. In the gift of tongues, on the contrary, the consciousness of the world was wholly withdrawn.

"What was spoken in this condition was not a connected discourse...but without regarding the inward circumstances and wants of others. The soul was absorbed in devotion and adoration."

(It should be noted that Dr. Norton's account is of great interest owing to the fact that by 1839 when he wrote this pamphlet, the Tongues had already run their course, and yet the events were recent enough to be clearly imprinted in his memory. "As regards the present constitution of that church, I am altogether unfavourable, but nevertheless entertain the most undoubting conviction that there was originally within it, a real miraculous work of the Holy Ghost."
"Amidst the many snares of a great and mixed congregation, the gifted individuals in it appear to have been led into much abuse of their gifts, gradually terminating in the withdrawal from them of the Spirit's presence."

One is more inclined to believe, however, that Glossolalia died out naturally, than was quenched, as Dr. Norton asserts, by "the rising up among other members of the church of men assuming the apostleship, and by making the voice of the prophets subservient to their superior office, gradually suppressing it."

William Harding, in his "Word for Inquiry previous to decision in the matter of the present manifestations", 1832. (a member of Regent Square Church) agrees with Dr. Norton in admitting excesses among the "gifted persons", but urges: "That if there was a Judas amongst the Twelve (no doubt as fully endowed with miraculous powers as the rest), it would necessarily happen that the gifts of the spirit would extend beyond the number of the true members of Jesus Christ." (Here follows a warning against "those who seek gifts for mere pride, and power, and notoriety").

Mr Harding does not seem to realise the confusion which this qualification introduces. It was almost universally asserted by members of the Irvingite circle that the advantage of "speaking in the Spirit" was that degrading human associations were cut off, and the subject (one in very truth "baptised with the Holy Ghost") would deliver a message direct from God. Mr Harding, though a zealous supporter of the Movement, contradicts a common article of Irvingite faith in declaring: "For without both the understanding and the application of Christ's ministry of the Holy Ghost, as a model to all the baptised therewith...I perceive that the gifts now bestowed upon the Church will not be without peril and evil as at Corinth."

Harding, however, gives a good exposition of the Irvingite protest against popular misconception of the Tongues as a short cut to missionary success, and quotes Coneyrs Middleton, the liberal eighteenth century divine in confirmation; but he is careful to follow this up by a typical Irvingite tirade against "liberalism, reform, and intellectual millennium - or rather the forces under the banner of the man of sin(to use scriptural language)."
Carlyle's account of the manifestations has already been given. This chapter could not be more fitly closed than by relating his attempt to save his friend from what he considered a horrible delusion. Press controversy might only strengthen Irving's convictions; would the healing touch of an old friend effect what controversy could never solve?

In a letter to Mrs Carlyle (Nov. 10th, 1831) the fact is noted that "Irving comes but little our way. He was here once, taking tea, since the work of the 'Tongues' began. I told him with great earnestness that it was no special work of the Holy Spirit, or of any spirit save of that black, frightful, unclean one that dwells in Bedlam. He persists, mildly obstinate, in his course, greatly strengthened by his wife, who is reckoned the beginner of it all.

"I do not think it will spread ever among the vulgar here at this time of day; only a small knot of ravers now rave in that old worn-out direction." (Nov. 13th. To John Carlyle): "On the whole, the Cockneys are too old for such lullabies - they simply think he is gone distracted, or means to 'do' them; and so, having seen it once come back no more."

In his "Reminiscences" Carlyle describes how he told Irving "with all the delicacy, but also with all the fidelity possible to me - That the 13th of Corinthians to which he always appealed, was surely too narrow a basis for so high a tower, or quasi-mast, piece added to piece, till it soared far above all human science and experience, and flatly contradicted all that, founded solely on a little text of writing in an ancient book!" "I did not expect that he would at once, or soon, renounce his fixed views, connections and methods for any of mine; but perhaps at some future time of crisis and questioning doubt, he might remember the words of a well-affected soul, and they then might be a help to him. All this lasted about twenty minutes. He then began with the mildest low tone, and face full of kindness and composed distress - 'dear friend' - in a style of modesty and friendly magnanimity and en-
deavoured to make his apology and defence. Which done, he went, silently on his way." (p. 253)

On May 24th, 1834, he notes in his journal: "Edward Irving starts up from a seat in Kensington Gardens, as I was crossing. The good Edward! He looked pale, worn, unsound, very unhealthy."

In a letter to John Carlyle (Aug. 15th, 1834) he describes how he was admitted to Irving's house "after some shying". "He complains of biliousness, of pain at his right short rib; he has a short, thick cough, which comes at the slightest irritation. There are moments when I determine on sweeping upon all tongue-work and accursed choking cobwebberies, and snatching away my own best friend, to save him from death and the grave."
CHAPTER FIVE.

NARRATIVE OF FACTS CHARACTERISING THE SUPERNATURAL MANIFESTATIONS in
MEMBERS OF MR IRVING'S CONGREGATION,
and other individuals in England & Scotland
and
FORMERLY IN THE WRITER HIMSELF.

BY ROBERT BAXTER.

"Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God; because many false prophets have gone out into the world (I John, IV. 1)."

"And what I say unto you I say unto all, watch." (Mark XIII. 37)

"And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, & to purge, and make them white, even to the time of the end; because it is yet for a time appointed." (Daniel XI. 35)

London;
James Nisbet, Berners Street.
MDCCCXXXIII.

ANALYSIS OF THE ABOVE PAMPHLET:-

Section 1. Introductory ............ p95.
CHAPTER V.

EXAMINATION OF "NARRATIVE OF FACTS CHARACTERISING THE SUPER-NATURAL MANIFESTATIONS IN MEMBERS OF MR IRVING'S CONGREGATION.

By ROBERT BAXTER". (1833)

Section 1.

It is surprising that this astounding document has not received greater attention, if not from the compilers of "devotional classics", at least from students of abnormal religious psychology. Robert Baxter seems to have had a modified "dual personality". He belonged to a legal firm of high standing at Doncaster. He was not merely an eminent lawyer, but a writer on public questions, the author of a business-like treatise on "The panic of 1866, with its lessons on the Currency Act." (Longmans, Green). And his son Robert D. Baxter was an economist of some note (1827-1875) and a voluminous writer, a man of sufficient weight to be mentioned in the "Encyclopaedia Britannica".

At the same time Robert Baxter was a deeply religious man, teaching in Sunday School and visiting the poor of the parish at Doncaster where his brother was clergyman. He belonged to the old High Church Party (soon to give way to the Tractarians), and was a Tory and State Churchman of a rather obscurantist type, penning a "Layman’s Appeal" on behalf of the Church of England, which appeared to many to be about to succumb to the forces of infidelity and radicalism at the time of the Great Reform Bill.

Theologically, however, Baxter seems to have been a fervid evangelical, using the jargon of that school, and rigidly differentiating between the sacred and the secular. His "Narrative" smells rather of the Middle Ages or of the seventeenth century Puritans and Covenanters, rather than of the prosaic nineteenth century, so vivid are spiritual things to him, and so naively are
they related. Had he been a mere religious adventurer, venturing his all on the successful establishment of a new sect, we would not be so surprised at his extravagant visions and revelations.

But he was not merely a man of good position, but a successful lawyer. It will be gradually seen, as his story is unfolded, how the two departments of his life were kept apart.

Mr Baxter had heard of the manifestations at Port Glasgow in 1630 from a near relative who had a friend, a Church of England clergyman who lived in the neighbourhood. He believed that "nothing but an abundant outpouring of the Spirit of God could quicken the Church, could stem the torrent of infidelity; I longed greatly, and prayed much for such an outpouring". In August 1831 (to a dear friend Mr A." (probably the person referred to in the last chapter), he expressed misgivings owing to lack of Scriptural authority.

(1)

"At this period I was, by professional engagement, called up to London, and having obtained an introduction, I attended the prayer meetings privately held by those who spoke in the power and sought for the gifts. Mr T. (Taplin?) was made at one of these meetings to speak two or three words very distinctly, and with an energy and depths of tone which seemed to me extraordinary, and it fell upon me as a supernatural utterance which I ascribed to the power of God."

"Miss E.C. broke out in English in "an unnatural and unaccustomed tone, an intense and riveting power of expression - with a very cutting rebuke to all present, and applicable to my state of mind in particular.

In the midst of this awe and reverence, I was myself seized upon by the power; and in much struggling against it, was made to cry out, and myself to give forth confession of my own sin for which we were rebuked; and afterwards to utter a prophecy that the messenger of the Lord should go forth, publishing to the ends of the earth in the mighty power of God, the testimony of the near coming of the Lord Jesus."

Baxter was overwhelmed by this occurrence, and "continued many weeks weighed down in spirit", lest he should "mistake the will of God in this matter". He was conscious of a power "acting upon him beyond the mere power of excitement", a power "unlike any-

(1) p. 3.
thing he had ever known before" to fall down and "acknowledge that God was amongst them of a truth." (1)

The next day he spent in fasting and prayer. "Malachi 4.5. and St. Luke 1.17. were brought before me, and it was written upon my mind by a power wholly new to me: "The Lord is now pouring out upon the Church the Spirit and power of Elias, to prepare for the second coming of Jesus". "I could not see the propriety of this so fully as to clear up my doubts...but it worked in me a persuasion that this was the Lord's answer to prayer."

Before Baxter left town to "argue upon the impropriety of shutting up the manifestations", - which had not yet been allowed in public. "One thing I was much struck with. I knew the views of these with whom I was associated were 'High Church'. I was told, that the Spirit had spoken very strongly of the Churches of England and Scotland as 'Babylon'." (Another mark of the sectarian spirit already referred to in the Thesis). (2)

For five months he made no utterances in public, though in private prayer "the power would come down upon me and cause me to pray with strong crying and tears for the state of the Church;" especially on one occasion in his study, when his "thoughts were wandering to worldly concerns". On lifting a short prayer for deliverance, "suddenly the power came upon me, my wandering thoughts at once riveted, and calmness of mind at once given me."

"By a constraint I cannot describe, I was made to speak - at the same time shrinking from utterance, and yet rejoicing in it. The utterance was a prayer that God would give me the gifts of wisdom, faith, miracles, prophecy, tongues, etc., and that He would open my mouth and give me strength to declare His glory."

Baxter describes how he put his handkerchief in his mouth so as not to alarm the house, but when he reached the last word "the power died" in him. "With the power came an overwhelming conviction that he had received what he had been praying for: "which was never shaken until the whole work fell to pieces." (3)

Reflecting on these experiences, he tells us he reached convictions "irrespective of the slow processes by which the mind ordinarily reaches them", though "an apparently logical chain of

(1) pp. 4-6.
(2) p. 7.
(3) pp. 8, 9.
proof was...always given." Secondly, the utterances were often accompanied "with the flashing in of conviction on the mind, like lightning rooting itself in the earth".

These five months of absence he spent at Doncaster, where the power on one occasion constrained him at Sunday School to return to his study, and conveyed to him "very distinctly the impression that he might be called to utterance during public worship that day." In spite of natural misgivings, he sought direction in I. Cor. 14., and found that it was his duty to yield to the power, "but the ordinary service passed without any visitation of power. But after the Sacrament had been administered, when kneeling, to return thanks, the power came upon me largely, though the impulse was not to utterance - my tongue was riveted, and my soul filled with joy and thanksgiving."

In January 1832(1) Baxter was in London again. By this time glossolalia had been permitted in church, and he took a leading part in the manifestations. "The power which then rested upon me was far more mighty than before...carrying me on without confusion or excitement. The things which I was made to utter, flashed in upon my mind, without expectation, and without any plan or arrangement: all was the work of the moment, and I was the passive instrument of the power which used me". He also was "made to bid those present ask instruction on any subject...and to several questions asked, answers were given by me in the power. One in particular was so answered, with such reference to circumstances of which I was wholly ignorant, as to convince the person who asked it that it was the Spirit speaking. This, however, troubled the pastor, who came up to me and said, 'Faith is very hard'. I was immediately made to reason with him in the power until he was fully convinced that the Spirit was of God."

"I have since been much struck with the inconsistency of consulting with the spirit, or seeking explanation from the person who has the spirit. We are not faithful to God if we consult any spirit before we have tried it."

It is unnecessary to give an exhaustive account of the numerous utterances and revelations of Baxter, as they bear a strong family resemblance. A few that are representative are selected by way of illustration. Baxter sometimes used "to preach in the

(1) n. 11 ff.
"Spirit", usually at evening meetings in Irving's house, when "young men were present who taught in schools and houses in different parts of London." In one of these utterances, he described the Apostolic Church as Samson in the days of his strength. The world was Delilah who seduced the Church to surrender its secret source of strength (the teaching of the Spirit), receiving instead the applause, opinion, and learning of the world. But the locks had been growing in the dungeon, the teaching of the Spirit was again bestowed, and the Church was now rousing itself to lay hold of the pillars and bring down the strongholds of wickedness on the heads of the wicked.

That was the first division of Baxter's "Philosophy of History".

More immediate injunctions were given. "Very distinctly we were commanded to 'count the days one thousand three score and two hundred' - 1260 - the days appointed for testimony, at the end of which the saints of the Lord should go up to meet the Lord in the air." (That gave meaning to the morning message "Stand out and be separate". "To your tents, 0 Israel".)

We have already noticed a sectarian spirit "at work in the Irvingite Movement. In the career of Baxter we see this at its worst. Not merely did he utter "judgments" after the style of Old Testament prophets on the Pope, the Protestant Churches, Bible Societies, - but also his associates, sometimes for the most trivial reasons, he "sharply rebuked in the power". E.g. when about to give utterance, on one occasion, "Herod" was in his mind, "Pharaoh" in his mouth. Capt. G. told him in private that "Herod" was in accordance with the context. Baxter turned on him: "So you would rather be unfaithful to your heavenly Father than shame your poor brother? Is this the love you bear to your Father?"

On another occasion, when Irving expressed his doubts as to Glossolalia in church, and Brown advised "Don't do it whilst you have a doubt", Baxter cried out "in the most fearful voice" "that if the utterances were of God, who could hesitate to argue on them?" ("This was so strongly put, that, as Mr Irving on a future occasion observed to me, he was tempted to doubt whether the Spirit bearing testimony in such a manner, was God's way of teaching us submission").

Such being Mr Baxter's inner experience and lurid apocalyptic background, it is not surprising to find a series of revelations, accompanied by ecstasy, consciousness of misery, delusion,

(1) p. 16.
(2) p. 19.
(3) p. 20.
and renewed confidence, following. He was tortured, however, not so much by a Bunyan-like consciousness of sin, as by repeated misgivings as to whether his wonderful experiences were really God-given. It is strange indeed to read of a man of education experiencing what would be natural enough in an earlier day, when village was isolated from village—and witches and warlocks, the devil and his angels—were vividly conceived of as personally present in the world.

Section 2.

Baxter’s Revelations.

At one of his breakfast parties, Mr Irving remarked that Mr T., when in the Court of Chancery, had found the power mightily upon him, but never a distinct impulse to utterance. "Suddenly I was made to declare:—There go I, and thence to the prison house!" This was followed by a prophetic setting forth of the darkness of the visible Church that testimony would be borne which would make the nation tremble; that the abomination of desolation should be set up, and Satan sit in the high places of the Church. "I went out under the constraint of the power—which was overwhelming."

"As I shaped my way towards the Court, the sufferings and trials I underwent were almost beyond endurance. Might it not be a delusion? Ought I not to consider my own character in the sight of the world...and the ruin of all worldly prospects? But confident that the power speaking in me was of God, I entered the Court."

"No power came upon me. I stood in the Court three or four hours...and as the time lengthened, more and more perplexed at its absence. I was tempted to speak in my own strength without the power, but I judged this would not be faithful to the word spoke. I came out of the Court.

"The mental conflict was most painful. I went at once to Mr Irving, who welcomed me as delivered from prison. 'We are snared—we are deceived!' He enquired particulars but could give no solution"(nor could he meet Baxter’s objection that if he was deluded, they all must be.)

(1) p. 24 ff.
"At the early morning prayer meeting, he took the message of Miss E.C. as applying to his own case - 'It is discernment - it is discernment - ye lack - seek ye for it - seek ye for it.'

"His heaviness was not removed till breakfast", when the text from Jeremiah was quoted, 'Thou hast deceived me, and I was deceived.'

"Then said I, 'I will not speak the word of the Lord any more; but the word of the Lord was unto me as fire in my bones'.

"Then I had read this and was thinking of it, I was made to say:- 'The word of God is as fire, and if ye, O vessel! who refuse to speak the word, ye shall utterly perish. Ye went to the place of testimony. The Spirit was quenched before the conscience of the king. Ye lack discernment - ye must read the word of God spiritually....etc. Then followed a command to flee to the mountains, to come out of Babylon and be separate. ...This acted like electricity. My satisfaction was complete."

"As I journeyed home in the coach(1) the following morning, the power came upon me in the form of a revelation, that God had set me apart for a special purpose.

"I should be taken away from my wife and family, and become a wanderer without habitation. And that this separation should be, in God's hand, a visitation upon my wife for her opposition to the work of the Spirit. That I should find my brother at home as I entered the paddock gate, and he would receive the Spirit and speak in the same power in which I spoke, and that I should be made to deliver to him two messages - one to be carried to my wife, to declare to her God's purpose...the other to some relations, enjoining the winding up of all my worldly concerns and the future provision for my wife and family; that a child of my brother should be called as a prophetess, and that I should minister on the ensuing Sunday in my brother's church.

"The conclusion I gathered was that I should never see my wife and children again."

On his arrival(2) at Doncaster, there was his brother at the gate - "this confirmation so unmanned me that I could not for some time speak to him."

"Without mentioning anything of the revelation, we spent the night discoursing. He had that evening, for the first time, assembled some of the people to pray for the gifts of the Spirit. I attended the meeting, but no power came upon me to utterance."

Baxter tells us that it had been for some time his habit to

(1) p. 38.
(2) p. 39 ff.
observe Friday as a fast day (a survival of the old High Church party soon to be galvanised into life by the Oxford Movement). Telling his brother he wanted to be left undisturbed, he added, "If the Lord should make you His messenger, you will not be disobedient."

On Saturday, his brother's wife asked him if the Lord had revealed to him what he had done. Baxter replied, no. She added, "He has given X- (my brother) the Spirit; he spoke much in the night in power." "My brother shortly afterwards called me into his room, and in the supernatural utterance said: 'Every spirit that confesses Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God. Jesus Christ is come in the flesh.'

"After a pause, I asked him if the Lord had shown him what He had for him to do, and on his answering 'no', I added 'Let us go to breakfast, the Lord will declare it in due time'.

"At breakfast I opened a letter; 'It is a worldly matter'. 'Aye, such were we at one time', said my brother misunderstanding me."

About to correct his mistake, - "I was made to declare that the Lord had set me apart etc.; accompanied with my putting my hands upon the head of his child, and declaring her set apart for the office of a prophetess; and with a command to him to baptize my infant with the Holy Ghost."

"After family prayers, he called me into another room to speak to his wife, who had mistaken part of the message as rebuking her. Then the power came upon me to give the second half of the message: that I should minister in his church on Sunday, and then should begin the spiritual ministrations which should never cease till the Lord should come.

Even more fantastic messages he received that day, "communicating in a distinct manner" that he should be called on to bear witness at Cambridge and in the House of Commons; that this might be accomplished immediately, he would be "caught up in the Spirit", as Philip was. No sign was vouchsafed, and nothing happened. Whereupon, he came to the conclusion that the communication was from Satan.

"The next day, being Sunday, we were all of us somewhat tried in faith". (1)

As in the earlier Old Testament period, "the power" seems to have been intermittent; what would he do if he began to minister in the Spirit and the Spirit suddenly failed him? He was comforted, however, by an "awful oath" given in utterance - "By myself
I have sworn, saith the Lord, that I will not fail thee."

The congregation that Sunday morning must have been astonished, as Anglicans, to see a layman officiating, especially when he laid aside "the stated service", having told the clerk he would have no part to take. In gown and bands he entered the reading desk, "a minister of the Spirit, not of the flesh". After praying for an hour, the "power ceased". "While they sang, I went into the vestry to fetch a Bible. Here I was wholly impotent. When I returned I had no power. My sister was seized with a hysterical fit. All my confidence in God seemed for the moment to desert me, and I felt as though my mouth was shut for ever.

"It was, however, but for a moment. I read in great power the 61st chapter of Isaiah, and preached in the power for upwards of an hour."

In the afternoon he preached from "Behold the bridegroom cometh", asserting that within three and a half years simple believers would be caught up, and the world delivered over to judgment.

5. On Monday the power was at its height. Baxter tells us that he would feel it coming on, welling up, before the actual utterance came, his whole frame throbbing as though a fire was burning in it.

He was to bear testimony before William IV and Queen Adelaide, that he would lay his crown before the King of Kings to Whom his heart would be turned, that he would refuse to remain king of Babylon (this nation), but would retain power for the present as protector of God's people. "There was a mysterious allusion to the three children in the fiery furnace of Nebuchadnezzar", and an intimation that before he reached the king's presence, he too would have to pass through a fiery trial.

When Baxter returned to London he underwent trial indeed, though not in the manner he had expected. He returned in the greatest confidence. But the members of the Irvingite circle had not been "carried away" in ecstasy to anything like the same extent.

For Miss E.C. (1) warned him in the power: "Did ye not feel

(1) p. 49.
the touch of the enemy?...It is not yet - it is not yet. It shall be a plain way; the way shall be plain."

While the common sense of Irving urged: - "Well, dear brother, be not puffed up with the abundance of revelations."

Said Baxter:-"I know not what it is;I am overwhelmed; I have yet to break my connection with my professional engagements here, and it seems as though Satan would not suffer me."

Miss E.C. (in power):- "To the word - to the WRITTEN word." (to Baxter's confusion)

Irving then said (not in the power) that a passage was brought to his mind: "If any man provide not for his own, he hath denied the faith." He added: "It seems strange that you should leave your wife."

"Ye must not leave her," echoed Miss E.C. in the power.

The bubble was pricked.

Baxter had been building spiritual 'castles in Spain', with which he had become so obsessed that they alone seemed to him to possess reality. He had built up a wall between every day life and religion which only a shock could destroy. "If a thunderbolt had burst at my feet, it could not have created half the pain and agonising confusion. The impression rushed upon me like a flood:- I have betrayed my brother into a Satanic embassy and ensured his expulsion from the Church. I have sent my wife a lying torture, and shall seem to her as a monster and I shall have forfeited all my professional pursuits, contrary to God's will. I paused a little under the revulsion of feeling which always succeeds any violent excitement...racked with the most fierce mental conflict, I endeavoured to lift up my soul in patient waiting upon God, and, in a little time, I seemed to have light upon the subject, which spoke peace, in a measure, to me."

But this revulsion proved to be merely a temporary reaction from visionary extremes out of touch with actuality. For "the awe and reverence with which we all regarded these utterances, did itself prevent that critical judgment which, when weighing everything in the balances, we should exercise." "The messages were from God, but I had mistaken them, in supposing they called for my
immediate cessation from all worldly labour."

"Relieved in a measure, I went to my coffee-house, (1) and found there a letter which greatly confirmed my previous persuasion. "This was from my wife, to say, her brother had delivered to her (in power) the message" - that the work was of God; that she recognised it even at the cost of great sacrifice.  

"This, as may be supposed, spoke to me as God's seal of His work: as I had, for months past, seen the utter inability of human efforts for her conviction." (p. 62)  

In the evening his brother returned, somewhat startled at the non-fulfilment of the prophecy that his infant would speak in the Spirit after Baptism. When he arrived at the home of certain relatives to deliver his message, he was ready to burst into tears with the confession that he had been deluded.  

Suddenly the power came upon him, and he gave utterance, all the time trembling at what he was saying." As one would expect, the relatives tried to lay hands on him. But when the power ceased, "he fell just into the former state" and told them of the failure of his revelation. Their disbelief in the work confirmed his suspicions of being deluded, and after a few hours consideration, "he wrote to my wife, begging her to forget all that had passed."  

Baxter decided that he had better return home; his wife, he discovered, had relapsed into unbelief of the work as divine, but could not wholly shake off the feeling that God's hand was in the movement to some extent. He himself felt the power much within him, though not to the same extent as in London. On 3rd February, on noticing in a newspaper that the government had appointed a

(1) p. 51.
'general fast' on the motion of Spencer Percival, he was made to declare in the power that it was merely "to avoid clamour"; it was the prayer of the prophets of Baal on Carmel, whereas the cry of 'spiritual' believers would receive an answer by fire. "I was not then at all aware what was intended by this allusion to fire; but it was to prepare the way for the doctrinal masterpiece of delusions.

Section 3.

"Baptism with Fire."

Utterances became more and more frequent with reference to fire. He received a letter from a friend at a distance ("who was unconscious of what was going on here") who mentioned his having met two ladies in a northern county, who alleged themselves to have been baptised, not only with the Holy Ghost but with FIRE.

Knowing Baxter's mind as we now do, we are not surprised that he first brooded over this novelty, and then prayed steadily and repeatedly for the new gift, culminating in his declaration in the power to his wife that they would both be baptised with fire; sin would then be burnt out, and they would be completely lifted above sin and freed from its power. The forty days during which he should be 'tried' and found faithful had well-nigh elapsed, when he should be endowed with power as an apostle. On the fortieth day he was to go back to the church in London, when the sick would be healed, the deaf hear, the dead be restored, and apostles sent forth to the ends of the earth to give warning of the rapture of the

(1) p. 54.
(2) p. 54.
saints and to prepare a people for the Lord.

We must remember that at this time cholera was sweeping over Britain. And just as religious ecstasies used to parade the streets of the City during the Plague of 1666, on Biblical analogy, crying "yet forty days and London shall be destroyed!", so the cholera fanned the flame of Irvingite fanaticism in 1832. Chalmers took practical measures for the ending of the plague in Edinburgh. In London Irving followed the older method of appointing fasts and prayer meetings for the aversion of what was regarded as a judgment on the sins of the people. At these meetings(1) Baxter's confident utterances produced a tremendous effect. "Mr Irving embraced me and his elders broke into a thanksgiving for having sent such light into the church." "Mrs C. took my hand, when the power came upon her, and she declared that Jesus... had touched my lips with a living coal... and I should speak with authority as a prophet."

That does not, however, mean that a holy and perfect unity pervaded the circle of "Gifted Persons". On the contrary, suspicion and jealousy were constantly breaking out, under the cloak of utterances in the power. There constantly recurred a feeling that there was someone present who was quenching the Spirit. One example may be taken as an illustration:

On the Saturday evening before Baxter was expected to receive baptism of the Holy Ghost, in Irving's house, "Mrs C.(2) was made to cry out in a most-piercing utterance that there was someone in the midst of us who was provoking the Lord by jealousy, envy, and hard thoughts. A feeling of dismay seemed to run through the company. The accusation was reiterated that the person should step forward and confess. The agony expressed on many countenances was intense; one man was so overcome that his head fell on the chair, as though he were paralysed, uttering an unnatural moaning cry..."

"I turned...to pray, when Mr Irving silently pointed to a

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(1) p. 71.
(2) pp. 73, 74.
person who was struggling to give utterance. But, instead of articulate words, nothing but muttering followed, and this with an expression most revolting. An utterance broke from Mrs C. and myself: "It is an unclean spirit!"

But the man continued "muttering and speaking nonsense", in spite of Baxter's attempted exorcism. "Lady X-, who had once or twice spoken in the power, rose up and with outstretched hand, cried out: 'Greater is he that is in you than he that is in the world!' and repeating this several times, sank down on the floor. We all paused. Mr Irving suggested: "This kind goeth not forth but with prayer and fasting!'" Baxter could only suggest "that in due time the man would be delivered; and so we parted."

Instances similar to the above might be quoted in illustration of the suspicious attitude of the "Gifted Persons".

E.g. the dinner party (p. 35) when "great heaviness seemed to lie upon all the gifted persons!; Baxter cries "there is uncleanness in the midst of us"; finally, "a most appalling utterance" breaks forth from Mrs C. "sharply rebuking all present".

A stranger once spoke in the power, refused to acknowledge that it was "not of God", and being rebuked by Mr T., fell down upon the ground "foaming and struggling like a bound demoniac", and was calmed only after the gifted persons had prayed over him in the power. (p. 26). (Compare case. p. 47).

On another occasion Baxter felt the presence of a person whose mind utterly repudiated an utterance; several confessed, but the culprit was only eventually detected by Baxter through hearing a voice at the top of the room which showed that here was the offender. "It operated as a confirmatory sign to those who believed in the work." (Deut. 13). (p. 70)

Miss V., who had for some time been received as a prophetess among them (in fact she had been one of the earliest tongue-speakers), had been charged by Miss E.C. and Mrs. C. with forging utterances, which they asserted in the power, were "of the flesh".

To Baxter, "her utterances seemed at times as full and as clearly supernatural as Miss E.C.'s." Miss E.C. would frequently take up and complete utterances in power, begun by Miss H., so as to cause Mr Irving to remark how manifestly one spirit spoke in both.

The collision occurred over a message sent to an E.P. regarding the national fast; Miss H. being convicted of meditating utterances purporting to be spoken in the power..."explained in any way however," comments Baxter, "it involved all of us in lack of discernment." (p. 94)
It is impossible to draw hard-and-fast conclusions either of telepathy on the one hand, or of fraud on the other, owing to the fact that the movement was not impartially investigated under strict conditions. It seems clear that there was a certain amount of "thought transference"(1) and intuitive reading of the minds of those professing spiritual gifts. We must also bear in mind the fact that the inner circle of the movement consisted of Miss E.C. (Emily Cardale), Mr T. (Taplin), Mrs C. (Mary Caird, the initiator of Glossolalia), and Baxter (who, in spite of his revelations, was only in London when called up on business etc.), with the mysterious Irishman (v. p. 67) Mr A., who aroused Pilkington's suspicions, in the background (probably Rev. N. Armstrong).

We cannot go so far as to doubt the sincerity of these people, but they held together as a "Group", keeping the leadership of the movement in their own hands, preferring private to public meetings as we shall see later (though taking full advantage of public meetings for manifestations), and claiming the right to admit would-be "gifted persons" to the exercise of their 'craft'.

We can see that Miss E.C.(2) enunciated the views of the group when, in the power, she forbade Irving to allow Baxter to conduct the Sunday service falling several days before the expected baptism with the Holy Ghost. For was not Baxter an outsider in two senses; neither a founder of the movement, nor one who was continually 'on the spot'? Was he not getting puffed up with these extravagant visions, and being looked up to as the 'leading light' by

(1) e.g. ft. p. 81. Another case, p. 72.

(2) p. 76.
the soft-hearted, muddle-headed Irving? Ambiguous utterances in
the power purporting to come direct from God untainted by human mo-
tives, were only too often the cloaked aspirations either of individ-
uals, or of individuals who sensed the "group mind". Sudden and
unpremeditated utterances were often fruit unconsciously matured in
the sub-conscious. Baxter spoke, with deeper insight than he was
aware of, on becoming finally disillusioned, "that facts which have
lately occurred have been broad enough to show the active workings
of a spirit; also, that though a supernatural power is with-us, we
are not therefore, of necessity, receiving it of God." (p. 9).

He was a better psychologist than one would suppose the sub-
ject of such delusions would ever be.

"Oh! the deep subtilty - the hollowness of our hearts - the
awful justice of our God, who, because of the craving after some-
thing more than the gentle dew of the Spirit, gave us indeed meat
to our lust, by leaving us under a spiritual power, which was super-
natural and sweet to the taste, but afterwards wormwood and ashes."  
(p. 65)

We might add: "He gave them their request, but sent leanness
into their soul!" (Psalm 106. 15)

Resuming the thread of the Narrative, we find ourselves on
the threshold of the expected new dispensation. It was the Sunday
preceding the expected baptism with fire. Irving's sermon(1) acted
as fuel to Baxter's craving, for his text was from Rev. 11.5. -
"Fire proceedeth out of their mouth, and devoureth their enemies."
He himself was but a 'fleshy minister', but Baxter was a 'spiritual
minister'.

Baxter notes that "the same distinction was carried through
the church also - the church receiving the ministry of the prophets
speaking by the utterance of the spirit, was called the spiritual
church, in contradistinction to the visible church and in cutting

(1) pp. 77 ff.
short the fleshly ministry by cancelling the ordination by laying on of hands, was shown God's rejection of the visible; and in the gift of utterance and the sending prophets...was shown the bringing out of the spiritual church."

This applied also to the Sacraments. When the fullness of power was come in, the baptism of water (which was John's baptism) would be discarded in favour of baptism with the Holy Ghost and fire. Irving, however, was not prepared to admit that the new dispensation had already been ushered in, for when an utterance broke from Baxter "Jesus receiveth thee into His church thou little one, and baptiseth thee with His spirit" - on an infant being brought forward, he proceeded to baptise the child in the usual way, merely returning thanks for the utterance. Baxter concealed his chagrin by 'rationalising'; - Irving would have to continue using the form till he received full endowment as a 'spiritual minister'.

The next step was an utterance in reference to the text, "Behold I stand at the door and knock, if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in unto him, and sup with him, and he with me."

Christ was now knocking, and by His Spirit specially coming to realise with His people that which the bread and wine typified in the Lord's Supper; that thus the antitype would displace the type. For had not the apostle declared, "As oft as ye eat of this bread and drink of this wine, ye do show forth the Lord's death, UNTIL HE COME"?

This spiritual coming, Baxter admits, was not to preclude a personal coming at the end of the three years and a half, - but that now Christ, in the full power of the Spirit, with the baptism of fire, was to pass through the world in His 'spiritual ministry', as
he did in the land of Judaea for the same space of time in his 'fleshly ministry'. The parallel is carried further:

As Christ was slain and rose from the dead, so also would his witnesses. And "they who remain alive unto the coming of the Lord shall be caught up to meet him in the air."

Baxter was still in some doubt as to the time when the spiritual church would be fully constituted, and all visible elements discarded; subsequent utterances, however, convinced him that this would not be until the full powers of an apostle were given, and he was in daily - nay hourly - expectation of this event. (1)

Baxter was now obsessed by eschatology as presented by the book of Revelation, interpreted as a forecast of world history on the eve of fulfilment. Everyday events he related to the cosmic plan, which to him was such a vivid reality. One evening, for example, he met a missionary from America who declared that the American Indians were the lost ten tribes of Israel, and asked him if he (Baxter) had any teaching on that question. Having never thought of the problem, Baxter replied in the negative. But the matter matured in the sub-conscious, and as one might expect, an utterance broke from him several days later when he was at breakfast at Irving's: - not only were the American Indians the ten lost tribes, but within the appointed three and a half years they should be settled in Palestine before the days of vengeance set in. One evening he was made to address an Indian chief, who was then in

(1) In an earlier revelation on Rev. 12, Baxter declared that the visible church was represented by "the beast rising out of the earth": the 'spiritual church' being typified by the woman with child fleeing into the wilderness, - cast out by church and nations. The working of 'evil spirits' in Regent Square was ascribed to the dragon and his angels, - at that very moment warring in heaven against Michael. (pp. 55-57)

(2) p. 30,31.
London and was present at an evening meeting at Irving's, in "a most triumphant charriot" as the vessel chosen by God for Restoration. "The chief did not believe in the message, or in the gifts, though he was apparently astounded; and as I conversed with him, his tout ensemble was so strangely of the Tartar caste that my confidence was shaken." Baxter adds significantly: "However, my conscience was clear of all wilful mistake" (He was one of those who forget that godliness or genuine enthusiasm is no test of wisdom in its true sense).

It was strange that this suggestion was not accepted by a simple Christian redskin (assuming he understood what Baxter meant), when a parallel delusion - the creed of "British Israelites" - has in our own time been adopted by a number of people of education (though not of theological training), including officers of the army and navy.

It seems that throughout the centuries there have always been pietistic circles among whom the intellect has been at a discount; they have claimed to accept nothing but the Bible, but they have read the Bible (in reality) in the light of contemporary events, allegorising it often grotesquely. (1) There is no doubt that Baxter's ingenuity, in throwing on obscure parts of Scripture light (or rather limelight), made a strong appeal to certain minds who, taught to accept the whole Bible as the direct Word of God, were only too ready to welcome solutions which seemed to bring Holy Writ into closer touch with contemporary life.

Baxter returned (2) to Doncaster "deeply depressed" at not

(1) Thus Baxter makes ch. 8 Revelation yield the following:-
"The third part" - Protestantism. The other "two thirds" - Papists and Infidels. Hall represented the Tories; fire, the Liberals, who throughout Europe burn up the green grass - the good order of society. The sea was the military, the earth the civil state. The casting of the mountain into the sea was the collision between Liberalism and the military. The third trumpet applied to the ecclesiastical state, - the wormwood bitterness of the star - false doctrine etc. etc.

(2) p. 88.
receiving full endowment as an apostle in London, to find that his wife had relapsed into disbelief of the work. A revelation, however, suddenly came upon her,\(^1\) calming all her irritation and distress, and in a moment filling her mind with peace, giving a reason why the prophecy had not been fulfilled on the fortieth day; "it had been told her as a sign that as soon as I came home, I should say, 'speak - speak', and then, after she had told me the revelation I should speak to her in the power, beginning 'it is of the Lord'."

Strangely enough it happened as had been foretold, and we can accept Baxter's word; he was imaginative indeed, but a sincere and honourable man.

The result was that both he and his wife were re-confirmed in their faith, particularly by an allusion in the revelation to Numbers 12.10. (case of Miriam). Had the church in London manifested greater love, this baptism and power would have been given there; but now it should be given here (at Doncaster). A most emphatic declaration was given in the power that on the day after the morrow, both Baxter and his wife should be baptised with fire. The day\(^2\) arrived and in the evening an utterance came from the power; 'kneel down'. We knelt down, lifting up prayer to God continually. Nothing, however, ensued. Again and again we knelt, and again and again we prayed, but still no fulfilment. Surprising as it may seem, my faith was not shaken...but for six weeks I continued to seek after it. My wife ceased to follow it.

Baxter found relief, again, in 'rationalisation'.\(^3\) Non-fulfilment had previously been explained by backsliding in London: now baptism with fire was 'spiritualised', and declared in power to denote the burning out of the carnal mind, resulting in the perfect holiness of true believers. An interesting trait which increases the similarity of Montanism and Irvingism, already noted, is that during this period Baxter receives messages in power, that "the marriage state would no longer be blessed with increase", but the

\(^1\) p. 89.  
\(^2\) p. 30.  
\(^3\) p. 91.  
\(^4\) p. 92.
energy of both sexes would be concentrated on warning the world, till the expiry of the days of testimony should summon them to the glory of the Lord.

After a short interval he received a letter from Irving, stating than Miss E.C. had commanded him to write that he must not expect this "in the flesh" (referring to baptism with fire). Irving added:

"Here I leave it without any comment whatever - I am not equal to the work of commenting upon these words of the Lord - I am content to walk in the 'darkness'... The Lord lead us aright.... the day is not known and it is a mystery."

Baxter was amazed. He afterwards asked Miss E.C. why they recognized his prophecy, but in practice set it aside; "she would not speak upon the subject". And yet he "found the matter of the three years and a half as constantly in his mouth as ever."

The fact of the matter was that the Group Mind was once more calling a rebellious member of the herd to heel: the shepherd was impotent.

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Section 4.

The case of the Gloucestershire children: final disillusionment.

Baxter still continued to treat every doubt as a temptation, for the supernatural nature of his experience seemed so clear, in spite of the failure of his prophecies; he had undoubtedly experienced communion with God such as few men attain to.

His faith in verbal confession as an unfailing means of 'trying the spirits' was strengthened on hearing the case of two twins, a girl and a boy, "children of a pious and exemplary clergyman" in Gloucestershire. They were eight or nine years of age, (1) and

(1) Caroline Fox ("Journals", p. 40) gives seven as their age.
"nothing of a religious turn had been remarked" in them. (Baxter does not seem to realise the influence imitation exerts over the child mind. He states: "their parents were, unfortunately, led to seek after the manifestations, believing them to be of God". But he does not perceive that this very statement accounts to a large extent for their actions which he proceeds to describe: many children love "playing at church" - (the writer remembers when a child raising his hands at the same time as his father at the Benediction).

Their utterance(1) was most astounding according to Baxter, preaching with such recital of Scripture and power of argument, as might be supposed to surpass many able ministers, and certainly quite out of the compass of children of their age. Encouraged by their parents, they proceeded to prophecy and utter commands, until they uttered things which seemed contrary to Scripture, finally astonishing everyone by an utterance forbidding to marry.

They called the boy "who seemed much wrought upon by the power" and cried in power: "Ye may try the spirits in men, but ye may not try the spirits in children. Ye shall surely be punished."

The curate was called in and demanded a confession that Christ was come in the flesh. "Paleness and agitation increased over the child, till an utterance broke from him, '(I will never confess it)."

The curate persisted in his efforts: "I command thee, thou false spirit, in the name of Jesus, to come out of the child."

The child afterwards described his feelings; he felt as though a coldness was removed from his heart, and passed away from him.

On being told to resist it, he did so several times.

Once, some time afterwards, he mistook something his parents had said to him, to be a direction to yield to the power, and did yield, speaking supernaturally as before; but on being corrected, and henceforth resisting the power whenever it came upon him, he was entirely freed from it.

Baxter tells us that he first saw an account of this case in print, but it was afterwards confirmed to him by one who had been an eyewitness of the whole.

Caroline Fox, whose "Journals" were published in 1882, gives a full account of the twins, some interesting details being given in addition to the facts mentioned by Baxter.

(1) p. 57, 58.
"The parents placed themselves entirely under the direction of these chits, who trotted about the house, and everything they touched was immediately to be destroyed or given away as Babylonish! This poor deluded man's house was dismantled, his valuable library dissolved and himself and family thoroughly befooled. At last the younglings pointed out Jerusalem as the proper place for immediate family emigration, and everything was packed up, and off they set. The grandfather of the sprites was infinitely distressed at these goings-on and goings off, and intercepted his son at the commencement of the pilgrimage, and confined him to the house, inducing him to write to Irving to inquire how they were to find out whether they were influenced by a true or false spirit."

"Just before this letter reached him, a Miss B-, under whose care these children first became possessed, had an interview with Irving, and instead of being received by him with open arms, heard the terrible sentence, 'Thou hast a lying spirit.' She flew into a vehement rage, and such a 'spiritualized' scene took place between them as is indescribable."

Caroline Fox thinks that Irving had been told of the failure of many of Miss B-'s prophecies. He then wrote to the parents advocating such tests as "Try the Spirits." The letter was read by the parent (Mr P-) in the presence of Lord R-, Mr W-, and others. As soon as it was read the children burst in upon the assembled relatives as they were rehearsing the tests. Suddenly the father's eyes were opened, and he ordered the children upstairs.

"By a judicious discipline these children were rescued from what is considered, with some show of reason, to have been a demoniacal possession. The father, however, became insane ultimately from what he had passed through, and died in that state." (Fox. pp. 40, 41).

This is an interesting corroboration of Baxter's account from a lady who was obviously an onlooker, but one who had her information at first hand. Another case of children prophesying will be considered later.

The above incident temporarily resuscitated Baxter's faith
in the manifestations. He became finally disillusioned not so much through the failure of prophecies, as by being "providentially led to an examination of doctrines\(^1\)" for neglecting which, at an earlier period, I justly suffered what came upon me."

"The word was made flesh" was one day being discussed at a devotional meeting; Baxter gave an exposition of his view that Jesus took fallen flesh, but took it free from the law of sin, which we are all born under.

A friend (not named) assented to this definition, but charged Mr Irving with holding a contrary view - i.e. That the Law of the flesh was in Jesus and only kept down by the Spirit.

A few days later a clergyman from Staffordshire had a long discussion with Baxter, in which he argued that if Irving's theology was unsound, the Spirit of God could not be speaking in him (a natural conclusion, granted the theory of "rigid mechanical accuracy" as presupposition).

On that occasion Baxter cried in the power, "He has erred! He has erred!" He examined Irving's whole position more carefully and came to the conclusion that he was unsound on the imputed righteousness of Christ, besides holding the possibility of the believer's perfect holiness in the flesh.

He wrote to Irving to this effect, - who appeared to be more and more under the influence of his female conclave. Irving replied as follows: -(2)"It being wonderfully ordered that Mrs G-. should be in town for a day or two...and Miss E.C. - these two prophetesses of the Lord, who have been His mouth of wisdom and warning to me and my church in all perplexities; I called along with my wife... and proceeded to read your letters." On coming to the words "he has erred", Miss E.C. declared in power that Irving had maintained the truth, and must not draw back; he had erred in some ways, but the Lord had forgiven him. Mrs Irving mentioned a doubt, - whether it should not be left simply to the Lord, when Mrs G-. "with great authority and strength" declared both in Tongue and English that Baxter had erred in "bringing carnal understanding to spiritual things" and in "making a distinction between Christ's holiness and that of his church".

Irving is, however, perfectly right in pointing out that

\(^{1}\) pp. 99 ff.

\(^{2}\) 103 ff.
Baxter himself had been only too full of the passage he particularly criticised in the "Day of Pentecost" (p. 39):— "Baptism of the Holy Ghost doth bring to every believer the presence of the Father and the power of the Holy Ghost, according to that measure, at the least, in which Christ, during the days of His flesh, possessed." He concludes by suggesting that if he had a meeting with Baxter, their differences would not bulk so large.

"This letter,"(1) said Baxter, "was a great blow to me." It was difficult to throw aside what had lain at the very heart of his religion.

But he decided that the only course was to go up to London for a final interview with Irving, who relied mainly on the argument that the utterances that had failed were of the devil, and those which were successful were of God, in reply to the objection that it was impossible to distinguish true utterances from false (the external demonstration being the same). Every message would have to be decided on grounds of origin, and who knew whether or not a man had the gift of discerning spirits? Had not Irving preached that messages delivered in the power were "pure unadulterated water without admixture", in which entire and implicit confidence might be placed?

Yet he was driven from this position by the fact that before the whole congregation a man had denounced him, the pastor, "this denunciation coming with every demonstration of power and tongues".

It was then attempted to decide the origin of the utterance by prescribing a certain frame in the subject—a calm sense of the love of God in Christ and of our abiding therein, as a proof of divine inspiration; and an opposite state of mind as a proof of the utterances being deceitful. But in Baxter's case, several utterances had been confirmed, spoken when he was in a disturbed state; and others, which had proved false, were given under the prescribed frame of mind. "I was fully persuaded that no such line of distinction could honestly be drawn."

(1) p. 108 ff.
Baxter interviewed not only Irving (then before the Presbytery of London, 26th April, 1832), but also Miss E.C. and Mrs C., who argued that non-fulfilment of prophecies made under the power was simply due to mistaking their meaning. "A most miserable subterfuge," is Baxter's comment. Irving pointed to Jeremiah 15.18,19, where the prophet, on expostulating with God for non-fulfilment of His word, is told to separate the precious from the vile. Also Jer. 20.7. and Ezekiel 14.9. - "If the prophet be deceived when he hath spoken a thing, I the Lord have deceived that prophet". He forgot, however, to complete the text, which is to the effect that such a prophet will be destroyed.

Some months after Baxter's recantation, he received a letter from Irving (July 6th, 1832), pleading with him to cease "blaspheming the prophets and church of God", and reasserting his views as to Christ's habitation of human nature, believers receiving "the power of regeneration, which is the continuance unto us of the power of generation in Jesus."

This letter completed Baxter's alienation from the Irvingite Movement, and led to the summing up of his objections to it, which may be presented as follows:—

(1) He could neither recognise words nor sentences uttered in 'tongue' as any language, though he knew French and Latin, and his wife Italian and some Spanish. Before he knew Irving, the latter used to teach publicly that the 'tongues' were nothing more than the ecstatic speech which prevailed in the Corinthian Church, needing only 'interpretation'. But when Baxter confirmed in the power certain utterances that had been made to the effect that the Pentecostal gift was for preaching to other nations in their own languages, - "he at once yielded and confessed his error, giving thanks for the correction." Further, Baxter acknowledges that Irvingite prophecies were generally "crude undigested thoughts", prompted by "the strong cravings of curiosity, and the restlessness of an excited imagination". The substitution of a branch of truth for the tree, was the result, - the Second Coming assuming a disproportionate place in their working theology.

(2) Baxter objected strongly to the secrecy of the meetings. He had several times rebuked Irving for this in the power, but select meetings were eventually restored, on the ground that in a miscellaneous assembly the spirit was quenched.

For in a favourable atmosphere "Satan can develop the

(1) p. 116.
(2) p. 124.
(3) p. 133.
(4) p. 126.
subjects of his delusions; and going on, step by step, can unwarily lead his victims into extravagances, first of doctrine, and next of conduct, which they themselves would, without such gradual preparation, shudder to contemplate."

So long as their proceedings were open to the public eye, there would always be a certain restraint. But when shut up to themselves, the mind is gradually darkened, and the delusion becomes daily stronger, until they are ripe for each successive stage of the mystery of iniquity."

3) The personal morality of the individuals concerned seems to have been beyond question, but there was a distinct antinomian tinge in the movement, a marked tendency towards "perfectionism". The notion that absolute holiness was attainable in this life might produce a spiritual glow and sense of successful endeavour, but the result was a lowering of the standard, undue confidence, and hardening until the conscience, in extreme cases, was "seared as with a hot iron".

4) Baxter began to examine the Scriptures apart from preconceived ideas, and discovered the extent to which the New Testament stresses the understanding, being greatly impressed with such passages as: "The Lord give thee understanding in all things"; "that ye might be filled with the knowledge of His will, in all wisdom and spiritual understanding" etc. "Now I am assured, both from the remembrance of my own utterances, and from those of others, that the spirit manifested in us all, has always striven to put aside the understanding, and bring its followers into an absolute submission to the utterances."

5) A result of this following of mere impulse was the grotesquely subjective character of so many utterances, e.g. Baxter's stern and remorseless denunciations typified by his "burden against Scotland for casting off episcopacy", which he deemed "apostolic". "Ye know not of what spirit ye are". Further, the blind sectarian spirit of the movement alienated Baxter, once his eyes were opened - the casting off, under the name of Babylon, of the Church Universal and the setting up of the new sect as alone "apostolic", - the treatment of all who rejected the Tongues as blasphemers.

6) At the same time he believed(2) that Irving and many of the Gifled Persons were wronged in public estimation. Irving was a "man of God, sincerely searching after truth." Of noble bearing and of unbounded imagination" - he could not conceive of himself as acting in any other capacity than as a good soldier of Christ; "his imagination is too fertile ever to suffer him to lack explanations." "He is too confident in his own honesty of intentions in all that he has done, not sufficiently

(1) p. 69.
(2) p. 129.
versed in the deceitfulness of the heart and the subtlety of that pride, which clothes itself in the garb of holy zeal.

"His mind is so imaginative as almost to scorn precision of ideas, and his views will thus continually vary, without himself being aware of it. His energy and activity, swelling into impetuosity, leave him peculiarly open to error, in all subjects which require deep thought and patient and continued investigation. No man was ever perhaps less qualified to investigate and unfold the deeper mysteries of religion. With him one line of truth swells over its parallel line, and converging lines cut where they should only meet.

"Yet with all this, there is much real candour - real devotedness - real love to God, and charity towards all men. In the matter of the manifestations I believe him to be much tried. He cannot shut his eyes to facts which are daily rising up before him, and yet he is afraid to entertain doubts, and deals with them all as temptations; so he will go on until God is pleased, by some broad flash of light, or some gross error in the utterances, to show him its darkness."

Baxter is impressed with the Christian spirit of the gifted persons, who might indeed show bitterness and violence - "but they are deceived and not deceivers, save instrumentally".

"It is one thing to lead men on(1) into the power of the enemy, and quite another thing to deliver them. For the sake of those whom I may have hardened or betrayed into a false faith, is it that I feel called upon to publish my own shame."

"Ah, how true is the Word of God - 'If the light within you be darkness, how great is that darkness.' We must see, in these continually occurring stumblings, how God graciously kept a witness in the midst of us, that the spirit was not his own; and how we continually disregarded his witness, and so hardened ourselves in our delusion."

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(1) p. 1.
In connection with Baxter's disillusionment, it might be well to quote from the two letters written by Irving to his flock, just before his death:

"It well becometh me, who was the chief instrument of bringing in that sin for which the hand of the Lord hath long lain heavy upon us, to do my utmost to remove the same, that he may again lift upon us the light of His countenance.

"We were beguiled to think that the full measure of the tabernacle of the Lord would be given to that church over which I presided as an angel, which was no less than the exalting of the angel of the church into the place of Christ. I tremble to think of the awfully perilous place into which I was thrust.

"I do repent and call upon all the flock to repent with me. We were unwatchful - we were blinded - we were covetous. We sought independence as a church, and but for the grace of God we had reaped the very independence of Satan. God saw that we had been taken in through our simplicity...and therefore He had mercy on us, and began to take the veil from our eyes.

"I confess that I was very slow, yes, reluctant to turn from my evil way, whereunto I do trace the heavy chastisement of the love of my God. Let us now, dear children, be of one mind to put it away, with abhorrence and loathing, that we should have been found in such deception, and so fearfully deceived.

"The Christian world has been gravitating, visibly, more & more, towards this vanishing point of faith, for whole centuries. Religion has fallen into the domain of the mere understanding, and so it has become a kind of wisdom not to believe much, therefore to expect as little. "Prayer becomes a mere dumb-bell exercise. The word is exegetically handled, but there is no light of interpretation in souls, more immediate......."

"Now this descent to mere rationality makes an occasion for the signs & wonders of the Spirit......Let Him now break forth in miracle & holy gifts."

"But now the Spirit is weak on the opposite side, and has even a pride in believing things really incredible." "And the result is, that now all the supernatural demonstrations are brought into disrespect, and a process begins of oscillation backward, to the ordinary & regular; and then towards rationalism again, unbelief, & spiritual impotence."

"Now between these two kinds of excess, the Church is always swinging, and by a kind of moral necessity must. It is not that God's administration is irregular & desultory, but that such is the unsteadiness & unreliability of our poor dis­jointed humanity.

"The oscillation back towards order & reason is commonly longer & more gradual; that towards miracles & gifts shorter & sharper, because there is more heat & celerity in it, and less time is required to bring it to its limit."

(Horace Bushnell, "Nature and the Supernatural 1862.pps.317-319.)
CHAPTER VI.

THE IRVINGITE MOVEMENT IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN PSYCHOLOGY.

An exhaustive historical examination of the Irvingite Movement, compared with similar manifestations in the ancient world and particularly in New Testament times, clears the way for a study of the phenomena in the light of modern psychology. Instances of Glossolalia in our own day are collected in an Appendix for convenience, but are an essential part of the Thesis, as proofs that the Irvingite manifestations were not unique in the progressive nineteenth century, as a final outburst of obscurantism.

In this chapter, an approach will be made from the circumference, leading up to the core-actual glossolalia.

J. B. Pratt, in "The Religious Consciousness", finds in religion three vital elements:

(1) The Traditional, based on the inherited wisdom of the race, and involving institutionalism;
(2) The Rational, with a "depersonalizing tendency" towards scepticism;
(3) The Mystical, opposed to the abstractions of the Thinker, yet like the Rational element, based upon an immediate personal experience, which tends to be nourished and coaxed for its own sake.

All of these elements contribute to the full and harmonious life, but in actual practice, there has been a tendency among men to stress one, to the exclusion of the other two, with disastrous results.
The followers of Irving, as we have seen, laid exclusive stress on the possession of certain religious experience, denouncing both the Intellect (identified with "rationalism") and Tradition (regarded as a departure from Apostolic Christianity).

In discussing Mysticism, William James (1) assigned to it the attributes of Ineffability, Noetic Quality, Transiency, and Passivity. "This latter...connects mystical states with certain definite phenomena of secondary or alternative personality, such as prophetic speech, automatic writing, or the mediumistic trance."

In the Irvingite, as in other similar movements, we find glossolalia associated with "spiritual healing" (e.g. Mary Campbell, the Macdonalds, Miss Fancourt); prophecy, as regards both insight and foresight, (e.g. Baxter); automatic writing (e.g. Mary Campbell); and telepathy (in the inner Irvingite circle). These phenomena were regarded as unique at the time. It was left to William James to impress on the public mind the fact that "you will hardly find a religious leader of any kind in whose life there is no record of automatisms."

"Beliefs are strengthened wherever automatisms corroborate them". (2)

"But when a superior intellect and a psychopathic temperament coalesce in the same individual, we have the best possible condition for the kind of effective genius that gets into the biographical dictionaries...Their ideas possess them, they inflict them, for better or worse, upon their companions or their age." (3)

(2) Ibid. p. 478.
The last statement is qualified. "There is of course no special affinity between crankiness as such and superior intellect, and superior intellects more commonly have normal nervous systems."

Now it cannot be claimed that intellect was characteristic of the Irvingite circle. Baxter's intellect made itself felt in spheres other than religion. Drummond was a shrewd organiser, but had a reputation, which he undoubtedly deserved, of being a 'crack-brained enthusiast' in politics and religion. Irving could absorb, but could not digest, the thought of his age; his weak will made him the victim of impulse and circumstances. Of other members of the group it may be said that there was a mixture of simple devout piety, of credulity and fanaticism, sometimes combined with sanity on all other matters except religion. Strong intellect, which can see life steadily and whole, was entirely wanting. The typical Irvingite can be recognised in a portrait sketched by William James:

"The cranky person has extraordinary emotional susceptibility. He is liable to fixed ideas and obsessions. His conceptions tend to pass immediately into belief and action; and when he gets a new idea, he has no rest till he proclaims it, or in some way 'works it off'. 'What shall I think of it?' a common person asks to himself about a vexed question; but in a 'cranky' mind 'What must I do about it?' is the form the question tends to take." ("Varieties", p. 23)

When a circle has conceived a particular animus against the intellect, we must not be surprised to find credulity leading to insanity.

In all ages, in all lands, in all religions, abnormal religious life has been stimulated by long prayer meetings, vigils, fastings. In the Irvingite circle the more extreme forms of asceticism were not present. But a number of the members were people of leisure, who started the day with an early prayer meeting and spent it in conclave or private devotion, frequently obtruding their
common obsession even at breakfast and dinner parties. Even in the 'thirties' of last century, London tended to produce a nervous, excitable type of person, who would seek to be stimulated, either by pleasure or 'religion'. And in these early days of hygiene, life in a large city was much less healthy than to-day, owing to lack of adequate sanitation, ventilation, and exercise on the part of the citizens.

It will be remembered that the Gifted Persons from the west of Scotland,—Mary Campbell and the Macdonalds,—were consumptives. While it would be quite untrue to attribute the Irvingite manifestations to physical causes alone, it must be admitted that they contributed to it. St. Theresa declared rightly: "That the disquiet of the soul comes most from bodily indisposition. I have had great experience of the matter.....this poor prisoner of a soul shares in the miseries of the body. The more we force the body...the greater the mischief. The poor soul must not be stifled. Let those who thus suffer understand that they are ill."(1)

On the other hand, the cures affected (e.g. Mary Campbell and the Macdonalds) in the Irvingite Movement, indicate how a religious joy can enable men and women to transcend the frail limits of humanity. "I cannot help thinking," said General Gordon, "that the body has much to do with religion." (2)

(1) Life of St. Theresa. (XI. 23)
(2) Quoted, Frank Granger, "The Soul of a Christian". p. 120.
Section 1.

Irvingism and "the Herd"; as a Revival.

The eighteenth century was a century of Revivals. The Irvingite Movement could not but be unconsciously influenced by them. The "bodily effects" (swooning, convulsions, etc.) which made their appearance during "The Great Awakening" in New England, provoked acute criticism and led to Jonathan Edward's penetrating and accurate psychological treatise "On the Religious Affections" and "On the Present Revival", which attained a wide circulation on both sides of the Atlantic. Many of Edward's frank criticisms of the work might have stood as criticisms of Irvingism, with few changes e.g. -

(1) "Undiscerned spiritual pride". It is not beautiful that critics of the Revival should be dubbed "Pharisees, carnal persecutors". "While Peter wounds, Christ heals."

(2) "Adoption of wrong principles". "That it is God's manner in these days, to guide His saints...by inspiration or immediate revelation...what shall come to pass hereafter. Why cannot we be content with the divine oracles...which we have in such clearness since the Canon of Scripture was completed?" They take texts, such as 'led by the Spirit', as impressed on their minds, and improve it as a new revelation to all intents and purposes. "A man may have ten thousand such revelations and directions from the Spirit, and yet not have a jot of grace in his heart." "The Spirit of God doth teach the saints their duty in a higher way than ever Balaam or Saul were taught - a more excellent way."

Another error; that external order is but little to be regarded.

That ministers, as Christ's ambassadors, may speak with the same authority, as the apostles did, yea Jesus Christ Himself. "The principle is absurd...there is a vast difference in degree of authority."

(3) Being ignorant or unobservant of some things by which the devil has special advantage.

"The beam of light as it comes from the fount of light
in our hearts is pure; but as it is reflected hence, it is mixt." "We may not take all for gold that glisters."

"Natural affection, the workings of imagination, and a person's supposed eminency and distinction from others in the favour of God" - constitute the human element which tends to increase in a convert, as the vision fades.

"Bodily effects", "impulses" and "impressions" are merely incidental. (1)

"I had rather enjoy the sweet influence of the Spirit, showing Christ's spiritual, divine beauty, infinite grace... one quarter of an hour, than to have prophetical visions and revelations the whole year." (2)

If "The Great Awakening" occurred among a community that had achieved stability, but inherited the faith of 17th century Puritanism - what Davenport calls the "dogmatic-emotional type", the Kentucky (3) Revival of 1800 took place in the backwoods where law and order scarcely existed. In Kentucky the Revival found expression in motor and emotional tendencies. As a result of midnight camp-meetings thousands rolled on the ground shrieking, some shaking in every joint ("jerks"), and others "barking on all-fours". By 1803 the "holy laugh" and very free association of the sexes appeared. In Irvingism motor expressions existed, but in individual cases, not en masse; nor was there the slightest tendency towards immorality. But Irvingism was born in a settled community, and the automatisms were generally sonority rather than motor (trance, vision, etc.), as in the Ulster Revival of 1859.

But it is to the Methodist Revival that we must look. But for Wesley, it is difficult to visualise Irvingism at all, as the educated people it attracted would in all probability have been too bound up with eighteenth century zeitgeist to regard with favour.

(1) "Thoughts on the Present Revival", Part IV. (pp. 403-413).
(3) About 1850 much interest was aroused in Britain, regarding American Revivals, Dr. Sprague of Albany, N.Y. specially contributing to this publicity.
such "enthusiasm". By the early nineteenth century, Evangelicalism and Romanticism had broken up frigid convention, so as to afford an opening to Irvingism. But by this time Methodism had crystallised into a denomination, - which will be compared with Irvingism in the next Section, as a model "Group-system".

It will thus be seen that Irvingism, as a Revival Movement, developed in relation to certain physical and mental conditions. This is one of the "laws" of Revival suggested by Davenport.

A second law is that of Spread by impulsive social action, through suggestion. Thus Glossoholalia broke out in the west of Scotland, was brought into the wider "apostolic" framework in London, and developed in congregations other than Regent Square, both in London and in the country.

Akin to the law of Spread is that of Restraint. "In the more primitive religious revivals there is little or no restraint until the wave has spent its fury...while in others, calmer leadership within and critical judgment from without, combine to hold in leash the natural excesses of the movement."

The Irvingite Movement flared up and burnt itself out. It was true that the "Catholic Apostolic Church" issued from the ashes, and that the new polity was conserved. But the dynamic of the movement - the gifts of prophesying and speaking in tongues, - was quenched, and the protest against externalism in religion was exchanged for sacramentalism and sacerdotalism of an eclectic type.

A fourth law is that while origination of a revival is generally traced to thinkers, the first movement for carrying out the plan is often due to sub-rational elements in society.

(1) Mr R.D. Pattie, "Angel of the Church in Edinburgh", tells me that "speaking in power" is not altogether unknown to-day in the Catholic Apostolic Church.
Crusades were decreed by Councils, but impulsive social action accounted for the ill-fated expeditions of Walter the Pennyless, Peter the Hermit, and the pathetic "Children's Crusade". Similarly a stimulus to the revival of 'gifts' was given by the preaching of Irving and A.J. Scott; the response was made by Mary Campbell the peasant girl and the Macdonalds, simple pietists (all three consumptives), and in London by the ill-balanced Baxter and Taplin, not to speak of the "hysterical women" noted by Carlyle. (1)

"The members of a crowd tend to be more suggestible, more primitive in their reactions, than they would be by themselves. The higher and more complex faculties are temporarily weakened by the influence of large numbers of like-minded fellows, and the more fundamental and simple reactions, no longer inhibited, have things their own way.

"Men differ from each other most in intellect, ideas, ideals...and least in animal impulses and emotions; hence, the greater the power of the crowd the more do its members come to resemble each other...the things in which they differ being laid aside.

"Emotion and imagination become predominant, while the critical judgment becomes weak." (2)

The emotions of the crowd are such as can be shared by those whose emotions are crude, by a low order of mind. Men are "carried out of themselves", experience a feeling of enlargement and liberation; their sense of individual responsibility is weakened; their loss of self-control is impaired. They are at the mercy of any leader who can play with success upon their feelings; they accept with acclamation some assertion or proposal, which individual moral sense or intelligence would be slow to accept, because such an assertion or proposal has behind it the force of herd instinct.


(2) Pratt. p. 175, quoting Le Bon.
Membership of a crowd is demoralising.

This is profoundly true of the public services at Regent Square, which exerted a powerful influence over suggestible people. The church was filled not with backwoodsmen or negroes, where one might expect to find "primitive traits". For as "Anti-Cabala" said in his "Morning Visit to Rev. E. Irving's":— (1) "Fanaticism at Regent Square developed under sanction of an individual not to be classed with those whose defective Education and consequent susceptibility to erroneous impressions....(2) Several persons have become its votaries of whom better things might have been expected."

But we have been struck by the fact, in tracing the evolution of the Irvingite Movement, that an inner junta of "gifted persons" claimed to direct the new Church. An observer would not give an adequate description of the movement who ascribed it purely to Herd Instinct. He must deal with the conclave — "The Psychology of the Group".
Section 2.

Irvingism as a "Group".

Professor Wm. McDougall has laid down five conditions of principal importance rendering possible the formation of a "group mind" out of the raw material of the unorganised crowd.

(1) There must be some degree of continuity in the group.

"Either persistence of the same individuals...or of a system of generally recognised positions, each of which is occupied by a succession of individuals."

(2) "In the minds of the members of the group there shall be formed some adequate idea of the group...a sentiment for the group which becomes the source of emotions and impulses to action."

(3) "Interaction (especially in the form of conflict and rivalry) of the group with other similar groups animated by different ideals and purposes, and swayed by different traditions and customs." This "greatly promotes the self-knowledge...of each group".

(4) "A body of traditions and customs and habits in the minds of the members of the group determining their relations to one another and to the group as a whole."

(5) "The organisation of the group consisting in the differentiation and specialisation of the functions of its constituents."

"This organisation may rest wholly or in part upon (a) the conditions of the fourth class, (b) It may be in part imposed on the group and maintained by the authority of some external power." (1)

As a result, we may say that in the group the individual is not 'lost' as he is in the crowd. He makes a distinct contribution

to the group, and feels a real responsibility for the well-being and reputation of his fellow-members, whose eyes, he knows, are upon him.

"The recruit quickly shares by contagion these moral emotions and soon finds his judgment determined...by the weight of mass suggestion; for these moral propositions come to him with all the irresistible force of opinion held by the group and expressed by its unanimous voice; and this force is not merely the force derived from numbers, but also the force of the prestige accumulated by the whole group." (1)

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Two other questions of importance arise in connection with the Group.

(1) Freud in "Group Psychology and the analysis of the Ego" (E.Tr. p. 80) finds the great principle of the group - life in the "libidinal tie", (the love-relation): - "A primary group of this kind" (i.e. possessing a leader and not too much organised so as to acquire secondarily the characteristics of an individual) "is a number of individuals who have substituted one and the same object for their ideal ego, and have thoroughly identified themselves with one another in their ego." Freud goes on to suggest that in groups of a less primitive type the place of a leader may be taken by an idea or an abstraction, or even "a common tendency, a wish in which a great number of people can share". "This abstraction...might be more or less completely embodied in the figure of what we might call a secondary leader and interesting varieties might arise between the idea and the leader." (2)

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(1) "The Group Mind", p. 64.
(2) The writer of this Thesis was struck by the collective power wielded by the "Christliche Gemeinschaft" in Germany (1928), a strictly "Fundamentalist" society nominally within the "Landeskirche". The members of such close Fellowships allow the "Group Mind" to form their views in ethics, theology and politics.
Hence in sects the bond of union may consist rather in the support of certain doctrines or principles of organisation or worship (usually with reference to some element that has been overlaid or neglected), rather than in primary loyalty to a person.

(2) The second question is that of Integration.

In all ages and in most religions, authority has been wielded by the older men, who belong to the order of the "stable-minded"; to them religion means the handing-down, inviolate, through the traditional channels, of "the faith once delivered to the saints"; to them unfamiliar ideas are obnoxious, largely through their very unfamiliarity; and there is a strong temptation to impose external unity, without any sincere attempt to meet the objections of "heretics and schismatics".

On the other hand, the supporters of the new sect, who are often younger people (1) (or at least, youthful in spirit), are drawn together by the coldness or hostility of the bulk of the community; and fused by a common enthusiasm, they sink for the time being their differences in the glow of an intimate and self-conscious brotherhood.

Sometimes, schism is averted by concession on the one hand and forbearance on the other. This is the way of Integration. By this means the formation of small groups within larger groups is facilitated, the lesser groups being integrated into the framework of the greater, after the figure of a 'hierarchy'. Thus a rich and variegated unity may be substituted for a barren uniformity, the

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(1) Some sects have been distinctly conservative, - a protest against progress; in practice, the resuscitation of what is ancient may be virtually revolutionary.
flourishing of such integrated groups being a sign of vitality.

When schism occurs through the fault of the general body or the schismatics, or of both, the sap no longer unites the tree and the severed branch. The mental life of the sect degenerates. Instead of finding its completion in ministering to the life of the whole body, it becomes self-centred and antagonistic; it becomes exclusive and forgets that truth is many-sided; that undue insistence on matters previously neglected may lead to a similar neglect of other truths.

It must be remembered, on the other hand, that a sect can achieve results of a kind more rapidly than the group.

The individual satisfies his social instinct in a sect where brotherhood is easy; he gains emotional enlargement and sense of power.

"But the process of organising the social instincts so as to make possible the all-inclusive group is, as it were, cut short; and the psychic energies being detached from their true end and confined to the narrow loyalty of the sect only serve to deepen and intensify group antagonisms"."But the sect, though it may flourish for a time, cannot endure. It is an attempt to harmonise human nature on an incomplete basis and in the long run must fail." (1)

How does the Irvingite Movement conform to the above "laws" of the Group?

With reference to Professor McDougall's conditions of the "group mind", the condition of "Continuity" is fulfilled in Irving-

(1) "Psychology and the Church". (McMillan). Essay by E.J. Bicknell, D.D., on "Psychology of Sectarianism, Schism, and Reunion". (pp. 283,4)
ism. At the beginning of the movement we find as leaders Mary Campbell, Irving, Cardale, Drummond, Baxter, Taplin. Irving died in 1834; Baxter recanted in 1832; Taplin fell from favour. But Drummond and Cardale guided the movement in the transition from prophecy and glossolalia to the order of the "Catholic Apostolic Church". There was no distinct break, in spite of opposition to the "quenching of prophecy", largely owing to the fact of this continuity of leadership. And at an earlier stage, the inner conclave of "gifted persons" guided the movement, formed in the minds of the Group a sentiment which became the source of emotion and impulses to action, and promoted the self-consciousness of the group by their hostile attitude to all other groups. With regard to Professor McDougall's fifth condition, in the earlier stage of the movement, its organisation depended on the authority "imposed...and maintained" by some "external power". In most groups the external power would be a body of persons; in Irvingism it was "THE POWER", as exercised on passive and receptive minds. In the later stage of Irvingism the organisation depended on Professor McDougall's alternative ("a body of traditions and customs...") - an "angel" exercising authority over office-bearers in each congregation - twelve "apostles" visiting the Churches and imposing discipline in the light of "Catholic Apostolic" principles, as they conceived them.

Leadership in Irvingism was largely expressed in a "Secondary Leader". It is true that Irving and Scott preached the Restoration

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(1) J.G. Simpson (ERE. Art. "Ed. Irv.") ascribes to title "Cath. Apost. Ch." an accidental origin; a census clerk, when a household described himself as a member of the "Catholic and Apostolic Church worshipping in Newman St.", inscribed his denomination as "The Catholic Apostolic Church".
of Apostolic Gifts. But when "gifted persons" took him at his word and responded to the stimulus, they merely made use of his church as a convenient centre, and of his name as a means of obtaining publicity for their manifestations. We have already seen that Irving's will was weak. He began by welcoming these manifestations as God's answer to prayer; then treated his doubts as temptations; gave way to the strong representations of the gifted persons that they should be absolutely free to exercise their gifts; and was deprived of his leadership on being finally deposed by the Church of Scotland. The real leadership was exercised by "a common tendency, a wish in which a great number of people can share". The craving for gifts of speaking with tongues, prophesying, and healing, diffused throughout the Group and especially concentrated in the inner conclave, was the real dynamic of the movement. A number of "gifted persons" threw their whole energy into the movement, which individuals like Mrs Caird, Miss Emily Cardale and Taplin must have identified as their "ideal ego". They felt they had a special mission in the world; they were the mouthpieces of the Holy Ghost. Little wonder that Irvingites, like the mystics of every age, found their highest aspirations ecstatically expressed in the language of sex - e.g. "Oh, but she shall be fruitful - oh, oh, oh, she shall replenish the earth!" (v.p.31). Also, the frequent quotation of Isaiah 28:9. "Whom will he teach knowledge? And whom will he make to understand the message? Them that are weaned from the milk, and drawn from the breasts?" Note Irving's defence of Miss Hall at his London Trial (p.28) - "She is one of the lambs of my flock - she is carried in my bosom." Many other examples could be cited.

The Irvingite Movement, partly through the hostility of Protestant Christianity, partly owing to the impetuosity of the

(1) Samuel Rutherford, notably, in the Scottish Covenanting traditions.
"gifted persons", failed to become integrated with the organised Church. It is, in fact, a striking example of the "psychology of sectarianism and schism". Within the group itself there was zeal, continual prayer, genuine religious experience of an intensely ecstatic type, a sense of brotherhood. So much so that we are not surprised to read of telepathic communication between members of the group, a fact in harmony with Professor McDougall's qualified admission that telepathy "if and in so far as it occurs, does so sporadically and only between individuals specially attuned to one another, or in some abnormal mental state that renders them specially sensitive to the influence."

It is worth noting further, that Irving, Cardale, Baxter, and Drummond were comparatively young men, susceptible to enthusiasm and jealous of the authority of their elders. One has only to look through the literature of Irvingism to be confronted with crude immaturity, reckless dogmatism, bitter censoriousness.

The presence of women in the Movement has already been emphasised. It is true that Mary Wollstonecraft had published her "Vindication of the Rights of Woman" in 1792. But in 1832 the position of women was still far from elevated; in the middle classes social intercourse was the alternative to housework, for politics and religion were closed to them, and slipshod education put intellectual interests in the background. We can therefore understand the enthusiasm of Mary Caird (née Campbell), Emily Cardale and others. Prophecy and Glossolalia proved to be veritably heaven-sent.

means of self-expression in their case.

The waste of genuine enthusiasm and spiritual energy in the Irvingite Movement is to be deeply deplored. Psychic energy, being short-circuited, worked itself out in explosive outbursts within a very limited sphere, instead of making its contribution to the Church at large; and the attempt to make the charismata the primary characteristic of the Irvingite presentation of Christianity was harmonisation on an incomplete basis, the mistaking of means for ends. "They sacrifice unto their net and burn incense unto their drag." (Habakkuk. 1. 16)

Section 3.

Irvingism and the Methodist Revival.

This chapter cannot be more fitly closed than by a brief comparison of the Irvingite Movement with the Methodist Revival. Such a comparison comes well within the scope of the Thesis, for the simple reason that but for Methodism, it is difficult to visualise Irvingism.

Methodism, which had been the greatest religious force in England in the second half of the eighteenth century, had largely contributed to averting a revolution at the time of the Terror in France; by 1830 it had crystallised from a Society into a Church, without forfeiting entirely its fresh and joyous experimental faith. It was unlikely that any new denomination would arise in the early
nineteenth century, without being to a large extent unconsciously influenced by its organisation and ideals. The Irvingite circle was indeed prefigured by that "love-feast" of Wesley held in Petter Lane on 1st January 1739, described by Whitefield as "a Pentecostal season indeed", when the whole day was spent in fasting in prayer and the brethren parted "with a full conviction that God was about to do great things among them". All around the early Irvingites were Methodist Class-meetings where men and women met regularly in small groups for mutual exhortation and discipline. "Methodism presented the emotional experience as something within the range of all persons, and in comparison with which all other attainments were insignificant. Learning, creeds and doctrines; social station, wealth and achievement, counted for nothing against this immediate sense and evidence of the presence of God. All who possessed this experience understood each other and felt themselves the fortunate members of a mystic company." (1)

The above passage is quoted from an American psychologist and may be cited alongside of an eighteenth century Methodist letter:- "We find great power from the Lord in our private band, the Love of God shed abroad in our hearts, our souls knit to one another, we drink of one Spirit and the Lord doth meet us, and that It is no wonder that we are loth to part for we think four hours too little a time for so heavenly a communion." (2)

The Methodist Society, however, was successfully "integrated. The tendency towards unbridled individualism was checked by the building up of each Society into a framework of district, provincial and national synods, and by the appointment of superintendents and other officials; thus was "Scriptural Holiness" spread over the land. Instead of being 'bottled up' with explosive effect as in Irvingism, where the only discipline was that of "The Spirit" wielded by a

(1) E.S. Amos. "The Psychology of Religious Experience" (p. 386)
small group of "perfecti", - slow to admit outsiders to share in "gifts" which they were merely allowed to admire. And while opposition from without held the Irvingite circle together, bitter dissen­sion \(^{(1)}\) made itself felt when the new denomination had firmly estab­lished itself, on removal from Regent Square.

Professor J.B. Bury (followed by Mr and Mrs Hammond) has tried to explain the Methodist Revival as due to "the failure of nerve", - the loss of self-confidence, diseased introspection, - a pathologic­al reaction from the "splendid sanity" of the eighteenth century.\(^{(1)}\)

Mr S.G. Dimond has proved that this is not the case as far as Meth­odism is concerned. He quotes Professor Caldecott's opinion of Wesley's early preachers: - "Though these young men describe unusually intense emotionality, they were not of ill-balanced nervous sys­tems; they all lived vigorously, and most of them continued labor­ious pursuits until advanced old age; they were not fretting under disappointment, or depressed with the ennui of prematurely-worn-out emotions; nor were they of melancholy temperament, apt to cherish sadness and gloom...they struggled against the sadness they experi­enced in the first stage they describe, with an irresistible con­viction that it need not be if only joy could be obtained."\(^{(2)}\)

M. de Fursac has also described certain converts of the Welsh Revival of 1905 as "grands, bien developpes...rien du pseudo­mystique nevrose et debile, avide de sensations nouvelles, que nous presente de temps a autre notre vie moderne". \(^{(3)}\)

Irvingism might, however, be ascribed to the failure of nerve though many other causes were at work.

Since the middle of the eighteenth century Methodism had been working like leaven, in raising the standard of the neglected and ignorant working classes. Apart from a few exceptional people like

\(^{(1)}\) Consider, e.g., the opposition to Pilkington, whose system of ideas being at variance with those of the conclave, aroused their jealousy, and refusal absolute to listen to his views; they were not straightforward, he urged, with some justice.

\(^{(2)}\) Dimond. p. 165.

\(^{(3)}\) Dimond. p. 166.
Lady Huntingdon, the aristocracy and upper-middle classes stood coldly aside from the Methodist Revival, until the upheaval of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and the industrial and political unrest which followed stampeded them into Evangelicalism. Many of the Albury circle were Evangelicals of this type; not merely were they afraid of reason, which they connected with radicalism and infidelity - but the spiritual energy which their ancestors had restrained for over a century, (1) now seemed to bubble over, seeking an outlet.

I think it is no exaggeration to describe Irvingism as a crack in the earth through which the pent-up fiery vapours gushed. Compressed steam, denied a continually open outlet, will suddenly burst through every restraint. And spiritual energy which is repressed will break out in nervous hysteria, glossolalia, and prophecy. No one could describe Irvingism as a "religion of healthy-mindedness". As a moralist, Carlyle failed to do justice to the deep-rooted causes and genuine spirituality of the manifestations; but he was perfectly right in describing them as pathological and unhealthy.

Methodism was a national movement, affecting the most distant counties of England. Irvingism at the stage at which we are studying it, was confined to Regent Square, and a few rather feeble imitations elsewhere; but this very narrowness of area made for intensity.

As regards Wesley himself, it should be noted that he published an English edition of Jonathan Edwards' "Thoughts on the
(1)  e.g. Pilkington, it will be remembered, had been a Deist before he had been drawn to Regent Square church.
Present Revival”, with Edwards’ strictures on bodily effects removed; he ascribed natural occurrences either to God or the devil in a superstitious way, as Irving afterwards did. 

But Wesley’s practical and strongly ethical sense, combined with a gift for leadership, made extravagances the exception rather than the rule. “Bodily effects” might be manifested at his revival meetings, but in spite of his stress on experience rather than on ecclesiastical polity or theology, Methodism has remained within the Catholic Church, while making to it a unique contribution of its own.

There was a conflict of loyalties with Wesley; tradition drew him to the Church of England, and practical necessity to Non-conformity. Irving likewise was continually asserting his loyalty to the Calvinistic Standards of the Scottish Church, while various currents—Coleridgean, Millenarian, etc.—drew him in practice into a welter of ambiguity. Strong practical sense might even then have saved him, but he foundered like a rudderless bark.

There was little conflict between the sex-appetite and other forces, in Wesley’s case, owing to the sentiment of vocation, for he believed that he was “a brand plucked from the burning”, schooled by a mysterious Providence for a superhuman task. His voluminous correspondence with educated women provided some compensation for his lack of a wife who could be a true spiritual and mental companion; he had no family of his own, but his parental emotion was diffused throughout his societies, and his converts were his children by spiritual adoption. Irving likewise threw his whole weight

(1) Dimond. p. 55.

into the work to which he believed he had been divinely called, -
an attitude intensified by his growing delusion of "grandeur" and
"persecution" - he had been called by God to restore the dispensa-
tion of the Spirit, and that involved being "persecuted like his
fathers". It is interesting to ask whether Irving's feverish ab-
sorption in prophecy and glossolalia can be ascribed to a repressed
passion for Jane Welsh, finding outlet in abnormal religious mani-
festations? (For he had returned to her, - once his girl-pupil in
Haddington, - anxious for marriage. But Dr. Martin of Kirkcaldy re-
 fused to release him from his engagement to marry his daughter
Isabella.)

On the other hand, his married life with Isabella was happy;
she gave him every encouragement in his support of Glossolalia, and
he was devoted to the children, their offspring.

Had he married Jane Welsh, there is the possibility that her
very opposition to the 'tongues' might have confirmed him in his
course, by reaction, instead of safely directing his steps along
other paths.

On the whole, it seems likely that Irving would have pursued
the course he did, even if he had had a stronger wife; his attitude
would probably have been that of the "mild obstinacy" with which he
treated Carlyle's efforts to restrain abnormal developments.

In concluding the comparison of Irvingism with its much
greater predecessor, it may be said that the way was paved for the
revival of Apostolic charismata by the Methodist insistence on-

(1) God's immediate action upon human nature; 'the sense of the
divine was recovered - the transcendent became again immanent
to consciousness'. "The life of God in the souls of men", was
Wesley's definition of religion. (1)

(1) Dimond. p. 238.
(2) Pronounced emotional sensibility.

(3) The recovery of the Holy Spirit as a dynamic in human experience.

(4) Universal grace: "Assurance": the possibility of "Christian Perfection" (the last of which was held by Irvingites in an exaggerated form).
CHAPTER SEVEN.

THE IRVINGITE MOVEMENT AND THE SUBCONSCIOUS

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"Religion must indeed be a thing of the heart; but in order to elevate it from the region of subjective caprice & waywardness, and to distinguish between that which is true & false in religion, we must appeal to an objective standard.

"That which enters the heart must first be discerned by the intelligence to be true.

"It must be seen as having in its own nature a right to dominate feeling, and as constituting the principle by which feeling must be judged."

(Principal John Caird,"Introduction to Philosophy of Religion".p174.)
CHAPTER VII.

THE IRVINGITE MOVEMENT AND THE SUB-CONSCIOUS.

William James declared that the most important step forward that had occurred in Psychology in his day was the discovery of the sub-conscious, or subliminal mind (as it was then called). Since his time, study of the Subconscious has been deepened and extended, and a flood of light thrown upon such abnormal phenomena as hallucination, hypnotism, automatism, and double personality, which were previously denied, or ascribed to divine or diabolic agency.

The Subconscious is "the abode of everything that is latent, the reservoir of everything that passes unrecorded or unobserved. It contains, for example, such things as all our momentarily inactive memories, and it harbours the springs of all our obscurely motived passions, impulses, likes, dislikes, and prejudices; our intentions, hypotheses, fancies, superstitions, persuasions, convictions, and in general all our non-rational operations come from it.

"It is the source of our dreams...In it may arise whatever mystical experiences we may have, and our automatism, sensory or motor; our life in hypnotic and hypnotoid conditions; our delusions, fancies, ideas...if we are hysterical subjects; our supra-normal cognitions, if such there be, and if we are telepathic subjects.

"It is also the fountain-head of much that feeds our religion. In persons deep in the religious life, as we have abundantly seen and this is my conclusion - the door into this region seems unusually wide open; at any rate experiences making their entrance through that door have had emphatic influence in shaping religious history." (2)

The subconscious self is the result of the activities of the conscious, rather than the source and fountainhead of the conscious, as F. W. H. Myers urged. (3) "The subconscious mind is our own mind as we have ourselves built it up." (4) The thousands of impressions that

(1) Due largely to F. W. H. Myers.
(2) James, "Varieties", p. 483.
(3) v. "Human Personality" I. p. 15.
(4) G. Steven. "The Psychology of the Christian Soul": p. 82.
come to us daily (sights, sounds, trivial acts and words etc.) "disappear like the dead leaves of the forest, but like dead leaves, form the very soil from which the future giants of the forest spring".\(^1\)

The subconscious enters into every new experience, and absorbs it, thus modifying the self for good or evil. "We cannot step into the same stream twice, nor can we step into it twice the same man; we have become another man by stepping into it once."\(^2\)

In the mind of man are a number of "systems of thought", sometimes blending, sometimes becoming entirely separate. The appropriate stimulus will call now one system of ideas, now another, from the margin of the field of consciousness into focus.

A man's interests will determine the strength of the various systems of ideas; the appropriate stimulus will tend to draw in subordinate interests in the train of dominant interests where possible, inhibiting them where impossible. The very meaning of words such as 'home', 'love', 'religion', 'Bible', will differ according to a man's dominant system of thought. Facility and skill tend to become subconscious the more a man devotes himself whole-heartedly to a trade or accomplishment, and, - even in a sense - to the 'religious life' (for the more a man prays the easier will he find concentration).

Sudden impulses and decisions are the response to a man's total experience of life.

"The subconscious mind is always in harmony with the personality, different, we may admit, from what we think we are, but not from what we really are."\(^3\) Hence, we sometimes look back on some impulsive action and say quite truthfully, "I really don't know why I behaved like that".

The subconscious will now be examined in its bearing on the various abnormal manifestations of the Irvingite Movement. "It is an

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\(^1\) Stovon, p. 69.
\(^2\) Ibid. p. 73.
\(^3\) Ibid. p. 35.
exhaustless fountainhead for ever pouring out fresh conceptions as from some unseen laboratory", - not merely a storehouse but a workshop. (1)

Section 1.
"Dual Personality"; - the case of Robert Baxter.

"Dissociation of the mind into logic-tight compartments is by no means confined to the population of the asylum. It is a common, and perhaps inevitable, occurrence in the psychology of every human being." (2) We are each of us many 'personalities' in our conscious states: As business men, family men, Churchmen, citizens, we tend to call up different systems of ideas in each phase, inhibiting other systems. By suggestion, - the herd, the group, personal likes and dislikes, - our ideas tend to be irrational, e.g. our political convictions are notoriously inaccessible to argument. Without being consciously a hypocrite a man may be a good Churchman but a 'sharp' business man, or an upright business man but a household tyrant. With many men, acute conflict is avoided by keeping the different spheres of life in rigid watertight compartments.

Psychologists have noted extreme cases of dissociation, such as William James' Rev. Ansel Bourne, an itinerant preacher, who on 17th January 1887 drew a considerable sum from the bank at Providence, and entered a train. On 14th March one A.J. Brown, who had rented a small shop six weeks before and was described by neighbours as not in any way eccentric, woke up in a fright, declared his name was Ansel Bourne, and that the last thing he remembered (it seemed only yesterday) was drawing money from the bank at Providence. (3)

(1) Steven, p. 62.
(3) There is Morton Prince's well-known case of Sally Bouchamp: - Multiple Personality.
With normal individuals the field of consciousness resembles a continuous ciné film: in cases of dissociation such as Bourne's, there is, as it were, an abrupt change to another film.

There is "a splitting off of the stream of consciousness into two streams". These may be of co-ordinate complexity; but more frequently one of them seems to be a mere trickle diverted from the main stream of personal consciousness. It is not possible to prove that such disintegration of the personal consciousness actually takes place. "But the facts appear to... many psychologists... to demand this interpretation." A division of the nervous system takes place "comparable with the division of the nervous system of a worm by the stroke of the knife, which seems to split the psychical individual in two."(1)

The case of Baxter is intermediate between absolute dissociation such as Bourne's and the cases of disintegrated but artificially unified lives which are so much more common.

Baxter was one of those ecstasies who retire into the world of day-dreams and immerse themselves with efficiency in an imaginary world. "The phantasy created by his own mind acquires the tang of actual reality. He has crossed the barrier which separates in the normal man daydreams from the dreams that accompany sleep, and the creations of an idle fancy have become the delusions of the lunatic. A further degree of dissociation has been attained, and the complexes achieve a luxuriant expression undisturbed by the flagrant contradictions which experience everywhere presents to them."(2)

But we have seen that Baxter was not the type of crack-brained enthusiast who is fit for nothing but the 'religion' in which he has immersed himself; he was not an introvert absolutely. If he was a lawyer, of a distinguished legal family and in later life a writer on economics, it will be remembered that George Fox and the early Quakers

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(2) B. Part. p. 149.
were excellent business men. Indeed, Mr J. F. Rees, late lecturer in
Economic History at Edinburgh University (now Sir William Ashley's
successor at Birmingham) has noted the not unusual combination of
business aptitude with religious heterodoxy, in history. If Baxter
cutied such men in eccentricity, it still remains true that "a man
may have a delusion on one point and be sane on all others...where a
definite insane delusion exists, it is by no means easy to determine
how far its influence extends in the mental sphere."(1)

Baxter seems to have been one of those "educated widely ex-
perienced men" cited by E. S. Ames. Such an individual "mingles with
many classes, and is identified with various groups in business, pro-
fessional, and neighbourhood life. Yet the standards of his ideal
interests may be those of STILL ANOTHER SET." (2)

Baxter's "Narrative" gives us the impression that he was
typical of his age in his rigid separation of religion from ordinary
life. At first religion was "a mere trickle diverted from the main
stream of personal consciousness". Yet he seems to have been a regul-
ar churchgoer, devoted to good works, all his life, though his hori-
zon was limited to the outlook of narrow Tory Church-and-State
Anglicanism. In Chapter V. (page 95) of this Thesis, Baxter is de-
scribed as "a fervid evangelical". As the "Narrative" was written
after his Irvingite experiences, and without any account of his pre-
vious life, beyond a distinct enunciation of his political and ec-
clesiastical creed, we are not entitled to assume that he was an
Evangelical before his conversion to Irvingism. It must be remember-
ed that before the Oxford Movement, the High Church Party, of which
(1) Lord Justice Cockburn, Case Banks v. Goodfellow. Quoted, G. R.
Jeffrey, K. D., F. R. S. E. "Common Symptoms of an Unsound Mind".
(Supt., Bootham Park Mental Hospital, York)
(ch. 13, "The Psychology of Religious Sects")
he was a zealous adherent, was distinctly Protestant in doctrine, while conserving some elements of Laudian Anglicanism: it was "high" in its support of the throne, nobility, and Establishment; its religious temperature was low, its preaching moralist, its enthusiasm confined to attacks on Methodists, Dissenters and Liberals generally.

Baxter's potential spiritual energies had evidently been repressed; he had a craving for a religion deeper than he could find in his own circle, and he drank deep of Irvingism. At first curiosity led him to an Irvingite meeting; being "seized in the power", he struggled against it and for many weeks there was an internal conflict, ended only by his whole-hearted surrender to the new movement. Throughout his Irvingite experiences he reached convictions "irrespective of the slow processes by which the mind ordinarily reaches them...though an apparently logical chain of proof was always, at the moment, given for the conclusion." (1)

His ordinary professional duties he seems to have performed with the ease of successful practice, enabling him to throw his whole weight into the Irvingite Movement. He almost succeeded in immersing himself in day-dreams which became delusions, cutting him off from the everyday world. Continual brooding on the Second Coming of Christ at the end of three years and a half, and on the Restoration of the Apostolic Age with its gifts and portents of coming doom, - which was a matter of immediate urgency, - had filled his subconscious mind with a store of varied fancies. There were first, his former antipathies to Romanism, infidelity, and liberalism; images from the Bible (of which he was a zealous student) particularly from Daniel, Revelations, and the Prophets; historical

(1) p. 96. Thesis.
facts, interpreted ecclesiastically, particularly of the last forty years; and Irving's stress on the Spirit working in men, as in a Christ whose Humanity was emphasised. Daily happenings "suggested" further material, and though the import of these happenings was not appreciated at the time, the subconscious was at work fitting every event into the predominant scheme of ideas. Thus "fire" in connection with Carmel, mentioned in a prophecy of Baxter regarding the proposed national fast, followed by other references to fire, led to the revelation that he would be "baptised with fire". (1)

As a representative Irvingite, Baxter was in deadly fear of the reason. The superior faculties, reflection and will, were in abeyance - as far as religion was concerned. Hypnosis was induced by the subject himself. His passive mind received impressions, which were fantastically mingled in the subconscious, placed in the dominant system of ideas, and brought to the surface in the form of revelations. The crude fruit of the subconscious was eagerly accepted by Baxter as the fruit of the Spirit.

The faculty of rationalising was developed to a surprising extent in him, as well as in the Irvingite circle generally. When power to utterance failed to come at the Court of Chancery, painful mental conflict was ended by the feeling that it was "discernment he lacked" - followed by a command to flee away and be separate. (p. Thesis). The more testing revelation to throw up his professional career, leave his wife and family, opposed by the common sense of the conclave, indeed opened his eyes to the fact that he was not only endangering his "worldly prospects" (of which he had been conscious

(1) Likewise, the prophecy regarding the Indian chief. v. p. 72.
during his agony in Chancery), but also "sent his wife a lying torture" and "ensured his brother's expulsion from the Church". But this was merely a temporary revulsion. He felt he had again "mistaken" the meaning of the message, and a letter from his wife confirmed his faith. (Thesis. pp. 104, 5) "Baptism with fire" had not taken place on the fortieth day, as prophesied, because the church in London had failed in love towards the Lord; but it would actually occur at Doncaster. And when fulfilment did not even come about at Doncaster, instead of being finally disillusioned, he continued to seek for it for six weeks, finally satisfying himself that "fire" signified "the burning out of the carnal mind". (Thesis. p. 164) And the "exorcism" in Gloucestershire acted as a final confirmation (Thesis. pp. 116) We might have expected that the veil would have been torn from Baxter's eyes again and again. It is only when he is on the brink of stepping over the precipice, that his practical sense inhibits action. But he pauses only to re-adjust the veil, and then proceeds to scale even dizzier heights of imagination. It is almost an anti-climax to find him brought to a final halt, not by the failure of his revelations, but by examination of the basis of the movement. He suddenly feels that his magnificent structures have been reared on the foundation of Mr Irving's heresy, and that he, Baxter - the vindicator of orthodoxy - had been led in his blindness by a leader who was a heretic. That leads him to consider utterances made in the Spirit, true and false. What difference had there been in mode? And how could true utterances be distinguished from false?

The fact is that the pent-up cistern of overflowing spiritual
energy had emptied itself. The intellect, which Baxter had so far despised, was brought to bear on the movement, with the result that thoughts coming up from the subconscious were no longer passively received, and passed into action; but were critically examined in relation to the facts of life. The extreme subjectivity of the whole movement was exposed. It is true that he had struggled against "the power"; his will had inhibited the extreme steps of leaving his wife and throwing up his means of livelihood. But only his reason could prove that "the light that was in him was darkness", both in principle and in practice. "For when the will and the imagination are at war, the imagination invariably gains the day." (1)

At last Baxter's intellect reinforced his will and his strong emotion. "A threefold cord is not quickly broken". (Eccles. 4.12)

(1) Baudouin, "Suggestion and Auto-Suggestion". (p. 125).
Irvingite Glossolalia and the Subconscious.

F.W.H. Myers, in a contribution to "Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research", urged that each case of automatic writing or speaking should be carefully examined with reference to the actual message given, so that the automatist might be classed as (1) insane, (2) or as a person in whom subliminal uprushes are unusually facile, (3) or as a person in some sense inspired with a fuller knowledge than other men, either by his own hidden spirit, or by his or her faculty of transmitting messages from some morally indifferent, sublimely good, or revoltingly evil, source (e.g. the American medium, Mrs Piper).

Irvingite Glossolalia bears the marks of extreme subjectivity, though here and there perhaps there is trace of more objective utterance. It may be emphatically stated that the evidence before us points to the Subconscious.

"Under the pressure of great excitement one or more individuals begin to express their emotions by pouring out a broth of meaningless syllables, which they and those around them take to belong to some unknown language. This gibberish of syllables and unknown sounds is of course not all invented on the spur of the moment. Try to talk nonsense for five minutes and you will see. Some real words will now and then come out. Especially will this be the case with those who think they are speaking some language not their own."


(2) One can sympathise with Irving in his indignation against critics who crudely ascribed glossolalia to mere invention.
and who happen to know a few words of some other tongue. In the volley of meaningless sounds which they pour forth they will be pretty sure to include specimens of whatever foreign tongue they know and now and then a word of their own language." (1) Overpowering and explosive emotion is often in excess of ideas and words. Thus we find a man crying out at a New York camp meeting:- "Brethren I feel - I feel - I feel - I feel - I feel - I can't tell you how I feel, but O I feel! I feel!" (2)

And Davenport quotes an account of early Mormon glossolalia to the same effect:- "Those who speak in tongues are generally the most illiterate among the 'saints', such as cannot command words as quick as they could wish, and instead of waiting for a suitable word to come to their memories they break forth in the first sound their tongues can articulate, no matter what it is. E.g. "My heart is glad to overflowing - I hope to go to Zion and to see you all there and to-to-0, me sontro von te, sontro von terre. O me palassate to...etc." (3)

This passage will be noticed later (v. p. 182) in relation to the foreign tongue element. Irving declared, that "the utterance in English is far more trying than the utterance in the unknown tongue". (4) He meant, of course, that human associations, feelings and prejudices might mar the divine quality of the utterance. In reality, utterance in a welter of unknown sounds (5) was easier than

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(1) Pratt, p. 133.
(5) "In conditions of instability, the subconscious has a tendency to bring to the surface normally regressive and concealed characteristics, in which emotional elements predominate. According to the Freudian theories these would be of childish origin, showing itself not only by its appearance among the most primitive and untrained in a community, but by its similarity to the reactions of children." (Cutten, p. 162).

So Paul, in 1 Cor. 14:20.

utterance in English. In the former case, granted a passive mind and emotion wrought up to a sufficient pitch of intensity, the subject allowed himself to be borne along by the current: in the latter case his mind would be quasi-passive, sufficiently active to articulate English words with a meaning, yet tortured by doubts as to whether the utterance was really spiritual, or merely "carnal".

In Glossolalia the subject may put himself in a hypnotic passive condition, narrowing down consciousness to the smallest possible point, and making the object he desires central in all his thoughts. A suitable stimulus, control inhibited, will produce a sudden shifting of ideas from the subconscious into the focus of attention. This will be greatly facilitated by practice.

Professor Kirsopp Lake has pointed out that one of the most notable advances in Pathology is the discovery that movement, sight, speech, are under the control of definite parts of the brain (1). The impeding of a speech centre will produce dumbness, and in less acute cases Aphasia (inability to use certain words) or Paraphasia (a tendency to confuse words). On the other hand, anything which will increase activity of the speech centre will increase power of speech. Several glasses of alcohol will remove normal inhibition (instinctive caution, perception of the possibility of misunderstanding etc.); but when the drinker goes from glasses to bottles, the result will be incoherence, leading to entire paralysis of the working of the speech centre. Any strong emotion has the same result, which is in proportion to the intensity of the emotion. A novice will have difficulty in public speaking. A minister or advocate will

speak with the ease that is born of practice and conviction. A red-hot evangelist may rise to address an audience with only a rough outline of his address in the focus of consciousness; as he warms up words and illustrations will surge up from the subconscious, in keeping with his religious experience, but unpremeditated no doubt. At the apex of the pyramid, so to speak, we have the man who speaks "in the power"; he is absolutely 'worked up', and is carried along by the whirl of emotion, a confused mass of scarcely-formed words run together, and tumbling one after another. There is an ascent; essay-reading, preaching, prophesying, and speaking with Tongues.

Thus the subconscious operates in conjunction with speech-centres.

The form of utterance will be determined by the obsession with which the subconscious is soaked. This may not necessarily be religion, though it very generally is.

When religion is the dominant power, the powerful suggestion is naturally that derived from Acts and I. Corinthians. "To speak in an unknown tongue is Biblical. The New Testament speaks of it as a peculiar sign of the presence of the Holy Ghost. Hence when one is sure from the intensity of one's feelings that the Holy Ghost is within one, it comes into one's head to express one's opinions by speaking in an unknown tongue." Thus in every age there have been "Pentecostal Communities".

(1) E. Lombard notes how Conversion calls into being emotional tendencies ordinarily repressed or lying in a potential state, now known as complexes; and how there is nothing more favourable to the growth of automatic phenomena than those innermost agitations." ("Glossolalie", pp. 142 ff.)
The English part of the utterance (in Irvingite circles at least "four or ten times as long as the unknown" part\(^{(1)}\) as an "interpretation", would depend on intonation, gesture, expression, and the conventional ideas uppermost at the meeting, a few recognisable words acting as a clue. It will be remembered, however, that Pilkington's attempt to translate the unknown part was strongly represented by the conclave as a perversion of its true end.\(^{(2)}\) Pilkington's explanation of the tongues as "English, Spanish and Latin" was shallow and crude; the cause might not be the Holy Spirit, but it was certainly preternatural. Yet the foreign language element undoubtedly supplied part of the content of Irvingite glossolalia.

Taplin was a teacher. The Gardale family were people of education. Baxter knew Latin and French — his wife Italian and a little Spanish. Young men who were teachers and tutors used to meet in the evenings in Irving's house. Miss Hall was a governess.\(^{(3)}\)

But how can an adequate explanation be offered to cover the cases where the speaker was entirely ignorant of any foreign language? Such cases must have been far less common in Irvingism than in other Pentecostal Communities, confined to less cultured people. At the same time they must be accounted for.

Physiologists as early as Dr. John Abercrombie (1788-1844) had noticed the phenomenon of the preternatural excitement of memory, which tended to be most vigorous and overmastering when its subjects were least cultured. He himself instances the case of a dull awkward servant-girl, who in sleep imitated elaborate pieces of music.

\(^{(1)}\) Thesis. p. 63.
\(^{(2)}\) Do. p. 82.
\(^{(3)}\) Do. pp. 120, 99.
clearly and accurately, and could conjugate Latin verbs; it was impossible to waken her, even by bringing a lighted candle near her face.(1)

A classic example is that of the young woman in a German Roman Catholic town, who was heard talking in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew during a fever. Whole sheets of her ravings were taken down and found to consist of sentences intelligible in themselves, but having slight connection with each other. A doctor afterwards discovered that since the age of nine she had been servant to a great Hebrew scholar, in whose home she had lived till her death. It had been the old man's custom for years to read aloud to himself.(2)

Dr. Dawson Walker also tells of a lady placed under an anaesthetic for an operation who talked voluble French during "suspended consciousness", though it was completely unknown to her; her husband was a teacher of languages.(3)

The more limited the range of the conscious mental faculty, the more potent is preternatural memory when the subject is in a passive state. Thus did a simple-looking African(1) repeat with uncommon precision a sermon of Dr. Moffat's on "Eternity" and touching his forehead, said - "When I hear anything great, it remains there".

Thus bands of ignorant Camisard children(1) in 1700 preached sermons in excellent French, which they were quite incapable of doing normally, knowing only the district patois. Thus young men and women in the Welsh Revival of 1904, who could not speak a dozen words in Welsh in ordinary conversation, could engage in public

(2) Coleridge, "Biogr. Lit." P. 55.
(3) Dawson Walker, D.D. "The Gift of Tongues".
prayer for five or ten minutes in idiomatic Welsh, which to the onlooker would suggest familiarity with the language. (1)

To seek a solution, we must deal with the question asked by Édgar Quinet, as far back as 1825; "How far do the memories of the species reflect themselves in the individual? How do such memories harmonise with his own impressions? What law do they impose on his personal activity?"

"He who would understand history must consent first of all to look into himself and become attentive to the movements of his own mind. He who truly does this will discover buried there the whole series of the past ages."

This theory is borne out by Haeckel and Hering. "We are one person with our ancestors. (2)

The extent to which the memory of the species is unconsciously transmitted will depend on the relative strength of certain traits. When we read of children aged from 3 to 15 not merely preaching, but interrogating their elders on secret motives, in spite of threatened punishment, we must realise that for 150 years the Cevennes had been the centre of Protestant martyrdom; for 15 years persecution had been intensified - pastors exiled, men executed, women sent to nunneries or victimised by dragoons. The children's sermons were mere "composite photographs" of Gamisard preaching; certified "sane" by the Medical Faculty at Montpellier; the young preachers were hounded to death as "fanatics" by the government. Their religious consciousness was overflowing with the intense faith of their ancestors. To a much smaller extent, one hundred years of vital religious experience surged up in the minds and hearts of the young Welshmen of 1904.

(1) "Yorkshire Post", Dec. 1904. Compare: - "Remarkable Sermon by Rachel Baker...delivered during sleep" (ed. Dr. Mitchell, Professor of Physic and late Dr. Priestly): - "Several hundreds every evening flock to hear this most remarkable preacher, who is instrumental in converting more persons, when asleep, than all other ministers together when awake." (1815).

(2) R. Heath. Ibid.
The cases just cited refer to—(I) foreign words soaked in by the subconscious, unknown to the subject, and brought up when the mind is passive. (e.g. Coleridge's and Walker's case.)

(II) Unusually clear speaking in the case of the Gamisard children and young Welshmen, where one would least expect it, attributed to transmission of religious traits, the reflection of the species in the individual. To 'nature' we must add 'nurture':

"The everyday utterances, the likes and dislikes of his parents, their social and caste feelings, their religious persuasions are absorbed,...assimilated and made his own." (l)

What light do these parallels throw on Irvingite Glossolalia?

(I) It is evident, cases such as those mentioned by Coleridge and Dawson Walker are very similar to the glossolalia we are examining. Glossolalia, however, (a) was induced by emotional stress, rather than by fever or anaesthetics, the common feature being the emptying of the subconscious, in a passive state. (b) The cases of Coleridge and Dawson Walker are isolated; in glossolalia we have a collective movement and its psychological implications, not to speak of the fixed ideas which create a channel for the forces at work.

(II) Glossolalia differs from the inspired speaking of the Welshmen and Gamisards in being unusually obscure, instead of being unexpectedly clear: the common characteristic is that the words are spoken "in the power". A direct parallel is that of the twins (2) in Gloucestershire, which we have noticed in dealing with Baxter's "Narrative"; they spoke in the power and ordered their elders about.

(1) Francis Galton, "Inquiries into Human Faculty". p. 149. (1919 edition. "Everyman".

(2) Thesis. PP. 115 ff.
partly through inheriting a nervous psychic temperament, partly through the example of their parents and governess; 'nature' and 'nurture' co-operated pathologically.

In a general sense we can speak of the reflection of the species in the individual, in connection with the Irvingite Movement, though the 'reflection' far outdid the original.

Irving himself came of Covenant stock, and, as we have seen, attended a Secession meeting house as a boy, entering into a world of imagination and poetry, which served as a relief from the monotony of a dull respectable country town. The confused blend of dogmatism and mysticism, the sense of being specially called and being persecuted like his fathers - these traits were characteristic of certain Covenanting types. Among the Irving forefathers moreover was a family of French Protestant refugees (the Howys),(1) one of whom had become parish minister of Annan; Huguenot fervour may have at last found expression in Edward Irving. His mother's family, the Lowthers, - grazier farmers - were genial giants, essentially 'characters'.(2) A.J. Scott and Mary Campbell came from the shores of the Clyde, where religious tradition was a warm pietistic mysticism. Henry Drummond was of Scottish stock, several generations transplanted. It would be interesting if relationship could be traced between Robert Baxter and his great namesake Richard Baxter: it is worth noting that Richard Baxter had a "settled hatred of fanaticism"; he made a deep study of the Holy Spirit, but was strongly opposed to the restoration of Apostolic "gifts".(3) But a century of dull moralism separated the two Baxters, and the influence (not

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(1) Oliphant I. p. 1.
(2) Ibid. p. 2,3.
always direct) of the Evangelical Revival was the real source for Irvingite converts, in England at least.

**NOTE APPENDED TO SECTION 2.**

Viewing glossolalia linguistically, from the point of view of "the reflection of the species in the individual", and considering the fact of its appearance in various ages, we may in this connection state a theory mentioned, though not embraced, by F.W.H. Myers:- (1)

"The consonantal and vowel combinations are but the articulate shells of very ancient ideas latent in man's sub-consciousness at birth, but out of the shells of which the meanings have been eaten up or metamorphosed by some at present unknown law of mental evolution, but are not now to be considered as ideas at all."

This may be considered in the light of glossolalia other than Irvingite collected in the Appendix. Any adequate examination of this theory would lead us into Comparative Philology, far beyond the scope of this Thesis on Glossolalia in the Irvingite Circle. It seems right, however, to mention the theory without comment. (2)

(1) S.P.R. 'III. (277-97)

(2) Glossolalia "is regulated more by individual psychology than by racial traits. Perhaps more important than either was the current teaching, and the consequent obligation to cultivate such experiences." (Cutten, p. 9)
Section 3.

CONCLUSION.

Professor F.R. Barry(1) has pointed out the present tendency to equate religion with sheer 'feeling', to make it a matter of temperament. "What, then, of those who do not share this temperament? Is there no religious experience for them? This is all a re-crudescence of the peril which beset the primitive Church of the first generation. Behind the books of the New Testament one can detect precisely the same tendency to identify the "Christian experience" with certain psychological phenomena which seem often to have accompanied it. But they are the accident and not the essence. Any religion can make people 'speak with tongues'.

It was St. Paul and St. John who saved the Church from so disastrous an equation. They said what needs to be said to-day with emphasis, that no intensity of feeling guarantees the value of an experience, or gives any real explanation of it. It is the content of experience, not its feeling tone, that matters. "We must 'try the spirits, whether they be of God'. To stress religious experience is good: but it leaves us in a swamp of morbid psychology unless we bring it all to the test of an objective standard of truth and value."

The truth or falsity of a prophet's message is not decided by his excitability, but by the intrinsic value of what he says.

The most that can be said of glossolalia and kindred concomitants of ecstatic religion, is that they are to be expected under certain mental and physical conditions: when the crisis is past, (1) F.R. Barry, "Christianity and Psychology". p. 123. (1924).
the healed and integrated Christian must proceed from the rudimentary and primitive to the rational and spiritual. Davenport (1) has pointed out that those who give way habitually to emotion are the relatively untrained elements of society whose spinal ganglia and lower brain centres are more highly developed than the higher rational and volitional faculties that have their throne in the grey matter of the cortex. "When the sensation passes along the afferent nerve, the impulse to action is at once delivered over the efferent nerve to the muscle. But if the higher centres (2) of inhibition are well developed, and the current of sensation or a part of it deflected into the brain, the sensation or complex of sensations is detained, so to speak, and the whole cortical apparatus of the cerebrum may be brought to bear upon the matter in the process of reflection."

(a) The brain may decide that it is proper for the muscles to act, and will in that case reinforce the impulse.
(b) Or it may inhibit the impulse, and whole life of reflective action is begun.

The two processes may be illustrated by the following diagrams:

DIRECT:

INDIRECT:

The above process is not hard-and-fast; a glance at the Appendix will show there are varying degrees of facility with which

(2) "The clogging of the upper centres, as in speaking with tongues, is the opposite of stage fright, for in the latter condition it is the lower centres which are clogged, the upper centres continuing to function." (Cutten, p. 169)
suggestible persons will react to stimuli. But it is undoubtedly the case that in most instances of Glossolalia, the higher rational and volitional faculties of the subjects are undeveloped. And in the cases which were so numerous in Irvingism, of educated people "speaking in tongues", continual opposition to "the snare of the intellect" combined with absolute passivity when the "power" was about to descend, resulted in a low mental level, in practice.

Such people, often with absolute sincerity, believed that they had to become as drift-logs on the current of divine purpose, "as nothing in floods and waterspouts of God", surrendering everything - intellect, talents, social pleasures.

"If his heart, at high tide, swamp his brain now and then, 'Twill be richer for that, when the tide turns again."

But it is difficult to believe that the Holy Spirit deliberately chooses as His field of operations the slime of the subliminal, the lower mystical marshlands of the human spirit, while avoiding the sunlit hills of full rational consciousness.

"By their fruits ye shall know them", it was decided two thousand years ago. To go back on that is to find ourselves at Delphi or the still cruder shrine of the witch-doctor. "And, believe Paul, the mature fruit of the Spirit is not the subliminal uprush, the ecstatic flow of emotion, the rhapsody, the lapse of inhibition, but rational love, joy, peace, long suffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control." (1) Bushnell declared that abnormal spiritual phenomena ("these prodigies") were merely signs and tokens. "Their propagation.... is therefore no

(1) Dr. vonport. p. 323.
principal interest of Christianity, and the living power of Chris­
tianity is never to be tested by their frequency, or the impres­siveness of their operations...When the world that ought to be repent­ing is taken up with staring, the sobriety of faith is lost in the gospel of credulity. And then, instead of a solid, ever-during reign of providence...we should have a glittering firework around us, that really governs nothing, has no power to regenerate souls, or strengthen the kingdom of Christ in the earth.[1]

And representatives of a very different school of theology have definitely limited the value of special "gifts", e.g. St. Theresa. "There are many saints who do not know what it is to receive[2] one such favour, while others who receive them are not saints at all."

The author of "The cloud of unknowing": - "All other comforts, sounds, and gladness and sweetness that come from without suddenly and thou wottest never whence, I pray thee have them in suspect. For they may be both good or evil; the devil hath power to feign some false light or false sounds..." if men are bent on having them[3]

Men tend to be quite primitive spiritually, in spite of the advanced political, social and material progress which unconsciously affect their ideas. While a few open-minded theologians endeavour in every age to bring dogma into vital relationship with the needs of the day, and a few secularists without much sympathetic study of the faith that has sustained millions in the past, reject it in favour of the tangible exact knowledge of the present, the mass of the people accept dogma dully, as transmitted from father to son. When there is a revival, restricted or extended in scope, the body of doctrines which formerly lay inert in the background of consciousness comes into the foreground and becomes reality. "The expulsive power of a new affection" may then become the true dynamic in a man's life, but the doctrinal material which quickly comes into use, is too often antiquated and crude. The convert's emotions have been touched, and genuine spiritual life surges up. But the intellect

remains unenlightened, and interpretations of Christianity are eagerly and fanatically embraced, - interpretations sometimes quite arbitrary, yet traditional. Faith is conceived of as the wholesale assimilation of the body of doctrines transmitted, and the use of the intellect is regarded with such horror that the irrational is gloried in, and the way paved for delusions such as Baxter's. "Credo quia impossibile".

Such zealots have no historical perspective. They have a clear-cut stock of ideas to which everything must conform. The Apostolic Age must be imitated in every possible way, regardless of changed conditions. The supernatural was a reality to the men and women of the New Testament: it must therefore be revived in exactly the same form to-day. Those to whom the new life has been vouchsafed imagine that they in particular are the salt of the earth, to whom the restoration of true religion has been entrusted. The mildest criticism confirms them in their views; anything approaching persecution is like wind to their sails; they feel they are indeed on the level of the martyrs and apostles.

These remarks apply to the various attempts to resuscitate Apostolic Charismata in the backwaters of the Christian Church throughout the centuries, particularly to the Irvingite manifestations studied in this Thesis. It is true that the Irvingite Movement was a protest against a lethargic rationalism which imprisons God in natural law, quenches the sense of God's nearness and of the urgency of repentance, makes religion truth at second-hand. "Let Him now break forth in miracle and holy gifts, let it be seen that He is still the living God in the midst of His dead people". "They see in His gifts that the Scripture stands, that the graces
and works...of the apostolic age are also for them. It is as if they had now a proof experimental of the resources embodied in the Christian plan. The living God, immediately revealed, and not historically only, begets a feeling of present life and power, and religion is no more a tradition, a second-hand light, but operative now." (1)

Had the Irvingite Movement broken out at that period of the eighteenth century when the Churches were not dead and conventional and the fresh springs of religion almost evaporated, the sudden reaction would have been natural and one would have welcomed it in spite of its excesses. But it broke out after the Evangelical Revival had been transforming the character of England for the past sixty years. Even if its base had been broader, it is doubtful whether it could have exerted much influence. It corrected some of the errors of current evangelicalism perhaps, but tended to produce most of its faults in an exaggerated form, — fear of the intellect, self-righteousness, a bitter and acrimonious spirit, blindness to the Industrial Revolution which was covering the country with hideous mushroom towns inhabited by an underpaid and brutalised population. Yet one cannot but admire Irvingite fervour, and wish that it had circulated throughout the Churches of Britain, instead of being short-circuited — flaring up to provide food for journalists — and for the religious psychologists of a later day! The net result was the birth of a posthumous offspring, — another new sect, belying in many respects its origin.

This critique of Irvingite Glossolalia may be summed up in words quoted from Dean Inge:— (2)

"The operation of the Holy Spirit must not be looked for in any abnormal, violent or mysterious psychical experiences. Such convulsions have indeed in some cases marked the awakening into a new life; (1) Bushnell, p. 318.

(2) W.R. Inge, "Faith and Knowledge". 167,3.
like volcanic upheaval, they have brought to the surface hidden strata of the subconscious life; but generally it is by the small voice, not by the earthquake or fire, that God speaks to us.

And the wish to empty ourselves of our own personality, to empty ourselves that God may fill the void, is a mistake. It is when we are most ourselves that we are nearest God.

The real tragedy of the Irvingite Movement lay in the waste of such a noble life as Edward Irving's. Baxter on being disillusioned might devote his energies to his profession. The Cairds might run the new organisation on different lines, when the first springs of Glossolalia had run dry. The masterful Henry Drummond might direct the course of the "Catholic Apostolic Church", as one of his many interests. The only great soul in that circle, whose contribution to the Christian Church might otherwise have been so fruitful, was cut off - many believed with a broken heart.

"He set out," said Dr. Gunning in Irving's funeral sermon,(1) like some war ship with streaming pennants and majestic sway; but the storms beat, and the waves arose, and prudence was driven from the wheel and, perchance, the seven spirits that are before the throne, ceased to breathe upon the sails; and battered and tossed and rifted, she foundered amid rocks and shoals. He speaks to us strongly on the danger that environed a lofty intellect. None, with the exception of his illustrious father in Christ, Dr. Chalmers, was able to arrest the attention, and gain the hearts, and mould the doings of his audience. He knew and felt so well the greatness of his genius, and this made him fancy he could penetrate the arcanum of eternity, and gather to his bosom flowers that bloomed not on earth. Like the eagle, he soared too near the sun, and was struck blind. He was misled by sparks of his own kindling."

Nor was he a sour misanthrope, like some religious zealots. "His very enthusiasm," said Carlyle(2) "was sanguine, not atrabiliar; he was so loving, full of hope, so simple-hearted, and made all that approached him his. A giant force of activity was in the man;

(2) v. "Fraser's Magazine". No. 61.
speculation was accident, not nature." "He might have been so many things; not a speaker only, but a doer; the leader of hosts of men."

Carlyle seems to be right, however, in pointing out that it was his very nobleness and simplicity that contributed to his ruin, "the excess of his sociability and sympathy, of his value for the suffrages and sympathies of men."

A young unknown man received popularity and publicity, such as it is the lot of few to achieve in the pride of life.

Failure to convert "the gumflowers of Almack's into living roses in a new Eden" set in motion his following of the 'ignis fatuus' of human fancy. As Dr. J.G.Simpson(1) has pointed out, one of the factors which contributed to his excesses was his distinct lack of humour. Every speech must be an oration. The whole community must pause and acclaim with rapture every suggestion. The pulpit of Regent Square must be a national rostrum. He had no sense of perspective. Everything was either back or white. Luxury, ease, rationalism, latitudinarianism assumed a monstrous and gigantic shape to Irving, which they did not really possess. We close with the words of Carlyle:-

"One light still shone upon him; alas, through a medium more or less turbid - the light from heaven." "To the Bible he more and more exclusively addressed himself. If it is the written Word of God shall it not be the acted Word too? Is it mere sound, then; black printer's ink on white rag paper?(2)

"A half-man could have passed on without answering; a whole man must answer.

"Hence prophecies of milleniums, gifts of tongues, whereat orthodoxy prims herself into decent wonder, and waves her avaunt!

"Irving clave to his belief, as to his soul's soul; followed it whithersoever, through earth or air, it might lead him; toiling as never man toiled to spread it, to gain the world's ear for it - in vain.

"Even wilder waxed the confusion without and within. The

(1) v. "Ency. of Religion and Ethics" (Hastings) Art. "Ed. Irving".
(2) Like Irving, Savonarola "in this manner...found confirmation in the Bible for every thought, inspiration, and prophecy, that he imagined, and for all he beheld." (Villari's Life of Savonarola, p. 154 f.)
misguided noble-minded head had now nothing left to do but die. He died the death of the true and brave."

"But for Irving, I had never known what the communion of man with man means. He was the freest, brotherliest, bravest human soul mine ever came in contact with: I call him, on the whole, the best man I have ever, after trial enough, found in this world, or now hope to find." (1)

(1) Carlyle's tribute to Irving in Fraser's Magazine, (No. 61).
Chapter Eight.

An Estimate of Edward Irving.

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"He had many thoughts pregnantly expressed, but they did not all tend one way. His thought flowed along, not as a swift flowing river, but as a broad, deep and bending or meandering one. Sometimes it left with you the impression almost of a fine noteworthy lake."

(Carlyle on Irving).

"For my part, I love to see an idea looming through the mist."

(Irving to Chalmers).

Note:

David Alec Wilson's, "Carlyle till Marriage" and "Carlyle to 'The French Revolution'" referred to as D.A.Wilson, Carlyle I and II.
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CHAPTER EIGHT.

AN ESTIMATE OF EDWARD IRVING.

Section 1.

The extent to which abnormality can be traced in his early life.

Irving's heredity was essentially religious. He sprang from a stock soaked in the Covenanting traditions of South Western Scotland. He may be classified as belonging to the "Dogmatic-Emotional" type, which flourished in the West, nurtured on such books as Samuel Rutherford's "Letters", as opposed to the hard and unbending Calvinism of the East. To the former type dogma was fired by imagination and warmed by unction. We have seen that Irving as a boy trudged regularly over the moors to a Secession Meeting House, where this type of piety flourished, instead of worshipping in the cool respectability of the Parish Kirk. The Seceders, especially in rural districts, kept alive much of the controversial spirit of the 17th century, regardless of changed times. Yet the prophetic note, the appeal to the heroic memories of the past, afforded an outlet for the imaginative and emotional side of his nature, which could find little satisfaction in the dull routine of a small country town. Yet there was nothing abnormal about Irving as a boy: he loved the open air and inherited from both parents a rich geniality. There were, it is true, certain of his mother's relations (the Lowthers) who were eccentric "local characters". (1)

(1) Oliphant I. 2, 3.
A protacted college course, combined with a not very satisfactory experience as a school-master, produced a natural craving for self-expression. He had "ower muckle gran'ner" for the good folk of Kirkcaldy and was a distinct failure in the pulpit. Yet whenever he was appointed to preach as Dr. Chalmers' assistant in Glasgow and could see groups leaving the Church, disappointed that it was not "the Doctor himself", he does not appear to have been greatly mortified, realising the natural preference that would be accorded to such a shining light; the vision of what he might yet attain to flickered before his expectant eyes.

Chalmers watches the poet-enthusiast with a "doubtful, troubled, half-amused, half-sad perplexity; - likes him, yet does not know what he would be at; is embarrassed by his warm love, praise and gratitude; - vexed to see him commit himself; - impatient of what he himself thinks credulity, vanity, waste of power; but never without a sober, regretful affection for the bright, unsteady light ....(1) The grim realism of city slums did not make Irving less of an idealist and visionary, but rather evoked from him a Quixotic open-handed generosity, while he would surprise the denizens of neglected closes by the benediction "Peace be unto this house!"

Yet in his dealings with Carlyle, it was Irving who took the part of the elder brother, urging him to adapt himself to his fellow men and to the circumstances of everyday life, and live less in an "ideal world" of fantasy. This position was destined to be reversed. (2)

Both Irving and Carlyle had been enthusiasts for political and social reform. But it seems certain that Carlyle's frank avowal of his inability to accept orthodox Christianity, a position reached through the reading of Gibbon in Irving’s own library, set in action currents which drew the latter into political and religious reaction, setting "faith and intellect" in sharp antithesis. (1)

On receiving an unexpected Call from the struggling Caledonian Chapel in London in 1822, he threw himself with enthusiasm into his work and took London by storm. External success was not however accompanied by internal satisfaction. Froude and David Alec Wilson consider that it was a case of sublimation. For several years his entanglement with Isabella Martin and Jane Welsh had caused him considerable embarrassment.

Section 2.
"Vita Sexualis" of Irving.

While at Kirkcaldy Irving had entered into a half-engagement with Isabella Martin, daughter of the minister whom he sometimes assisted. In Scotland such connections have a more binding character than South of the Tweed and cannot be dissolved without dishonour except by mutual consent.

On revisiting his old pupil Jane Welsh at Haddington, he discovered that his real love was for her, a feeling on her

part 'passionately' returned. She refused to listen to any language but that of friendship until he was released by Miss Martin's parents. "But there was an unexpressed hope on both sides that he would not be held to it, and on these dangerous terms Irving continued to visit Haddington, when he could be spared from his duties." (1)

It should be noted that in June 1821 he introduced her to Carlyle.

In a letter to Carlyle (29th April, 1822), after describing the Call to London, he refers to "other things" besides partings which "oppress" his spirit - "an independence about my character, a want of resemblance especially with others of my profession, that will cause me to be apprehended ill of. I hope to come through honestly and creditably." (2)

Several letters then passed between Irving and Jane Welsh. In one he enclosed a sonnet "To a Lock of my Lady's Hair", on the back of which can be read these words:

".....I have resolved neither to see Isabella nor her father before I........cannot brook the sight of either until this be explained ...." (the rest of the letter is wanting). (3)

Irving informed the Martins of his attitude, but they firmly refused to release him from a long engagement to which their daughter had remained faithful. (4)

Whereupon Irving submitted to the inevitable and wrote

(1) Froude, Carlyle I. 130.     (2) Froude, Carlyle I. 155.
(3) D.A. Wilson, Carlyle I. 171. (4) Froude, I. 156.
frankly to Jane Welsh of his "most affectionate and tender regard", which would "long ago have taken the form of the most devoted attachment but for one intervening circumstance...."

"When I am in your company my whole soul would rush to serve you, and my tongue trembles to speak my heart's fullness." He is standing upon "ground which seems to shake" and is undergoing "a painful struggle", but his "help is in heaven". "But I feel within me the power to prevail, and at once to satisfy duty to another and affection to you." "It is very extraordinary that this weak nature of mine can bear two affections, both of so intense a kind, and yet I feel it can. I shall feed the one with faith, and duty and chaste affection; the other with paternal and friendly love, no less pure, no less assiduous, no less constant - in return seeking nothing but permission and indulgence." (1)

During the year which elapsed between the confirmation of his engagement and his actual marriage to Isabella Martin, Irving "flung himself into religious excitement as grosser natures take to drink." (2) This statement of Froude's is certainly confirmed by one sentence in particular from the letter to Jane Welsh just quoted:

"... But I am enabled to forebear, and have to find other avenues than the natural ones for the overflowing of an affection which would hardly have been able to confine itself within the avenues of nature if they had all been opened." (3)

(1) Froude. I. 157. (2) ibid. 158. (3) ibid. 157.
Irving seems to have found in the heady wine of popularity, of which he had long and unexpected draughts when he took London by storm, some "compensation" for the enforced loss of intimacy with Jane Welsh. On 9th September, 1822, in a long letter he told her: "Of my own condition I can speak with great satisfaction, in as far as favour and friendship are concerned, and the outward prosperity of my calling." (1) Internally, there is still disharmony, though control is succeeding in the task of mastering natural longings. "The shortness of life is evermore in my eye, the wasting of it before my conscience; the responsibility of it overwhelms me, and the vanity of it ashamed me. I cannot make a mock heroic of these things, or laugh them away. I was never so far lost to good sense and good feeling as to try. So they hang over me, and I must either sink down into a melancholy forlorn creature, weeping and sighing..... or I must rise up in the strength of Him who made me, and endeavour to work my passage through the best and surest way I can. This last I have chosen... and by God's help I will fulfil it." (2) Irving was not always so collected and resigned, for he would lie on the sofa in the evenings of December 1822, pouring out his emotions to Mrs.Welsh, telling her how Haddington had been a haven of peace to him. (3)

We may well ask;
Did marriage after the year of delay heal his wounds? Or did a repressed love for Jane Welsh drive him from one excess to another until he was stranded, - a nervous wreck?

(1) ibid. 157. (2) Froude I. 159, 160. (3) Froude. I. 163. Every day Irving passed a window where there was a portrait of Miss Kelly as Juliet. "It had the cast of Miss Welsh's eye", he said.... etc.
If Irving's letters to Carlyle, once so genial and transparent became verbose and stilted after his marriage, and the simple unconscious Irving ceased to exist, we can hardly go so far as Froude and attribute his subsequent aberrations to repressed desire for Jane Welsh. (1)

Irving's marriage (1823) seems to have healed his wounds and put an end to the period of unsettlement. For in a letter to Jane Welsh (10th May, 1924) occurs the confidential passage:— "One thing more, my dear Jane, into your own ear. My dear Isabella has succeeded in healing the wounds of my heart, but I am hardly yet in a condition to expose them. My former calmness and piety are returning. I feel growing in grace and holiness; and before another year I shall be worthy in the eye of my conscience to receive you into my house..... which till then I should hardly be...." (2) Carlyle at this time had but little idea of the relations between Jane Welsh and Irving. But Isabella Martin had been told frankly by her husband how matters stood, and firmly refused to receive Jane Welsh in her home. Irving's reasons for postponing the visit cannot have sounded very genuine to Miss Welsh. Froude (referring to 1825) observes that "Miss Welsh had for two years never mentioned Irving to Carlyle except bitterly and contemptuously; so bitterly indeed that he had often been obliged to remonstrate. Had he been less single-minded, a tone so marked and acid might have roused

(1) Froude I. 164. (2) D.A.Wilson, Carlyle I. 329-330
his suspicions." (1) As a result of well-meaning interference by a lady who was a stranger, Miss Welsh thought it best to confess to Carlyle that she had deceived him in asserting that she disliked Irving. 'It was false'. She had once loved him 'passionately'. 'If she had shown weakness in loving a man whom she knew to be engaged to another, she had made amends in persuading him to marry the other, and save his honour from reproach.' (2)

This evidence affords ground for drawing the following inferences. (1) Irving's love affair with Jane Welsh undoubtedly caused him acute pain and resulted in attempted sublimation during the auspicious opening years of his London Ministry. (2) His marriage to Isabella Martin (1823) however seems to have healed the wounds of his heart. There is abundant evidence, as may be seen from his letters, journals and the observations of contemporaries, that his home life was most happy, especially after the birth of their puny children. (3) His wife's influence however was fatal to him owing to the fact that she encouraged his abnormal development in the direction of "prophecy", "gifts", and "tongues". Brought up in a pious Evangelical Fifeshire manse, she was ultra-religious, uncritical, 'suggestible'. Carlyle wrote of Irving: "He persists, mildly obstinate in his course, greatly strengthened by his wife, who is reckoned the beginner of it all." (Thesis p.93). Her support of his growing abnormal developments may have been unconsciously stimulated by the knowledge that her former rival, Jane Welsh, was so opposed to

(1) Froude I. 316.  
(2) Froude I. 318.
Irving's supposed eccentricities. Realising the fatal influence which Mrs. Irving was exercising over her husband, Carlyle introduced her to his friend Mrs. Montagu, hoping that such a sane contact would draw out the best in her; the experiment was not however very successful.\(^{(1)}\)

\(^{(4)}\) We recall Jane Welsh Carlyle's forceful remark\(^{(2)}\) in later life: "There would have been no tongues, had Irving married me." On the other hand, it is possible that her efforts might have been as fruitless as those of intimate friends like Carlyle, and that Irving would have persisted "mildly obstinate". Yet it is probable that "a clever wife awake to danger might have saved him."\(^{(3)}\) Irving's nature was so sensitive, his mind so impressionable, that much depended on the circle with whom he was on intimate terms. A wise wife, well acquainted with his moods, might easily have helped him to make contacts with those who were really his best friends, instead of with a 'wrong set' like the Albury Circle.

Section 3.

Irving's Personality and influences which led him in the direction of Glossolalia.

Irving's power lay in his attractive personality, his combination of many diverse gifts, and not least in his fine figure (despite the squint which prompted caricature). In his preaching there was overflowing vitality, novelty of treatment,

a keen sense of religion being a living faith rather than a dovetailed theological system. Yet as Hazlitt pointed out(1), Irving was attempting to put new wine into old bottles, garlanding the thorns of scholastic theology with the flowers of modern literature. It was his winning personality which enabled him to fuse in rich and glowing eloquence elements that were anything but homogeneous. The effect of his preaching was to dazzle rather than convince, and this tended to increase the "inflation" of the Ego, which Carlyle had noticed at Kirkcaldy. Moreover, when the simple Caledonian Chapel was crowded by the wealth and fashion of London, he was encouraged to believe that he had been entrusted with a "Special Mission" to preach a Gospel "more heroic, more magnanimous than this age affects", to "imaginative men, and political men, and legal men, who bear the world in hand." To them he addressed "Orations", rather than sermons.

His "Argument for Judgement to come" (1822-3) contained much sanctified common sense about seeing life steadily and seeing it whole, yet also much nonsense, so much as to evoke a widely circulated skit "The Trial of the Rev. Edward Irving, a cento of Criticism". In his "Oracles of God" he pleaded for a more living attitude towards the Bible, which was to "impregnate all the sources of action". The sermons he preached during the first three years of his London Ministry were bright with many a flash of insight and suggestion. They were practical, and progressive, as well as earnest and eloquent. In one sermon he refers even to "the foolish notion of ignorant men, that the

further they move things from the ordinary into the extraordinary, the more they remove them into the hands of God...."(1)

Irving's mind was very susceptible to new ideas. Not an original thinker, he could absorb like a sponge the thought of the age. He was captivated by Coleridge's(2) appeal to Experience, Salvation as internal rather than super-added, the idea of the Church as a spiritual organism. But he also took over a pessimistic strain from Coleridge, a conception of the world as given over to infidelity, science materialistic, the Churches mere cases of dessicated Articles.

Irving's sanguine spirit, however, drew nourishment from Coleridge's idea of transcendental methods being capable of restoring the Divine Life to human life. Such a daring diagram as that of Coleridge reproduced on p.11 of our Introduction, asserting that the preacher was the Synthesis of Church and Scripture, "the sensible voice of the Holy Spirit", must have made an immediate appeal to such a prophetic soul as Irving. His attention was now drawn to the Holy Spirit as a dynamic.

But if Irving was in many ways progressive, he also drew inspiration from 16th and 17th century writers like Hooker, Taylor, Baxter and Milton, in whose writings he steeped himself, - to such an extent that his own style became archaic and affected. In reacting from the narrow and sickly Evangelicalism of his own day, he was drawn into conservative and traditional channels which gradually insulated him from the actual world. "Ages of Faith" stood out more and more in relief as opposed to the present

"Age of Scepticism". He craved pathetically for the Miraculous and the Authoritative.

Two factors influenced Irving in this direction, (1) less publicity (2) accusations of heresy.

The opening of the new Church at Regent Square in 1827 may be considered a watershed. The congregation was always large, but the fashionable crowds came no more. Irving in his simplicity does not seem to have realised that the fashionable set could not be expected to be for ever "titillated by his picturesque originality". They had attended his Church as if it were a theatre, but they had not been converted. But as Carlyle wrote in his memorial tribute to Irving: "The intoxicating draught had been swallowed; no force of natural health could cast it out. Unconsciously, for the most part in deep unconsciousness, there was now the impossibility to live neglected; to walk in the quiet paths, where alone it is well with us. Singularity must henceforth succeed singularity."(1)

Irving's sharp controversial methods led to growing unpopularity with the "religious world". As early as 1824 his sermon before the London Missionary Society had breathed hatred of modern methods, of "expediency", and a Quixotic faith in simple "apostolic faith" (this sermon was considered "an ill-timed rhetorical display") That same year (1824) we can see Carlyle reversing his attitude to Irving and himself assuming the position of "elder brother": "Poor fellow! He has his own trials awaiting him."(2) Professional jealousy was only too

(1) "Frazer's Magazine" No. 61. 1834. (2) D.A.Wilson, Carlyle I. 354.
was only too ready to listen to rumours of heresy, first whispered by a clerical "informer", Mr. Cole, in 1828. He had previously dedicated his L.M.S. Sermon to Coleridge, with profuse acknowledgements. Irving's supposed heresies were simply overstatement of neglected truths. His close study of the Scottish Confession of 1560 and the First and Second "Books of Discipline" had led him to the more catholic view of the Incarnation, stressing Christ's Humanity. This was new to those accustomed to the emphasis of the Westminster Confession on His Atoning Death. In deriving Christ's Sinlessness indirectly from God through the Holy Ghost, he laid himself open to the charge of holding, however, that the working of the Holy Spirit in men and in Christ was similar in mode, different in degree only. "Perfectionism" certainly affected the Albury circle and the ground was thus prepared for the further inference that the "Gifted Persons" were passive instruments of God, on whom the Holy Spirit "played". The "Books of Discipline" also suggested to Irving the fact that the Charismata and Offices of the Apostolic Church had never been abolished but had simply fallen into disuse. (1)

Accusations of heresy had the effect (1) Of making Irving all the more active in his assertions of orthodoxy, based however on the 1560 Standards rather than on the generally accepted Westminster Standards, of strengthening his reverence for antiquity and authority, of quenching his liberal sympathies. But the more he asserted his orthodoxy, the more was he suspected by his critics. He forgot that the resuscitation of what had

(1) Thesis Introduction. 16-19.
once been orthodox may in the eyes of the present generation be heterodox, that 'restoration' may be in effect 'revolution'. He made considerable show of his knowledge of the history of the Scottish Church, yet he lacked "historic sense".

(2) Accusations of heresy intensified his self-consciousness and made him feel he was a centre of interest in the religious world, a man with a "Special Mission" who would necessarily have to encounter opposition and hatred, and perhaps even death like his Covenanting forefathers. If he had not succeeded so far in his Mission, God could not have deceived him. His method must have been wrong. He might have been preaching less than the full Gospel. Should he not draw aside the curtain of the centuries and drink deep of the well of Apostolic purity, before it had been silted up by human rubbish? And having drunk from the fount apostolic, whose waters were approved by the title-deeds of his own Church, could be then refrain from calling all men to drink and live?

(3) Alone in the world he naturally felt drawn to those who believed that the state of the world was so desperate that the "last days" of Scripture were at hand, a prelude to the Second Coming of the Saviour. He eagerly adopted Hatley Frere's particular interpretation of "Unfulfilled Prophecy": Frere, on his part, was only too delighted to find a man who had the ear of the public. After 1827 Irving threw himself into the life of the pious and obscurantist Albury Circle, who felt that in Irving they had discovered a splendid figurehead through whom they
could easily popularise their Millenarianism. Irving's attention was now focussed on predictions of the Second Coming, the signs of the End, and restoration of Apostolic Charismata. "For the last seven years Irving shut himself up in a lesser world of ideas and persons, and lived isolated there."(1)

Section 4.
Irving's attitude to Glossolalia.


Coleridge's remark that Irving had "a growing mind" was indeed true during the first three years of his Ministry in London. But from 1825, and particularly after 1827 Millenarian tenets moved into the focus of attention, to such an extent that other ideas were either inhibited or were coloured by and adapted to the "fixed idea", which tended to become an obsession.

As 1830 drew near, the Albury Circle tended to stress the "signs" of the Second Coming rather than event itself. Irving contributed nothing original as far as the Second Coming was concerned, but was responsible for hopes of the restoration of Apostolic Charismata. By consulting the ambitious quarterly, "The Morning Watch", financed by Henry Drummond the wealthy and eccentric banker, we can see Irving's magnetic influence among his friends of the Albury Circle in focussing attention on the

(1) Memorial Tribute in "Fraser's Magazine" No.61. 1834.
need for reviving the "gifts" of the Early Church. It will be remembered that Irving had given much space to the "gifts" in his Notes on the Reformation Standards. Yet when Irving had found the acute A.J. Scott preaching the restoration of Charismata around Greenock in 1828, he was "still very little moved to seek myself, or to stir up my people to seek these spiritual treasures", being inclined to hold that they could only be restored at the Second Advent. Yet he brooded over the matter and dwelt much in his preaching on the power of the Holy Ghost. (1) Scott's preaching bore fruit in the healing and glossolalia of Mary Campbell and the Macdonalds, - natural enough at a time of spiritual awakening among a suggestible people.

A.J. Scott then, and not Irving, was responsible for preaching so as actually to induce manifestations. (1830).

It was natural that the Albury Circle who had entertained hopes of the revival of "Apostolic Gifts" should have sent a delegation to the West of Scotland, which readily approved of the manifestations. But we cannot so readily accuse Irving of being credulous at this stage when we consider that not only A.J. Scott (later Principal of Owens College, Manchester), and the balanced Story, minister of Roseneath, but also Erskine of Linlathen, one of the most progressive thinkers of his age, were satisfied of the reality of the Gifts and the sincerity and good sense of the "Gifted Persons". Erskine indeed stayed six weeks in the Macdonalds' home and came to the conclusion that the gifts were

(1) "Fraser's Magazine" Jan. 1832.
by no means to be rashly and lightly rejected.

Irving, however, was credulous when he refused to modify his opinion when one by one these men of mark (1) revised their estimate of the manifestations in the West of Scotland. He closed his mind to anything which ran counter to the "fixed idea" that the Gifts were in answer to prayer. E.g. He did not take the pains to go into the case of the sincere and blameless Macdonalds who refused to equate their "utterances in the spirit" with Scripture, and moreover refused highly lucrative offers from wealthy members of the Albury Circle to come to London. And when Story described at length the selfish and fraudulent conduct of Mary Campbell and her husband Caird, (2) Irving continued to accept the couple as members of the inner circle of the "Gifted", replying to his friend: "Oh, Story, thou hast grievously sinned in standing afar off from the work of the Lord, scanning it like a sceptic, instead of proving it like a spiritual man. Keep your conscience unfettered by your understanding."

Irving had no part in the introduction of Glossolalia in London. There were prayer meetings held in private houses during the autumn of 1830, consisting of people of different congregations. Gradually the movement centred round the magnetic personality of Irving and the premises of Regent Square Church. The Albury Circle found Irving as useful a means of publicity as Hatley Frere had done. The prominent Cardales, repelled by their rector, Rev. Baptist Noel, joined Regent Square. The

(1) Later, also, the sagacious David Brown, his assistant in London, who lived to be Principal of the Free Church College, Aberdeen.

(2) Thesis V. pp. 19-23.
prayer meetings instituted during the spring of 1831 to intercede for Irving and his friends accused of heresy before the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, were continued by a number of those who had attended the meetings, for their own purpose, of their own accord, and in Regent Square Church.

Throughout the summer of 1831 a well-defined Group was forming, the tense atmosphere of the regular early morning meetings producing the effect for which they craved. Irving's references to the movement at this stage are infrequent. In a letter to Story (July 1831) he refers incidentally to the fact that "two of my flock have received the gift of tongues and prophecy." By the autumn of 1831 the Group waspowerfully organised. The atmosphere was tense. Fanaticism, springing out of a fear of the Revolution of 1830 on the Continent and the Reform agitation at home, was further worked up by the terrible cholera epidemic in London. "Warning" and "reproving" voices were heard in the prayer meetings that Irving was "restraining the Spirit of God." When the movement, pent up, finally burst its banks and Glossolalia broke out in Regent Square on Sunday 6th November, 1831, Irving reached the fateful turning point of his career.

Judging from his communications with the trustees and other office-bearers, extended over many weeks, it seems highly likely that they would gladly have permitted their beloved pastor to remain with them if he would only consent to prohibit manifestations at the Sunday services. This he actually did on November 13th., which shows that he was wavering. But on November 21st. "The Record" relates "to its surprise" the fact that the
day before he had withdrawn this statement, admitting "that he
had committed an error in so doing."(1) "Group pressure" had
been brought to bear on Irving.

In a letter to his friend Mr. Macdonald, occurs the
significant postscript; "The Cairds are with us again." It
could not be said of Mary Campbell and her husband, as it might
of other "Gifted Persons" that they were wholly sincere, without
thought of personal advancement. The very fact that the couple were
about Irving at the time of his momentous decision, sounds
ominous.

But to Irving the denial to the "gifted Persons" of
the right of engaging in Glossolalia during the Sunday services
was not a matter simply of good order or of tact or common sense.(2)
Having come to the conclusion that those speaking in an "Unknown
Tongue" were passive instruments of the Holy Spirit, he would
have been guilty of silencing the voice of God. He had prayed
for the Apostolic Charismata and his prayer had been granted.
Would God give a stone when he had asked for bread?

All the efforts of the trustees, of old friends like
Carlyle, of his wife's relatives, were fruitless. He was prepared
for entreaties, reproaches, threats, deposition from the ministry.
His attitude during the disturbances on Sunday November 6th, 1831,
was extraordinarily calm: he called for silence, prayed and
solemnly expounded I Corinthians 14 as a definite solution.

Even the desertion of his assistant David Brown and the

(1) A statement ratified by Miss Cardale in Glossolalia and in
English: "He shall reveal it! He shall reveal it! Yea,
heed it! Yea, heed it!" etc. (Oliphant II. 213).
(2) Oliphant II. Chs. 4, 5.
apostasy of Baxter on the very morning of his trial by the Presbytery did not unman him. When arraigned of permitting laymen to interrupt Public Worship, he simply denied that any individuals spoke; the Holy Spirit was making use of their mouths. The whole day after the trial he spent preparing for a Communion Service.

The Group of "Gifted Persons" had used Irving for their own purposes, though they genuinely loved and admired him. They continued to love him after his expulsion from Regent Square, but found his presence somewhat of an embarrassment, so much so, that on his deposition from the Ministry of the Church of Scotland at Annan in 1833 he was received by the congregation at Newman Street, not as a martyr, but as one interdicted, admitted to the lowest office of the hierarchy. The controlling Group seems to have relented, for by utterances "in the power" he was called as "Angel", a position of very nominal authority, since the polity of the new Church was now determined by the subjective utterances of the most influential members. It is a tribute to Irving's absolute sincerity that he never complained at being rejected by the Group, though the magic of his reputation had been the foundation upon which the new denomination had been built.

Had he been a mere egotist, leaping from one sensation to another out of sheer inability to live unnoticed, his attitude after being rejected would have been very different. He would not have been content with a secluded life, bounded by the walls
of the obscure meeting place at Newman Street. He would not have been ready to go to Scotland, his instructions in his hand, the mere evangelist of the new sect by whom he had been rejected. A spent force, during his last days in Scotland among friends he would commend again and again "the work of the Holy Ghost" to all faith and reverence; adding, with pathetic humility that of these gifts he himself had never been "found worthy."(2)

On p.123 of this Thesis will be found quotations from two pastoral letters which Irving addressed to the Church in Newman Street from Glasgow, just before his death in 1834. These are lengthy and express repentance on the part of the Church for her pride and independence. One sentence runs: "God saw that we had been taken in through our simplicity... and therefore he had mercy on us, and began to take the veil from our eyes." These letters, however, are for the most part in very general terms, and there is no other evidence pointing to the fact that in his last days Irving ever came to the conclusion that he had actually been deluded, as was the case with Baxter. There seems to be no doubt, however, that Irving greatly regretted his separation from the Church of Scotland and was deeply disappointed with the new hierarchy and its subjective basis.

(1) "Edward was truly grieved that it was not in his power to go to see you, but his time is truly not his own, neither is he his own master." (Mrs.Irving to her mother, February 1834).

(2) Oliphant II. Ch.6.
Irving was a Prophet, not a Leader. He lived to such an extent in the world of ideas that the more he became immersed in this realm of fantasy, the less was he qualified to read human motives. On his reputation of being a great Preacher, the Albury Circle built up their organisation. In spite of the fact that the idea of the restoration of Apostolic Charismata became an obsession, he did not control, and did not claim to control the actions of the Group that clung barnacle-like to Regent Square. When Mr. Pilkington, who believed that the "Tongues" were really fragments of known languages, anxiously consulted Irving, he replied that he had not the least idea of their meaning and "aspired to be no more than the humble pastor of the flock." (1) Irving himself was willing to give Pilkington an opportunity of proving his case, but several members of the group, Baxter and the mysterious Mr. A. regarded him as an intruder. Pilkington assures the Group that he will not speak again in Church ("All seemed pleased"); Irving scrupulously adds - "Unless you can possibly avoid it"; to which Mr. A. retorts - "Not even then!" Pilkington is afterwards told by Mr. B. "not to repeat publicly what had happened because there was a difference of opinion on the subject." (2) Pilkington finally had a private interview with Irving but found him "evasive". Irving seems to have been embarrassed by Baxter's "sharp rebukes". On one occasion expressed his doubts as to Glossolalia in Church. His assistant David Brown,

a close observer of the manifestations advised "Don't do it whilst you have a doubt." But Baxter cried out 'in the most fearful voice' "that if the utterances were of God, who could hesitate to argue with them?" (1) It is true that when Baxter's revelations reached extremes of absurdity, Irving would exhort him not to be "puffed up", not to leave(2) his wife and family (for that was unscriptural as well as "strange"). Yet it must be remembered that though Baxter was too forceful a personality to be repelled, he was far from being 'persona grata to the Group'.

When he was finally disillusioned, the Group sighed with relief; he had forced his way in, he had never really "belonged". The female conclave seem to have controlled the Group of "Gifted Persons", particular Miss E.C.(Cardale) and Mrs.C.(Mary Caird, nee Campbell). Miss E.C. thought Irving was too tender to Baxter and in several instances(3) urges him to take action against the "outsider". It will be remembered that she commanded him to write to Baxter that he must not expect "baptism with fire" actually "in the flesh". Irving added to this(4) "Here I leave it without any comment whatever - I am not equal to the work of commenting upon these words of the Lord - I am content to walk in the darkness...... The Lord lead us aright.... The day is not known and it is a mystery."

It is clear that Irving was very muddle-headed about the manifestations. He claimed that he tested candidates for Glossolalia by (1) Their blameless lives as Christian communicants (2) Hearing the utterances in private, in which nothing heterodox

could be detected (yet he admitted that he could not remember particulars of these trials nor did he "charge his memory with them"). "Beyond these there are no outward or visible signs to which it can be brought."(1) Baxter had delivered messages in "Tongue" with every demonstration of power. Yet he eventually confessed that he had been deluded. And a man had publicly denounced Irving himself "in the power"!(2) Irving never worked out any real technique by which true utterances could be distinguished from false.

In his full descriptions of Glossolalia published in "Fraser's Magazine" (1832) Irving is quite definite that the "Tongues" are "signs" to an unbelieving world, to be "interpreted", not scraps of foreign languages to be "translated", as the "enthusiast" Pilkington imagined. "Tongues" were already in the world, an apostolic Gift to be used like other Charismata: this was no new Pentecost. The very fact that the "Tongues" are unknown is evidence that they are Divine.(3) For human words carry with them human associations from the visible or intellectual world which distract and contaminate: human feelings of love, friendship, favour and prejudice colour, distort and hinder utterances which in "Tongue" would be absolutely pure and Divine. But Irving is hopelessly illogical in asserting in one passage that the "Gifted Persons" are mere instruments who yield themselves to the Divine Voice, while in another no mere trumpets for speaking through, but intelligent and conscious men and women. On the whole, his attitude was to regard the

subject as being entirely passive in Mind and Will. So vague and obscure was his idea of the exact nature of manifestations that it is not surprising that the movement soon got out of his control.

Irving was essentially "the Visionary". There was a marked strain of old Border chivalry and Covenanting enthusiasm, which impelled him to go forward on his course at all costs once he was assured that he was entrusted with a Divine Mission. The contempt of the world, the pleading of friends, accusations of heresy, only strengthened his convictions. Yet, as Carlyle said, he was ever a "genuine" man. "He is a most amiable, sincere, modest man in a room, this Boanerges in the temple", wrote Lamb to Leigh Hunt. (1) His nature was genial and sanguine, not morose (at least till prostrated by ill-health and over-exertion). He was intensely human. In this respect he was a contrast to the founders of many new cults and sects. "Inflated" his Ego undoubtedly became, yet he was ever "single-minded", sincere, without any inclination to profit financially from his labours - the peculiar temptation of the modern evangelist.

Unlike many of the founders of new sects and cults, his education was excellent. In blaming him for holding obscurantist views as to the Second Coming and Scriptural predictions of contemporary events, we must be much more lenient than we would be, e.g. in condemning a great statesmen of modern times like the late W.J.Bryan.

Irving was a child of his age, living at an uncritical

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time when the air was surcharged with fears of revolution and infidelity. When a mind as great as Dr. Arnold's(1) found serious grounds for the imminent Second Coming and Erskine of Linlathen spent months in sympathetically investigating Glossolalia before ultimately reaching an adverse conclusion, we can well understand how Irving would be affected by the Spirit of the Age.

But Irving had also absorbed from Coleridge progressive ideas of Revelation, the Bible, and the Holy Spirit. With a normal young and educated man this influence should have prevailed. But the visionary strain in Irving was strong. "I love to see an idea looming through the mist."(2)

He was ready to absorb new ideas from various quarters, but the way in which these ideas were appropriated depended on his temperament. And his temperament was moulded by circumstances. His early failure in Kirkcaldy and Glasgow, his love affair with Jane Welsh, his overwhelming success in London and the falling off of popularity accentuated his restlessness. He began to feel that something was wrong with ordinary methods of preaching. Immersing himself in Apocalyptic theories he drew to himself others who had begun to despair of the Age, with its radicalism and infidelity. Yet Irving's sanguine nature led him to dwell rather on the bright renewal of the Apostolic Order, when the Holy Spirit would be manifested afresh, in Prophesying and speaking with Tongues. He became however more and more "anti-intellectual". To Story(3) he wrote: "Keep your conscience unfettered by your understanding." "Your intellect, sir, has

destroyed you", were his parting words to David Brown, who replied; "Yes, sir, I confess it - I am responsible for the use of my intellect, and I have used it."(1)

Particularly after the outbreak of Glossolalia did he pour scorn on what he considered current "pride of intellect and glory of learning", calling on men to adopt "the childhood way of teaching and learning, which is by faith."(2) He had often the twenty eighth chapter of Isaiah in mind. The spiritual life might be built up in all fulness "through means which are wholly independent of intelligence."(3) "Useful, brother? It is most useful for thee ... to get the better of thine unbelief... to abate thy trust in thine own understanding, by showing thee a thing which it cannot enter into."(4) God will raise up "weak women and uneducated men", which will result in the driving away of all but simple-minded, single-hearted disciples."(5) In a letter to his father-in-law (April 23rd, 1833) he describes how he had just addressed "words of godliness" "to nourish the seed of faith" which was in his dying infant son. Irving's "sublime unreason" had carried him to such extremes because he had insulated himself in a world of unreality, surrounded by a Group which had made the sheer enjoyment of the supernatural gifts an end in itself.

His intellect broke down through restlessness and instability. He could absorb ideas, but only to allow them to

be swept along by the swirling torrent of impulse, undirectly
by logic or consistency. "He had many thoughts pregnantly
expressed, but they did not all tend one way." (1) He had no
discrimination, no sense of perspective, no historic sense.
His judgement was apt to be absolute; he was impatient of
time and place as limiting conditions.

The tragedy of Irvingism was the loss to the Church of
Edward Irving, whose temperament might have stabilised but for
circumstances, and yielded a rich harvest of the "fruits of
the spirit".

There is no likelihood that a miraculous dispensation would be restored after being quite passed by and lost. But there may be casual suspensions and re-appearances, sometimes in one place and sometimes in another, that are quite consistent with the conviction that the dispensation is perpetual, never withdrawn, and never to be withdrawn. (1)

This bold statement of Bushnell's is certainly borne out by facts, some of which will be herewith examined in order.

This Thesis is confined in scope to Irvingite Glossolalia. But in order to see the Irvingite manifestations in their true proportion, we must visualise them as an example of phenomena which have occurred in all ages and in all lands, as delineated by Eddison Mosimann in "Das Zungenreden - geschichtlich und psychologisch untersucht". (2)

Section 1.
Leading up to Gamisards, Shakers etc. considered as predecessors of the Irvingites.

In the second chapter of the Introduction the Montanist doctrine of the Dispensation of the Spirit was explained. Such doctrines re-appeared throughout the Middle Ages, modified according to circumstances. Mention may be made of Joachim of Floris (1145-1202), (3) who taught that religion consisted of three dispensations:— (1) The

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(2) Eddison Mosimann. "Das Zungenreden". (Tubingen. 1911)
(3) See Article, Encyclopaedia Britannica. Vol. 15. 11th Ed. Also Renan's Essay on Joachim di Flore, in "Leaders of Christian and Anti-Christian Thought".
The age of the Father - "The Law" - "The letter" - obedience (comparable to the stars). "The vestibule".

(2) The age of the Son, intermediate between letter and spirit - grace and faith (comparable to the moon). An age of study - the teaching of Jesus enigmatical. "The Holy Place".

(3) "Plena spiritus libertas" - "The Spirit" - love - (comparable to the sun). An age of contemplation - "Then shall we see face to face". "The Holy of Holies".

The above scheme is fitted into contemporary history. Laymen and clergy are God's instruments in the first two stages, monks in the final culmination. The initiation period begins with St. Benedict: the actual age of the Spirit is to open in A.D. 1260, the Church ("mulier amicta sole" - Rev. 12,1.) remaining in the wilderness 1260 days.

Joachim's bias was strongly anti-Papal, and his "Eternal Gospel" exerted great influence over the Franciscan "Spirituals", who found consolation in his fiery Apocalyptic denunciation of the Church. Similar ideas were held by certain groups of sixteenth century Anabaptists, the framework being scriptural instead of mediaeval, and in a modified form the early Quakers during the English Commonwealth embraced "the Gospel of the Spirit".

The Quakers had no elaborate theory as to the ushering in of a Dispensation of the Spirit in such-and-such a year in their own time. They simply believed that the centuries which separated them from the Apostolic Age constituted a gigantic interpolation, which had to be removed. Fox claimed for every soul the privilege of receiving the truth at first hand from the fount; he had "openings", gleams of light direct from God. Led by the Spirit, and liberated from the letter of the Word and from the authority of man-made Ministry and Creeds and Sacraments, Christians might exercise the gifts of the Apostolic Age, heal the sick, and even overcome sin in this life.

If the form of Irvingism was Millenarian, we may say that its content at many points recalls early Quakerism. Baxter and other
Irvingites were conscious of being specially 'called' by God. Fox accomplished what Baxter intended, but failed to do: "Thou seeest how young people go together into vanity and old people into the earth; thou must forsake all. Then, at the command of God, on the ninth day of the seventh month, 1643, I left my relations and broke off all familiarity or fellowship with old or young."

The experience of Marmaduke Stevenson (a Quaker Boston Martyr of 1659) bears an even closer resemblance to Baxter's numerous revelations, in matter and style: "In 1655 I was at the plough in Yorkshire, old England; and as I walked after the plough, I was filled with the love and presence of the living God. As I stood, the word of the Lord came to me in a still, small voice - 'I have ordained thee a prophet unto the nations' and at the hearing of the word of the Lord I was put to a stand, seeing that I was but a child in such a weighty matter. So, at the time appointed, Barbadoes was set before me, unto which I was required of the Lord to go."

"George Fox's Journal is full of picturesque realistic phrases like 'The Lord's power broke forth', 'those that were in the power'. So when on one occasion he was 'moved to pray', 'the Lord's power was so great that the house seemed to be shaken'. "(2)

As a result we have 'burdens' and prophecies on Old Testament analogy:

"Then I was commanded by the Lord to pull off my shoes. I stood still, for it was winter; and the word of the Lord was like a fire in me. So I put off my shoes... 'Woe to the bloody city of Lichfield'. "(3)

Compare the agonised cry of a "gifted sister" at Regent Square: "Do you not know that it burneth in the bone - burneth in the bone?" (4)

Fox seems to have had an uncanny insight into the future, for many of his predictions came true: Baxter's, on the other hand, fell flat - except in minor cases of likely coincidence:

Thus in 1653, "Being one day at Swarthmore Hall... I was moved to toll Justice Fell and Justice Benson... that before that day two weeks the parliament would be broken up, and the speaker plucked out of his chair. And that day two weeks, Justice Benson coming thither again, told Justice Fell that now he saw George was a true prophet, for Oliver had broken up the parliament." Again, "When some forward spirits among us would have bought Somerset House for meetings, I forbade; for I then foresaw the king's coming in again." (1658) (5)

(2) J. V. Bartlet, 'Bea's Commentary'. p. 638.
(3) Willink, p. 55.
Both among the Friends and in Irvingism, (1) messages delivered in the power, which had no obvious occasion, must often have been eruptions from the subconscious, e.g. Fox gave a reason for his judgment on Lichfield - a thousand martyrs had fallen there under Diocletian. The reason was a horror of the city probably arising from a subconscious memory of what he must have heard in childhood from his mother (of martyr stock), concerning a woman burnt at Lichfield during the reign of 'bloody Mary', - a woman who came from a village near a place where he had lived. Baxter's sudden outburst, when the Court of Chancery was mentioned, "There go I, thence to the prison house!" was likewise so unexpected, that the Court must have had some unpleasant associations (family litigations? 'sharp practice') - which had been "repressed" in his subconscious mind. (2)

The Quakers, in spite of occasional fanatical outbreaks, provoked to no small extent by their persecutors, (3) seem to have brooded in silence before breaking out "in the power", seeking to ascertain the will of God. Irvingite revelations, rebukes, and injunctions were too facile, too subjective. We find no Irvingite parallel to the action of Woolman, the eighteenth century American Quaker: - "One day, being under a strong exercise of the Spirit, I stood up and said some words in a meeting; but not keeping close to the Divine opening, I said more than was required of me. Being soon sensible of my error, I was afflicted some weeks. Being thus humbled, my understanding became more strengthened to distinguish the pure spirit which inwardly moves on the heart, and which taught me to wait in silence sometimes many weeks together, until I felt that rise which prepares the creature to speak like a trumpet through which the Lord speaks to His flock...I was taught to watch the true opening, and take heed lest my own will got uppermost, and cause me to utter words from worldly wisdom." (4)

Irvingites tended to accept utterances "in the power" as divine simply because of the manner in which they had been uttered, - ascribing them to flesh or the devil when not in accord with the general feeling of the conclave, or when too absurd or too blasphemous.

(1) Yorkshire was a stronghold of the Friends. Baxter, whose phraseology resembles so closely Fox's at times, was a Yorkshireman. It would be interesting if Quaker blood could be proved to have run in his veins or his family some generations earlier. For it was in the eighteenth century that the Society of Friends for a time decayed.


(3) Fox was overwrought with six months imprisonment before uttering the doom on Lichfield.

Quakerism is curiously connected with the Camisards(1) referred to in the last chapter. Primitive traits of a motor type - fits, trembling and staggering had made their appearance during the persecution which followed the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The stages were: (1) avertissement, (2) souffle, (3) prophétie, (4) dons. The subject, after several fasts, three days in length, became pale and fell insensible on the ground. Then came violent agitations of limbs and head, as Voltaire said - "quite according to the ancient custom of all nations and the rules of madness transmitted from age to age". Then the patient would say in the French of the Huguenot Bible - "Mes frères, amendez-vous, faites penitence, la fin du monde approche, le jugement général sera dans trois mois; repentez-vous du grand péché que vous avez commis d’aller à la messe; c’est le Saint-Esprit qui parle par ma bouche."(2)

The discourse might go on for two hours; after which the patient could only express himself in his native patois, - a Romance idiom, - and had no recollection of his "ecstasy". This inspired speaking was associated with guiding lights in the sky, encouraging mystical voices, while shots and wounds were often harmless. "The supernatural was part of their life." An intense and living faith, accompanied by fasting and absorption in apocalyptic literature, and stimulated by ceaseless persecution had produced these by-products of sensory and motor automatisms.

In 1706 several of the "French Prophets" visited London and excited much curiosity. On the protest of the consistory of the French church at the Savoy against "cette secte impie et extravagante", they were tried at the Guildhall, and in spite of Misson's(3) defence that the spirit which caused Balaam's ass to speak could speak

(1) It is worth noting that after the publication of the Bull Unigenitus in 1713, and the consequent flight of the leaders to Holland, those who remained in France suffered persecution. The result was apocalyptic prophecy, speaking in tongues, the excesses of the convulsionnaires, and the alleged cures at the grave of deacon Paris. Thus persecution aroused fanatical ecstasy, whether the victims were Protestants or Catholics.


(3) Author of the valuable "Théâtre Sacré des Gévénois". Tr. 1707. "A Cry From the Desert" by John Lacy.
through these prophets from the Cevennes, several were condemned to pillory and stocks. Speaking in unknown tongues, miraculous healing, and foretelling were associated with their activities. Voltaire(1) tells how one Marion wished to prove his inspiration by attempting to raise the dead body of Thomas Emes; he was finally compelled to leave England. They made several hundred converts, among them Fatio, a member of the Royal Society of London but "with a great fondness for astrology and tainted with enthusiasm"(2), and John Lacy a member of Dr. Calamy's congregation, whose eccentricity stopped short of surrendering an income of £2000 per annum. Dr. Calamy gave the following account of Lacy:-(3) "I went into the room and taking him by the hand lifted it up, when it fell flat upon his knees. He took no notice of me; but I observed the humming noise grow louder and louder by degrees, and the heaving in his breast increase, till it came up to his throat, as if it would have suffocated him. And then he at last began to speak, or, as he would have it taken, the Spirit spoke in him. The speech was symbolical, and there was a distinct heave and breathe between each syllable; but it required attention to distinguish the words. When the speech was over, the humming and heaving gradually abated, and I again took him by the hand, and felt his pulse, which moved pretty quick, but I could not perceive by his hands anything like sweating."

In the early eighteenth century an offshoot from Quakerism adopted the principles of the "French Prophets", and organised a society at Manchester under James and Ann Wardley. But the real founder of "Shakerism" was Ann Lee, daughter of a Manchester blacksmith (1736-84). She was frequently imprisoned for shouting and dancing in ecstasy on the Sabbath, and when examined by four clergymen spoke for four hours in seventy-two languages! Acknowledged by 1770 as "the Mother in spiritual things" of "The Millennial Church" or "United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing", she took a select band to America in 1774, following a "revelation". A community was then organised on a communistic basis in New York State. "Ann-the-Word" was regarded as the female manifestation of Christ - the bride ready for the Bridegroom at the Second Coming, God being regarded as bi-sexual.(3)

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(1) Siècle de Louis XIV. c. 36.
(2) See "Anti-Cabala's" pamphlet for comparison with Irvingism.
(3) Ency. Brit. 11th Ed. Vol. 25. 771. Compare (1750-1814) Joanna Southcott, whose views regarding her special mission also rose out of Second Advent hopes, believing herself to be the mother of "the Prince of Peace" (Rev. 12). The fact that she is said to have had 100,000 adherents in England is some indication of popular suggestibility. (Ency. Brit. 25. 506) v. Baxter p. 142.
In 1838 the Gift of Tongues appeared, but the spirits after warning, are said to have left the Believers.

Dr. Dwight (1) gives a description of a visit to a Shaker village in the western part of New York State. (1799) They believed themselves to be under the immediate guidance of the Spirit, made known to them by an involuntary extension of the right arm, which they followed (one man being thus directed to a hog-trough, where he regaled himself).

"In their worship they sang in an 'unknown tongue'; it was a succession of unmeaning sounds, frequently repeated, half-articulated, and plainly gotten by heart, for they all uttered the same sounds in succession. (tune "Mary Dawson"). The gesticulations of the women were violent, and so often practised that it made them goggle-eyed, suffused their eyes with blood, and made them appear like persons just recovering from a disease. The motions of the men were very moderate - rather condescendingly than earnestly made. I observed 'that the sounds could not be words, as they were not articulate'. One woman replied: 'How dost thee know, but that we speak the Hotmatot language? The language of the Hotmatots is said to be made up of such sort of words'. I challenged them to speak Greek or Latin or French - but they were silent."

It will therefore be seen that during the eighteenth century alone, glossolalia and cognate manifestations broke out sporadically, the symptoms being strangely similar to those among the Irvingites. The parallel between the woman last mentioned and Mary Campbell's is alone a close one - "the language of the Hotmatots and Fellow Islanders"!

(1) "Anti-Cabala's Morning Visit."
Section 2.

Glossolalia in America and elsewhere in the nineteenth century and later.

America is proverbially notorious as a breeding-ground of peculiar sects, arising from a thin 'mental atmosphere' and stimulated by sensationalism. It is not therefore surprising to find (1) that "the gift of tongues" has been revived in communities not pre-eminent in culture and historical perspective.

(2) Glossolalia has been facilitated by the mixture of races and languages so characteristic of America. Thus trappers would identify the "unknown tongue" of Mormon ecstasies as snatches of Indian dialects. In the case of Mormonism, (1) the chief factor was the hypnotic personality of leaders like Joseph Smith and Rigdon. In other circles the external factor has not bulked so large as the cause of manifestations.

A wave of Pentecostal enthusiasm swept over certain communities in America in 1906, starting with a negro prayer-meeting in Los Angeles. (2) So far, glossolalia had been described either by "gifted persons" or by commonsense critics who could only gauge the manifestations bluntly. America was fortunate in rearing a school of religious psychology towards the end of the nineteenth century; and Mr Frederick G. Henke in 1906 collected valuable facts from five places in Chicago relative to glossolalia.

A short service of song would provide a suitable atmosphere. No sooner had a man started exposition of Scripture than the manifestations began. Suddenly the leader, working up automatic action of his head and shoulders, seized the reader by the shoulder and said he would now 'take over'. There were requests for prayer for indiv-

(1) Davenport. p. 188 & p. 267.
idual cases (e.g. "for a man who don't believe anyone") A coloured man rises: "I feel a burning inside in the inner man like a coal of fire!"

There is an ecstatic response from the congregation, numbering about 300 - shouting, 'jerks', screaming. A woman begins in a 'tongue', and passes into singing in a 'tongue', improvising her tunes; an 'interpretation' is then given in Scriptural phraseology - "The Lord is the strength of my life - of whom shall I be fearful? The Lord is my light and my salvation - whom shall I fear?" After fifteen or twenty testimonies, the leader preaches, dwelling on the mechanical nature of the power; like Irving he stresses baptism in the Spirit. "The head, the understanding cannot perceive the Holy Ghost. He must enter the heart, the fleshly valvular heart. The Holy Ghost came in through my legs, November 20th, 1905. (1)

Those seeking for "the Baptism of the Spirit" were then asked to gather in a back room for prayer; those seeking for conversion or healing, to kneel at the 'altar'.

Henke concluded that like Pentecost, the Chicago outpouring of the Spirit was a genuine result of "expectation, preparedness and fellowship in prayer", combined with primitive belief in possession (2).

As far as "unknown tongues" were concerned, he could recognise one of the six languages with which he was acquainted. The novice would babble or screech "yah-yah-yeh-yeh-yah-yah-yah": the expert would form syllables which he would tend to repeat, e.g. "kah-tah-lah-see-ah; oh-nee-see-nee-neh. There were degrees of suggestibility, those in the lowest stage of culture being the first to give away to "the power". There was a constant tendency to imitate leaders or moving spirits who had the most violent automata. The atmosphere was electric. A stove fell with a crash as "Elder Sinclair" (who claimed to be the first in Chicago to be baptised with the Spirit) preached.

He stopped. On his way back to the pulpit he remarked: "We can ex-

(1) e.g. One man felt the Holy Spirit coming in through his side, another (a negro) through his mouth.

(2) "Automatic speech, automatic deeds of extraordinary strength or skill, uncontrolled rage in battle, epilepsy, even random spasmodic contractions and contentless trances were interpreted as possession by a god or spirit." (Henke - G.A. Coo quoted).
pect 'most anything these days. I wouldn't be surprised if Jesus would come just as unexpectedly.'

Excitement is raised to the highest possible pitch, and there is screaming, laughing, and shouting in 'tongues'.

Henke's account of the "Pentecostal Experience" of Rev. A.E. Street is illuminating. "Some twelve years ago I began to long for Pentecost as described in the Bible and all these years have been praying for that baptism... About a year ago the burden of prayer became greater... night after night." He had a determined struggle to stop his own thoughts and desires, "to reach the lower part of the valley of humiliation and be empty in thought."

He finally went to the Mission at 328 W. 63rd St., Chicago, asking but one question, Why did he not receive baptism? He was prayed for, and told that he need only wait. As he knelt at the altar on Sunday afternoon March 17th, the "power seized" him and he laughed through the following Communion Service. About 11 p.m. he knelt with a few friends when his "body was used" to laugh at the top of his voice for over half an hour. On rising, he found he had rolled over on to the floor. Kneeling, he felt his jaws being worked by a strange force.

"In a few seconds some baby gibberish was uttered, then a few words in Chinese that I understood, and then several sentences in a strange tongue. This turned into singing."

"On Wednesday morning... I began to sing the heavenly music at the top of my voice the entire half hour while I was in the bathtub."

On Thursday night I was awakened out of my sleep and began to pray for the gift of Interpretation. After a few words the prayer was taken out of my mouth. For an hour I received a lesson in interpreting. A word was given in a strange tongue. This was followed by its English meaning and the two were repeated until it was plain that they meant the same. From that hour whenever anyone speaks in tongues the interpretation comes if I ask it."

Henke concludes that the phenomena he described (1) agree both as to the origin and experience with the description of similar phenomena in the New Testament, (2) and that they are a recrudescence of psychic phenomena on a low stage of culture. (1)

(1) For similar cases, see Hosimam, p. 70 ff.
In 1907 a revival in Cassel and other parts of Germany pro-
duced the common bodily effects. (1) There, insistence on the Holy
spirit's activity was combined with literalism, - a combination noted
in connection with Irvingism, e.g. Abnormal phenomena were attributed
to evil spirits because those seized with the "power" fell on their
backs, while David, Paul and John fell on their faces.

Pastor Paul (editor of "Die Heiligung") had heard of speaking
in tongues in Norway and America. (2) He visited Norway, was impress­
ed, and as a result of a fresh study of I Corinthians, was himself
"seized with the power" (Sept. 15th, 1907) Singing in tongues be­
came one of his accomplishments, the tune of some familiar hymn (as
in the case of the Shakers) getting filled out with new syllables in
rhythm, e.g. Schua ea, shua ea,
 0 tachi biro ti ra pea
Akki lungo ta ri fungo/ u li hara to ra tungo/
latschi bungo ti tu ta. (3)

Pastor Paul's mentality may be gauged by the fact that com­
parison of these hymns 'in zungen' with the German of the hymn usual­
ly sung to the given tune, convinced him that - "ich habe etwas von
der himmlischen sprache gelernt".

J.B. Pratt, (4) who describes the utterances of Pastor Paul, re­
lates that he was present at a meeting in Chicago in 1910, but never
heard anything so elaborate, though singing in tongues was not un­
common.

Glossolalia has not always been limited to ignorant and cred­
ligent in the highest degree, and perfectly reliable to me as my
right hand, who was present at a rather private gathering assembled
to pray, relates that after one of the brethren had been speaking in
a strain of discouraging self-accusation, another present shortly
rose, with a strangely beaming look, and, fixing his eye on the con­
fessing brother, broke out in a discourse of sounds, wholly unintel­
ligible, though apparently a true language, accompanying the utter­
ance with a very strange and peculiarly expressive gesture, such as
he never made at any other time; coming finally to a kind of pause,

(1) "All automatism, psychologically considered, are fundamentally
  equivalent. They are closely related and form a group, the unity
  of which should be recognised." (Cutten. p. 161).
(2) Glossolalia is not infrequently practised in the German Sect "Die
  neu apostolische Kirche".
(3) Rociman. "Das Zungenreden" p. 79. Compare Irvingite hymn in un­
    known tongue. Thesis p. 77.
and commencing again as if at the same point, to go over again in English, with exactly the same gestures, what had just been said. It appeared to be an interpretation, and the matter of it was, a beautifully emphatic utterance of the principle of self-renunciation.

"There had been no conversation respecting gifts of any kind, and no reference to their possibility." The circle were 'put out' by the demonstration, "not knowing what to make of it". "The instinct of prudence threw them on observing a general silence." (1)

An individual and unexpected case such as Bushnell's is much more baffling than glossolalia in mass movements, in polyglot communities - such as the French village near the Swiss Frontier where "speaking in tongues" was popularly ascribed to demoniacal possession but proved by Professor Tissot of Dijon Medical Faculty to be simply the upsurge of fragments of Latin (the Mass) and German (contact with German-speaking Swiss over the border). (2)

Section 3.

Glossolalia in the Mission Field.

It is in Eastern lands that the original conditions of Pentecost have been most approximately fulfilled.

News of the revival in Wales in 1906 reached the Welsh missionaries in India among the Khassia Hills. Whereupon Pandita Ramabai, a high-caste'widow, organised girls' prayer meetings twice daily, which by June were attended by five hundred and fifty; thirty she persuaded to preach in the villages round about. At last a tongue of fire was seen to rest on the head of a senior girl, whose companions ran for water, thinking she was on fire. Both natives and missionaries experienced a "burning within", - "the fire of the Holy Ghost". An American missionary at Mukti wrote (17th November 1905):- "This morning a little girl gave me the verse Luke 12.49, which was greatly

(1) Bushnell. p. 356.
(2) A.D. White. "A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology". p. 159 ff. (Arabic was asserted to have been spoken; but there was no evidence to prove it.)
blessed to me. "A flood of fire poured on my head, and this afternoon it burned inside. I am having it now...The burning inside is rather hard to bear. It has taken my physical strength away, but I am thankful for that."

To Mr Ellis, Special Correspondent of the "Chicago Daily News", Pandita Ramabai replied, in answer to a question:-

"I have heard girls who know no English at all utter beautiful prayers in your tongue. I have heard others pray in Greek and Hebrew and Sanskrit, and others again in languages that none of us understand."(2)

The revival spread in West and South India, glossolalia being associated with visions, special revelations, trances, exorcism and falling on the ground. The obscurantism which we have found so often entwined with Pentecostal Movements in Europe and America, was evident also in India. Missionaries of ability and tested piety were set aside in favour of illiterates, whose sole qualification was corybantic frenzy. (Henke)

But the symptoms so characteristic of glossolalia have occurred in places where no imitation of New Testament models has been possible, e.g. in the interior of China.

"The subject is often thrown into violent paroxysms", a missionary from China relates;(3) "and falls senseless on the ground.

And the most striking characteristic of these cases everywhere is that

(1) Compare, e.g. Thesis, Ps. 80, 103, 177.
the subject evidences another personality, and the normal personality, for the time being is partially or wholly dormant."

The following description is taken from an article in the Fukhien Witness:-(1) Once the spirit enters the body - "the man's eyes close tightly, his whole body trembles, his hands and feet continually move, his hair loosens from the braid - then he begins to speak, and is able to talk, not only in his own dialect, but in others as well."

"Any religion can make people 'speak with tongues'".

The Shakers in Nigeria. (2)

In the Qua Ibôe district in Southern Nigeria a strange movement began about the middle of 1927, and Miss Lois Beyeridge of Iktô Òbôn in her letters speaks of it reaching her district in the month of October. "We had heard curious tales about "the Shakers" or 'spirit people' as they call themselves. Then one day when the missionary was attending to his ordinary work a band of men and women invaded his house singing and shouting and leaping about wildly. As this conduct continued for several days he sent for the police. The chief offenders were flogged and since then his house has been left more or less in peace. The chief symptom of the seizure is a violent trembling of the whole body, quite uncontrollable in many cases, the eyes staring vacantly; and the people possessed rush about wildly with outstretched arms and a strange floating movement as if they were flying. And they shout.

(1) Quoted, Davenport, p. 237. The article was published (June 1904) at Anglo-Chinese College, Foochow.
(2) I am indebted for this to the Rev. John Beveridge, B.D., N.B.E.
'Yes! yes! yes!' in English in a curious staccato manner, or detached phrases in Efik conveying no particular meaning. They go about in bands singing senseless scraps of verses. "I am the true vine and my Father is the husbandman" repeated over and over as a sort of chant (in Efik) is a very common one. They remain in the churches day and night without ceasing, sleeping in detachments on the forms as they become exhausted, and sallying forth in bands as the 'Spirit' moves them. Most extraordinary rumours are abroad of people walking up trees backwards or doing other impossible feats. A person seized by 'the spirit' is often unable to move from the spot for hours and remains grovelling on the ground or sitting in the water of the spring till the paroxysm passes - which is said to be when he confesses his sins. The non-church natives are affected more than the church people. One sees whole troops of young boys and girls, their whole bodies shaking violently. Whatever 'the Spirit' says the whole crowd does blindly. Jujus and charms are being gathered and burnt wholesale; but beyond that there seems to be very little good that we can see. In some places the 'spirit people' have begun pointing out individuals who practise witchcraft, and they tie them up until they confess. At least three deaths have resulted so far, and one man accused of witchcraft has killed two of his accusers. The Itu prison is full and the District Officer has sent for a detachment of police who are now patrolling the district where the deaths have occurred, some six or eight miles from Iköt Obön. It is reported that the police have burnt down one of the church buildings. I don't know if it is the effect of that but two villages which we have just visited seem to have gone back to normal. Our Iköt Obön district itself has
remained untouched but very few places in the district have remained unaffected. It is a curious business altogether.

(Later) "My colleague and I should have been out at a big class for sewing and reading this morning. Last week the place was in such a ferment of excitement that we could not carry on the class and so we told the women that we would not return until they sent us word that things were normal again. It is like a revival movement gone mad. It has very many undesirable elements, and we are doing our best to get the steadier church people to keep it within reasonable bounds. There have been no further casualties since the police arrived.

"The latest development of the movement is the discovery of 'holy water' at various places, and clay with miraculous healing properties when smeared over the body. At the place where our morning meeting was held there was a little booth of palm leaf at the back of the church. A crowd of old women were waiting for 'the holy water medicine'. It was handed out in a little cup. It was done in a very quiet and orderly fashion and the 'medicine' was given for nothing, which was somewhat surprising.

"When I got home from my outstation I found that my colleague had been having some excitement. A party of 'shakers' had tried to get into the church but the elders refused them admission and had come to the mission house in a great state of excitement. Finally the unwelcome visitors had departed. A neighbouring village has now got 'the spirit' and for the last week shouting and singing have continued all night long with only occasional short respites. None of the church people have joined in yet and most of those affected are children. It has affected the school attendance badly this week."
Iköt Òbôn itself seems to be almost the only place still free of the movement. It has spread to the Primitive Methodist Mission at Iköt Ekpene where Mr Groves is having a lot of trouble with it."

(There has been no reference to these "shakers" since February so in Miss Beveridge’s district it is causing no more trouble.)

Section 4.

Cases of Psychic Automatism.

We have seen that Glossolalia has appeared not merely in Europe and America in the nineteenth century in Christian communities, but also among pagans in ancient times and in our own day, where no knowledge of Pentecost has existed to act as a lever. We must add to these, cases on the fringe of the domain of Psychical Research.

We may take as example the study of the medium Helène Smith, described by Professor Flournoy of Geneva, and cited by Eddison Mosiman(1) "Des Indes à la planète Mars... un cas de Somnambulisme avec glossolalie". (1900) Here we have "secondary personality", combined with what F. H. Myers called "Retro-Cognition"; Helène considered herself a reincarnation of Marie Antoinette, and of the Hindu princess Simandini, giving vivid descriptions of the scenes in which she had figured, in the latter case indulging in glossolalia in which certain Sanskrit words could be recognised, e.g. "gaya vayayani gaya pritiya kriya gayani i gaya mamata gaya mamā nāvā mamā patti sā gaya gandaryo gaya ityani vasanta .............."(2)

(1) "Das Zungenreden: geschichtlich und psychisch untersucht". p. 94
(2) Ibid. p. 97.
She also uttered, with "interpretation", words purporting to be Martian: e.g.

Men mess Astane ce ames e vi itech li tes alize
Ami grand Astane, je viens a toi toujours par cet element
neumi assile ka inanine ezi atev ni le fazie
mysterieux immense qui enveloppe mon etre et me lance
e vi med ieex ezine rabrix ni tibrax
a toi pour toutes mes pensees et besoins:

This "Mars-Sprache" has been described as "du Francais déguise". "Cet idiose fantastiste est evidentement l'oeuvre naive et quelque peu puerile d'une imagination enfantine qui s'est mis en tete de creer une langue nouvelle, et qui, tout en donnant a ses elucubrations des apparences baroques et inedites, les a coulees sans s'en douter dans les moules accoutumées, de la seule langue réelle dont elle eût connaissance."(1)

Of great interest is the case of Albert Le Baron, communicated by William James to the Society for Psychical Research, - "a case of Psychic automatism, including 'speaking with tongues!'"(2)

Mr Le Baron, a literary man of forty nine, in an autobiographical narrative, describes how he spent the summer of 1894 at "Shelter Island" in a camp of mystics and Spiritualists, whose leader was a lady named Evangel. "The World's Congress of Religions had reawakened the hope of a new chemistry of civilization", - a synthesis of East and West. But Le Baron could not be described as a dreamy enthusiast. He had fortified himself by bringing a copy of Kant's "Critique". "Of practical spiritualism I knew nothing."

At a seance held at midnight under a pine tree..."suddenly an entirely new and strange psycho-automatic force shook through me like a gust of fierce wind through a tree. I willod myself into a state of passivity in order to observe the phenomena."

(1) "Das Zungenreden: geschichtlich und psychologisch untersucht", p.96.
(2) S.P.R. (277-297).
He went into no trance, but motor violence affected his limbs and he was brought down on the flat of his back. "My mouth made automatic movements; till, in a few seconds I was distinctly conscious of another's voice - unearthly, awful, loud and weird - bursting through the woodland from my own lips, with the despairing words: 'Oh! My People!' Mutterings of semi-purposive prophecy followed. I was so dazed that I had to be assisted to my feet." (There were several witnesses)

On another occasion, as he was lying on a sofa where Evangel's mother had lain on her last illness, - a woman's voice "came through his lips. Her dead mother's dog, Barry, at once began smelling his face. "He smells her!" whispered Evangel. In a few minutes the voice of the psycho-automatism changed from a woman's into a man's. "It's father!" whispered Evangel again. (1)

The result was a "conversion". Mr Le Baron exchanged Kant for Zoroaster. (2)

Mr Le Baron, on leaving Shelter Island, had a number of revelations, to be at certain places at certain hours, (3) e.g. he was to be at the door of the church near the old house in the town of Stowe, Vermont, at sunrise. (He had never heard of this place, but Evangel knew it). He went, and "the psycho-automatism indicated an ejection of verbiage - ("In the grave deific stylo - known to the occidental English-speaking world") He received other revelations to go to Seville, Spain, to China etc.

The following resonant utterance with its marked antithesis, is typical of his utterances in English:

"I have seen thee in glory, and I have seen thee in shame!
I have seen thee in light, and I have seen thee in darkness!
I have seen thee in peace, and I have seen thee in terror.
etc. etc. (4)

Sometimes the utterance was reminiscent of the Bible:

"I shall be glorified in the work of the people, for thou

(1) F. E. N. E. E. O. One night Le Baron slept on Evangel's father's bed, and limped next day. Evangel's father had been lame.
(2) Taplin likewise reacted from Deism, and Baxter from conventional ecclesiasticism, to Irvingism.
(3) S. P. R. XII. 285.
(4) Ibid. 285.
hast proved thyself to be the man whose voice is the voice of Him who sent thee. Thou hast obeyed the command of the Holy one, and the valleys shall rejoice in the hope and joy of the Lord."

It seems that Le Baron had an intense craving for the vague optimistic philosophy-and-water popularised by R.W. Trine and other less eminent writers, just as the Irvingites craved for the 'gifts' of the Apostolic Church. "Can I via psycho-automatism, ascend into the uncreated essence of thought - to the Mind of Minds - and perchance snatch down some new metaphysical conception helpful to the lower world?"

His experiences differed, however, from "dédoublément de la personnalite" in that it did not appear to be a case of subliminal consciousness, nor of supra-normal intellectual faculty, but rather a "purely extraneous psycho-physical spontaneity or automatism".

On Sunday morning, 30th September 1894, he suddenly broke off into an unknown tongue in the course of receiving a message, in a New York suburb. Frequent messages, with translations, were henceforth received. Here are specimens: - "Te rumeto tau. Iloe loto leelo scale. Impe re scelo lee luto. Onko keere scete tere lute. Oombo te scale te bere te kure. Sinte te lute sinte Kuru. Orumo imbo impe rute scetele. Singe, singe, singe, eru. Imba, Imba, Imba."

Many of the utterances suggest a re-incarnation of an Egyptian princess - Simandini; "Egypto-Mome su u Ra. Ere mete su onko in te. Ama tu telee. Oumbe te senete su u Ra. Inter pelee te tete. Oombo 0 sceuntri. Intoneo duro sinte. Mome su u Ra...."

The interpretation being: - "0 son of Ra! I have come to thee! The truth has come! I have come to thee, 0 son of Ra! See the truth in me.... The truth has long been hidden from thee!"

Another revelation: - "I have seen all thy ways, 0 son of the Nile... My heart opens to thy heart... Thy sands are now the way of the stranger... Thy day shall rise again." (1)

(1) Verse is found also, as in other Glossolalia movements, e.g. "I do peluti konde nodede Impe odode inguru lalele
Ila tepeto kompto pele Omodo resene okoro pododo etc,"
It is a significant fact that Evangel possessed a talisman ring from Egypt.

Mr Le Baron, remarked William James, "was by no means willing to abandon the idea that his unintelligible vocal performances were involuntary reproductions of some ancient or unknown tongue.

The phonetic elements again in his case seemed English.

"I tried to make him believe (but all in vain) that the whole thing was a decidedly rudimentary form of motor automatism analogous to the scrawls of an 'undeveloped' automatically writing hand. He spent hours poring over grammars and vocabularies of African and Asiatic tongues. First it was Coptic, then Rommany, then something Dravidian. I corresponded with various philologists on his behalf, sending them specimens, phonetically written out, of his discourse. But no light came...."

Glossolalia has, however, differed in form in different communities. In America snatches of Red Indian dialects and of the languages of the various nationalities have been 'brought up'. The glossolalia of Hélène Smith bewrayed its French origin. Irvingite glossolalia bore a very obvious resemblance to Latin and Romance languages: this could not be said of the glossolalia of Mr Le Baron, which seems to be definitely non-Aryan. While factors other than subliminal operated in the case of Mr Le Baron, the subconscious also played its part. In Irvingite Glossolalia the predominance of the subconscious over other factors at work in producing Glossolalia, was very marked.

(1) Le Baron traced "a very large per cent of the words" to primitive Dravidian. (p. 294), e.g. Aru, aar, ama, adaba, asode, asomen, ariro, angora, barabu, bodo, bode, bote, bome, bero, belu, befo, bolo, boja, boed, bopo, belu, bile, butebon, bings, bode, bote etc. (through the alphabet).
Examination of phenomena drawn from varied sources leads us to conclude that Glossolalia (and cognate prophesying, predicting etc.) are in no sense uniquely Christian, but are to be found in every age, land, and stage of culture. The great fact of Pentecost, however, has so stamped itself on the Christian consciousness, that in practice such manifestations have followed its example in the great majority of cases that have been properly investigated.

"One cannot but note", says F.W.H. Myers in comparing Irvingite manifestations with the experiences of Mr Le Baron, "our present progress, yet with deep regret at the sad story of the past, the different way in which those so-called tongues were treated in Irving's time and in our own." "Several, at least of the speakers with tongues in Irving's congregation, were, I have no doubt, perfectly sincere; and Irving himself was, as all know, a man of probity and elevation.

"Yet his ignorance - his unavoidable ignorance of the phenomena of automatism landed him and his flock in natural mistake, but at last in obstinate credulity, and spoilt the close of a noble and high career.

"In Mr Le Baron's case, the automatist himself had the courage and candour to estimate his utterances in the calm light of science, in spite of strong subjective inducement to continue to assign to them a value which they did not possess. He had the good fortune, I need hardly add, to meet with a wise and gentle adviser, and the phenomenon which, if differently treated might have led on to the delusion of many, and perhaps to the insanity of one, became to the one a harmless experience, and to the other an acquisition of interesting psychological truth. If our Society shall continue to convert enthusiasm into science and peril into instruction, it will not have existed in vain."(1)

(1) S.P.R. XII. p. 297.