Suggestions for Corrections in the Thesis submitted for the Ph. D. Degree (theological) of the University of Edinburgh by Plato Ernest Oliver Shaw "The Cliclic Apostolic Church"

Page 5: line 4 "As to what the country-wide group had in mind."
Omit "as to".

Page 5 Note. Edward Irving is Aristo and not Anastasius in Dialogues on Prophecy. This is quite plain from internal evidence. Even a casual examination would have shown passages in which Irving is spoken flattering of by Anastasius, e.g. defending "Mr. Irving's book" Anastasius says "the man whom Dr. Chalmers declares from his personal knowledge to be "one whose talents, "whose colossal strength" etc. Also Anastasius says of a magazine that "it accuses "Mr. Irving of encouraging extravagance in the "building of the Scots' Church." Aristo (Irving) "relates in the third person, what was said to him "upon first coming to London" on delivering an introductory letter describing his reactions to what was said. Irving was sufficiently prominent in these conclaves at Albury as well as in "The Morning Watch", the organ of those meetings, to be distinguished as "Aristo" Wolff, though present, had no more grounds for knowing what each participant would be called in the Dialogues, of which Drummond was part-author, part-editor, than Cardale, who was more closely in touch with Drummond. P.E.O. Shaw repeats the statement in this Note from another writer on Edward Irving.

Page 57, line 2 "Bawling" (brawling)

Page 94 "worship had been changed at the supernatural "directions of the Apostles" i.e. in the interval of Irving's going to Annan to the Presbytery's
Corrections to P. E. O. Shaw's Thesis

meeting, and his return to London, a matter of ten days or so. At that time there was only one Apostle, Cardale.

Page 91  " with the appearance of the Apostles the movement took on a new character " See note above.

Page 97  " Irving's attitude after these events seems to be that of a man who has been crushed. The Catholic Apostolic Church views it as but the bowing of his willing faith and in recognition of the act of God: equally passible is the explanation that it was the act of a broken manunable now to resist forces... even Cardale in the course of denying precisely this accusation practically admits it " This passage is extremely obscure. What is the " act of God "? can Irving's " attitude " be called " an act "? What is the " accusation " which Cardale admits?

Page 99  " To regard the church as incomplete, i.e. " not as one of seven". ( should read " i.e. " only as one of seven " )

Page 90  Note " Miss Olivia Sparrow " should read Lady Olivia Sparrow.

Page 112  among the list of Protestant bodies claiming to work " miracles of healing " , the " Four Scare " Church which holds frequent services of healing, is not included.

Page 119  speaking of Charismata, " or later, " especially " Joan of Arc and her voices, George Fox and the early Quakers, Wesley's experiences, " Emmanuel Swedenborg, Joanna Southcott, " Shakers, and the revivals of more recent years". The far more strange, and well-documented cases of the Cévennois " camisards", 1692-1708, are not included in this list.

Page 119  " It is in this spirit that people hailed the coming " of the Charismata. This however should not be " confined to modern times". should read " these " however have not been confined to modern times."

Page 130  " of Mr. Cardale, Mr. W. W. Andrews writes" should read " of the death of Mr. Cardale " efc.
Corrections to P. E. O. Shaw's Thesis

Page 132 Statement that Thomas Carlyle (of Chelsea) "visited Drummond, thanks to the interest of Irving", T.C. only dined with Drummond, as the visit to Albury (see T.C. Reminiscences "Edward Irving") was a failure, T.C. arriving there to find it was the wrong day and Drummond not there.

Page 134 Line 5 "By this time four more Apostles had been called" No antecedent time mentioned.

Page 142 Line 2 "Though he was a layman, he was elected Apostle 1835". In what sense was he a layman in which Cardale and Drummond were not "laymen" too? Does Shaw mean that McKenzie was not a deacon or elder?

Page 161 Statement that E. Irving was ordained Angel on the 5th. of April 1831 should read 1833.

Page 165 Note "Besides the Angel there are 6 elders, 6 evangelists, 6 pastors, and 7 deacons, with a help for each. Only the imposition of this tithe could enable these to be supported". This conveys the impressions that all these officials of the Church receive payment, which is not the case.

Page 176 Line 19 "getting at rest" (setting at rest?)

Page 119 Note 1.11 "whereas" should read as well as?

Page 230 Line 18 "distract the Christian world, i.e. Either taking no account of denominational differences". Omit either?

Page 297 Line 21 Shaw comments that the meetings which were a great success. "There seems to have been quite a little cause at Ottawa and Hull" For Cause read company? cf. p. 270 "There was by this time quite a company in New York"

APPENDIX I. Letter dated London April 1835 Should read 1833
Corrections to P.E.O. Shaw's Thesis

Appendix IV. line 41 Percival for Ferceval. (correctly spelt on pages 97 and 216)

Appendix XII. line 39 "Works of the covenant" should read "words of the covenant"?

Appendix XVII "provide the poor" shd. read "provide for the poor"

Appendix XXII "the very night the elders first ministered to the people in their places last night, the "elders"... full stop needed after "places"

Bibliography line 8 "Talbot Read a Poem passed so as to form a pamphlet" for "passed" read "pasted"?

Bibliography page 13 one work by Thomas Carlyle of Chelsea interposed among those by Thomas Carlyle of the C.A. Church

Bibliography page 19 No indication made if H. Drummond's "Narrative" was ever published, or whether it was privately printed.

Bibliography No mention of "Dialogues on Prophecy" under H. Drummond. "Miller" should read Rev. E. Miller, M.A.
p. 20 Mr. D. Dow should read Rev. D. Dow

Professor Shaw seems unaware of the Clement Boase Collection in the British Museum Library. Several books of newspaper cuttings from 1830 onwards would have aided him. Had he been a Reader there, he would have had access to probably all Henry Drummond's, J.B.Cardale's and W.H.Caird's writings, there would have been no need to use a typescript of Drummond's "Narrative." Robert Baxter's Appendices, and "Irvingism" are there in duplicate. The Bibliography is not informative of the source from which he obtained access to the Apostles' Minutes of Conference.
ADDITIONAL NOTES BY AN AUTHORITATIVE MEMBER OF THE
"Catholic Apostolic Church" who has endorsed the Errata noted by E.F.Hall.

Page 6 "Apostles's Coadjutor," is the term, not "Apostle-Coadjutor".

For Deacon read Under Deacon, who is not ordained but receives a "blessing" for his work.

Page 38 Correct names to, Spencer Perceval, John Tudor, John Bayford Edward Taplin, not Ernest Taplin.

Page 135 Baxter was not the only one to mention the three and a half years to July 1835.
THE "CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC" CHURCH

(sometimes called "Irvingite")

A HISTORICAL STUDY

by

P. E. O. SHAW.

THESIS submitted to the University of Edinburgh, Faculty of Divinity, for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.
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THE "CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC" CHURCH
(sometimes called "Irvingite")

AN HISTORICAL STUDY

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

The subject, as the title suggests, is being concerned with a Religious Organization which exists to the present time. The treatment is in no way controversial. There has been too much written in that spirit about the Church in question, and the Catholic Apostolic Group consider that the comments made have been unfair. The object here is to give rather a descriptive account of the Church, its history and its ways.

This is, in other words, a section of Church History scarcely written on so far. An exception is a work by Edward Miller, which is useful, particularly the first volume, but is old, is for the clear purpose of proving an Anglo-Catholic thesis, and therefore is to be taken with caution. There is no book of any size for Presbyterian or Nonconformist readers generally, yet they have a definite place in the programme of the Catholic Apostolic Group. Some other books usually cited as bearing on the subject are so biassed that it
will be advisable to leave them on one side in the discussion of the subject, and only to mention them in the Bibliography.

The Catholic Apostolic Group is still extant, though the fact is perhaps little realised. It makes great claims of impending rulership over the rest of Christendom when the Second Advent takes place, and it has therefore great expectations despite its gradual extinction. The possibility of such extinction is not admitted by them, who say that any day the Lord will come before they cease to be. Their message may be eccentric, but it contains an element of permanence, which is not always recognized by writers in general or by the Catholic Apostolic people themselves. They are both inclined to dwell on the peculiar elements in the Movement, whereas it has other and important contributions to make - Theological, Liturgical, and Sacramental.

The difficulties of the subject are very largely due to the people in question being completely "unhistorically minded", and therefore it is not easy to arrive at facts. Their books have little reference to dates, and many of them simply repeat verbatim what is found elsewhere, so much so that it might almost be true that there is constant dependence on such a writing as Cardale's "Readings on the Liturgy", an important two-volume work
by the Premier Apostle. What he says there is repeated in Great Britain, in Germany, in Canada, in the United States.

The literature on the Catholic Apostolic Church is vast, but is interdependent. Some of it consists of matter printed only for private circulation, but that has now found its way into second-hand booksellers, and it is to be assumed that the privacy of a hundred years ago no longer holds. Much of it is almost inaccessible, or at prices practically prohibitive; and probably much is hidden away and has never been made public. It is also mostly anonymous, which is an initial difficulty for the investigator; nor do Library Catalogues, as those of the British Museum, afford much help in discovering authorship. Thanks to different means at the present writer's disposal, however, the Bibliography at the end of this volume, though not exhaustive, is fairly complete in this respect, including names of probable authors where these could be traced.

Another difficulty is the extreme and somewhat morbid secrecy of the Body. They keep to themselves, and according to some they will not even read certain books unless their authorities permit them.\(^1\) There is

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1. (Harrison, James:) The Catholic Apostolic Church (Irvingism:) Its Pretensions and Claims. By a late Member. Passim.
a fear seemingly influencing them for which there is little explanation.

This, moreover, is a neglected subject, one reason being the parallel Tractarian or Oxford Movement overshadowing it. It will be recalled that John Keble preached his sermon on National Apostasy on 14th June, 1833, which is viewed as the beginning of the Tractarian Movement. Furthermore, the Catholic Apostolic people are negligible numerically. They themselves have avoided giving statistics, and much as historians have desired they have not been able to procure them. It is not likely that there are more than a few thousand of them all over the world. By marriage some are indeed admitted into the Group if so desired. Probably few people marry outside, those who do so being disposed to give up their Catholic Apostolic views. There are also erroneous views regarding them in that they are confused with many other eccentric sects of to-day, such as the Adventist ones, and even the Mormons who are quite distinct from them. Again, the Catholic Apostolic Church does not make an appeal to other people. Its doors indeed are always open, the Churches are free and

2. In the oldest period some little notice of statistics was taken into account, e.g. by Mr. Woodhouse in a pamphlet.
inviting to any worshipper, but there is now no mentionable literature published, nothing to appeal to the passer-by, nor is there preaching of any account.

A further reason is that they are labouring under a period of silence imposed upon them since 1901, when the last Apostle died. At that time the "Prophets" all over the world evidently expressed themselves unanimously on this point, and according to this prophetic warning they must not talk to outsiders of their hopes and desires. An investigator has to show sufficient respect for them, and not ask for anything subsequent to that date. Hence, there is marked reticence in helping enquirers, who seem to be looked upon with suspicion, and who have to get their information instead from books and pamphlets. This explains why the subject of this thesis does not cover the period since 1901. What has happened since then very few outsiders know, except they choose to trespass on the good-will or confidence of these brethren. Nevertheless, it is believed that the account here given is substantially correct. It represents the Church at its best, and in those years before they suffered from the almost total loss of their ministry.

The condition of the Catholic Apostolic Church is
pathetic. There is no advance either contemplated or dared. There is no initiative except in respect to their own services and doings. Where there is a full ministry there is a beautiful service, but the ministry itself is dying out. Everywhere old men will be found among their ministers, the reason being that an Apostle has the sole power of ordination, but the last Apostle Coadjutor died in 1905, and consequently there is no ministry possible since then, except that of Deacon, who is elected by the people and may be ordained by an Angel. The dead hand of their Apostles and the utterances of their Prophets is thus extinguishing this organization. They are unwilling to co-operate with others because of the "Theory" of the Group. Nevertheless they make

3. "The Catholic Apostolic Church now awaits dissolution within ten years, not because it has no funds - the tithe every member gives has made it comparatively affluent - nor from lack of devotees, but simply because the belief on which the Church was founded was that the Second Advent was at hand. Twelve apostles were appointed who alone had the power to ordain, and as the last apostle died in 1901 all the surviving ministers are either elderly or aged. The youngest in London is sixty-five. The one in charge of the Paddington Catholic Apostolic Church is eighty-nine, and one who conducted services in Gordon Square last week - there are still services every day - was ninety. These men are carrying on because there is none to succeed them, and it is realised the time is approaching when there will be none to do the work." — "Manchester Guardian." December 12th, 1934.
extensive claims as to their ideal of the Church, as to having the restored Eucharist, and as to being destined for rulership.

In the matter of Procedure, this has meant the use primarily of sources, and of contemporary writings in so far as they can be used as source material. Of books at least these six are indispensable to the study of the subject: Francis V. Woodhouse, "A Narrative of Events affecting the position and prospects of the whole Christian Church", 1845, with an Appendix, 1885; Henry Drummond, "A Brief Account of the Commencement of the Lord's Work to Restore His Church", 1850; Henry Drummond, "The Setting up of the Church of Christ at Albury", 1833; T. Carlyle, "A Short History of the Apostolic Work" in German, Marburg, 1851, translated also into English; T. Dowglass, "A Chronicle of Certain Events which have taken place in the Church of Christ", 1852; and lastly, what is avowedly depending on the first five, C.W. Boase, "Supplement to 'The Elijah Ministry to the Christian Church'", 1852. As this is perhaps the summary of the foregoing it has been thought advisable to give references to its pages rather than to the others, though this one also is exceedingly rare.

The Bibliography shows the extent of these sources,
many of which are pamphlets. Libraries in Britain have been made use of, that of New College, Edinburgh, being found most valuable. The British Museum has a useful selection though by no means complete. In Canada there has been in like manner investigation of the sources, principally in the provincial archives of Toronto, as well as newspapers and religious journals of the period. In the United States, it has meant among other things, the careful study of proceedings or minutes of the Episcopal, Congregational, and Presbyterian Churches. Some consideration is given to relevant developments in Canada and the United States because these, particularly the former, seem to be somewhat neglected by ecclesiastical historians.

The present work is mainly historical. It contains:

I. The Herald of the Movement, Edward Irving, II. The Historical Development of the Catholic Apostolic Church.

A further projected volume it is hoped will contain:

III. A description of the Church, its Customs, Ceremonies, and Teachings; and IV. Critical Discussion. The study of Edward Irving is included only in so far as helps to throw light on the history of the Movement. There is no discussion for instance of the Gift of Tongues - a subject already dealt with in a work which has proved
of value, Andrew L. Drummond, "Edward Irving and the Gift of Tongues." There will be a large amount of quotations from sources, and this method is deliberately adopted because of frequent inaccuracies about the Movement, and because of the consequent susceptibilities of the Catholic Apostolic Church itself.

An initial problem is that of the name. Most people refer to them as "Irvingites", but to this title we have the "Catholic Apostolic" repudiation: that they do not derive from Edward Irving himself, and that its Apostles, its Liturgy and its ecclesiastical organization were something altogether strange to Edward Irving, who was none other than a Church of Scotland minister in London. It is right to concede the "Catholic Apostolic" claim in this respect, in the interests of Edward Irving no less than the "Catholic Apostolic" Church; but it will appear that they have much more from Edward Irving than they themselves are willing to admit or recognize.

In the first part of this work - the "Life of Edward Irving" - there is given toward the end of it a sufficient intimation of doctrine which is different from that of ordinary Christendom; yet which is taken over from him into the "Catholic Apostolic" Group. Nevertheless, it

is well to use the words "Catholic Apostolic", but with quotation marks, because after all that is the name belonging to all Christian people. But the "Catholic Apostolic" people are distinct from the rest, and though they disclaim being anything like a Sect, yet a Sect they are: hence, it is advisable to describe them in the way indicated.
PART I.

THE HERALD OF THE MOVEMENT: EDWARD IRVING.

CHAPTER I.

THE PREPARATORY STAGE.

At the little town of Annan in Dumfries, not far from Carlisle, Edward Irving was born on August 4th, 1792, the son of Gavin Irving, a prosperous leather merchant and tanner, and his wife, whose maiden name was Mary Lowther. According to Irving himself, as reported by Carlyle, the father's name was pronounced Gayin, a corruption of the French Guyon, and a reminder that the family had a French origin, a long way back, being either Albigenses or Huguenot refugees. The Lowthers, according to a tradition in that family, were descended from Martin Luther, of which name Lowther was a modification, and they were connected with Cumberland. Both were strong characters, who would probably have become more widely known under more favourable circumstances. There were eight children of the marriage, three sons, two of whom died in the prime of life, and five daughters.

Edward began his schooling by going to the little Dame School of Margaret Paine's, an old lady related to Thomas Paine the sceptic. When the time arrived for

something more serious, he was sent to the school of Adam Hope, whose pupil later was Thomas Carlyle. Hope, a Burgher Seceder,\(^3\) strong Classicist, and himself Socratic in his method, and strict disciplinarian, has been described and so made famous by that other pupil of his, Thomas Carlyle.\(^4\) To Hope, Irving was indebted largely for his classical learning, and to him and another teacher, blind Bryce Downie,\(^5\) for his excellence in mathematics, which later attracted the favourable notice of the great mathematician, Professor Leslie, who wanted him to take up something in that line for his life work.\(^6\)

Even at this early stage some characteristic traits were to be seen in Irving. The companions whom he preferred were older than he. In his way, appearance, mannerisms, he differed from other children. Instead of following the ordinary delights of childhood he would be found frequenting places associated with the history of Scotch Presbyterian worthies - Heroes and martyrs. He was wont in those days to join Adam Hope's group, and "regularly trotted by their side to Ecclefechan for sermon listening and occasionally joining in their pious discourse thither and back."\(^7\) This was about his tenth

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year and the proceeding was not much to the liking of the father, who was a strong Kirkman, that is, a member of the established Church of Scotland.

Those early years were no less a religious preparation for him. Annan was a more sophisticated town than some in Scotland. The drunken minister could not command the respect properly due to the clergy, and was no doubt answerable for some of the existing disrespect for religion in the town and for the growth of a certain amount of infidelity. Nevertheless, Irving had been brought up in the religious atmosphere and habits of Scotland: family religion, church going, and sabbath observance.

When he was thirteen he went to the University of Edinburgh, then as now a non-residential institution. He, and his brother John, student of medicine, who died in India later, lived in lodgings. Irving graduated in 1809, at the age of 17, having already decided upon the Ministry as his life work. To enable him to prepare for that work, and the tedious study involved, he took up as was customary a teaching position, during which time, by a University regulation making this possible, he was a partial student in Divinity, matriculating each year, doing his studies by himself, and only making

9. His day of death was held in special memory by Irving. Oliphant. p. 3.
a periodic appearance as required at the University to deliver some prescribed discourse or to take certain Examinations.

There is an account of his early years and characteristics by one who knew him intimately, which appeared in one of the biographies, and perhaps is from Irving's bosom friend, Alan Cunningham. The author, after speaking of Irving's "rectitude of conduct as a student" continues: "He assumed nothing of the rigidity of self denial in human enjoyment; but his conduct was free from the stains of fashionable indulgence or immorality, at any period of his novitiate life. He associated with and lived in the world without restraint, joining the forms and fashions of mixed society, even to what would by some be set down as vulgar. He was fond of athletic exercises, in several sorts of which he was an adept. Few could excel him either as a pedestrian or as a swimmer; for these his fine manly frame was peculiarly favoured, standing upward of 6ft. 2in. of Herculaean make, and a perfect model of anatomy. It is evident...that it only required circumstances to call forth the energies of a mind superior to the ordinary race of men; and there is strong proof that to whatever profession he had devoted himself he would have distinguished himself among his compeers."10

He completed the studies of the University of Edinburgh, and was proficient in science and theology. He was acquainted with a number of living languages, and this linguistic aptitude is witnessed by his offer to learn Gaelic within six months for Caledonian Chapel, and by his ability in translating a Spanish work after six months application to that language.\textsuperscript{11} Coming down to the allegations which had been levelled at him in the days of his decline from popularity the author finds no justification for them, and no early hint in Irving's life of such trends. "The writer entertained no idea of Irving's being possessed with sinister motives in the shape of greed of money or love of popularity.....The allegations independently of these two which have been urged against him and which circumstances have most favoured are vanity and credulity." These two the writer admits as do others who knew Irving. "He had....been familiarized to hear himself spoken of with distinction from his earlier days, and might easily have imbibed some feeling of this kind amounting to a failing; but it never apparently reached that which could be set down as pride: the increase of his correspondence with, or however the favours of the great might be poured upon

\textsuperscript{11} Ben Ezra : The Coming of Messiah in Glory and Majesty. Tr. by Edward Irving.
him, never severed the natural tie which spontaneously bound him to those in the humble walks of life. The inmates of the miserable hovel were as much the object of his solicitude as the owner of the splendid mansion. ....That he was credulous to a certain degree is still more probable: circumstances were such that he had already mixed with men and learned to live in friendly feeling with them all....With scarcely enough of experience of the world for a man (he) might be said to have retired to the sacred avocation of a minister, where his intercourse with his fellow creatures was chiefly limited to a knowledge of cases that were really founded in sincerity and called forth justly his best impressions....He, for several years before and ever since his settlement in London, had held intercourse with society in this limited sphere, as it were, taken apart and almost excluded from the ordinary joys of life. He consequently was often made the easy victim to his own credulity by a feasible tale of distress; yet he was accustomed, even on conviction in such cases, to look at them merely as individual cases and not as tending to form a characteristic mark of human nature taken in a general sense of application to the race."12

It could be added that what was seemingly Egotism was a desire to be loved, as he himself went out in affection to others. And this characteristic, however misleading or unfortunate, must in no small measure have led to his success among the poor whose confidence and affection throughout life he was able to elicit spontaneously.

At eighteen he took a teaching position at Haddington, where his ability created a favourable impression and secured admission for him to the best society of the place. One of these houses was that of Dr. Welsh, the leading physician of the place, whose little daughter Jane, whom the parents wished to have the best education possible, had him as her tutor. At this point it is important to give an account of Irving's romance. Dr. Welsh loved Irving as his own, and soon, there grew up a bond of affection between pupil and tutor. At first, Jane Welsh was only a child, but she grew up, and then the trouble began. But Irving, being now in Kirkcaldy, had made acquaintance with the minister there, the Rev. Dr. Martin, and, as often happens, in a rush of youth, he entered into an engagement with Miss Isabella Martin. Thomas Carlyle, in his reminiscences of Irving does not speak

kindly of the lady, in fact he is somewhat disparaging of her. Irving soon realised his mistake, and endeavoured to get release, but according to the custom in Scotland, a betrothal was practically a marriage. It would have meant annulment by mutual consent, otherwise the man who broke the engagement remained in disgrace for practically all his life. Irving tried definitely to get release, but no such release was forthcoming. The result is that his affection for Jane Welsh had to be crushed, though there are to be found sonnets written by him to Jane, and some letters of his are not purely academic. Finally, he acquiesced in the fate that had come to him. Jane Welsh would have gone to see him in London in his married home, but as the biographer puts it — "Irving could not face the trial. He only hoped that a time might come when he would be able to face it. In writing to her he says, 'My dear Isabella has succeeded in healing the wounds of my heart by her unexampled affection and tenderness, 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 and under my care, which, till then, I should hardly be."

The reason for dwelling on this is important for our history. It is well known that an event of this sort may have led Irving into all those extravagances in life which caused the wreck of his fame. This was perhaps surmised in the past, but now, in the light of the New Psychology, it seems more and more clear that this countenancing of the "tongues" was "compensation" on his part. Jane Welsh, who had married Carlyle, proposes, in a mood of reminiscence, in late life — "There would have been no tongues had Edward married me." 17

At twenty, that is in 1812, Irving was given the mastership of a new School, at Kirkcaldy, where he seems to have become known for his ability to identify himself with his pupils in their interests, but also as a strict disciplinarian. It was there he got to know Dr. Martin, the parish minister, to whose daughter Isabella he became engaged. Another school, however, was started at Kirkcaldy which had the good fortune to secure the services of Thomas Carlyle. Mrs. Oliphant will not admit that this was in any sense an opposition school to Irving's, 18 but Carlyle is probably nearer the

truth when he suggests that it was a move on the part of some parents who were dismayed at Irving's strictness and harshness as a schoolmaster.\textsuperscript{19}

Meanwhile, in June 1815, he was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy. His preaching, however, was not popular both on account of the subjects dealt with and the affectations of the preacher, his grand manner and profuse style. Says Carlyle:

"We enjoyed the broad potency of his delineations, exhortations, and free flowing eloquence.....From the first Irving read his discourses but not in a servile manner; of attitude, gesture, elocution, there was no neglect. The voice was very fine; melodious depth, strength, clearness, its chief characteristics....He affected the Miltonic or Old English Puritan style, and strove visibly to imitate it more and more till almost the end of his career when indeed it had become his own and was the language he used in utmost heat of passion for expressing his meaning. At this time and for years afterwards there was something of preconceived intention visible in it, in fact....affectation."\textsuperscript{20}

So far he was a Licentiate, that is, a probationer waiting for permanent appointment. In 1818, feeling the time had come for definite steps toward entering upon his life work, he gave up teaching and went to

\textsuperscript{19} Carlyle : Reminiscences, Edward Irving.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid.
live in Edinburgh, the centre of things ecclesiastically. He had lodgings in Bristo Street. Having completed his Divinity course, he took such other classes as he could at the University while waiting for a call to some pastorate. Perhaps at this time he was in despair. Mrs. Oliphant says\(^{21}\) "that now his eyes turned to the East, and he thought of going as a missionary to Persia, going after the apostolical model, without scrip or purse." But Dr. Andrew Thompson of St. Georges suddenly sent for him one morning to preach when Dr. Chalmers expected to be present; with the result that Irving was asked by Chalmers to become his assistant at St. John's in Glasgow. Irving began his ministry in October, 1819. Unable to understand, perhaps, the great social plans of his superior, or to exhibit the eye of a statesman, he devoted himself to those personal relationships toward his flock for which he was by nature and spiritually prepared. He was assiduous in parish work, in his sympathy with the poor, entering into their lives and sharing their interests. He was a man of the heart rather than of the head. This accounts for some inconsistency. In later life, for instance, he is found opposing everything Liberal in character, everything tending by law to ameliorate conditions, and bearing thus upon

\(^{21}\) Oliphant: Life of Edward Irving. p.45.
the lives of the poor. This, because he had no thought-out theory - such as Dr. Chalmers had. His sympathy with and identification with the poor was no other than the natural outflow of the heart.

This time too, in addition to the affectations in preaching and speaking, saw the adoption of the lofty fashion of speech, to which Carlyle refers. His mode of salutation on entering a house was "Peace be to this house", which must have sounded strange to those dour Presbyterians, but was one to which they got used.

Chalmers, then or at any time, scarcely understood his colleague, if at all. The practical man and the visionary were as two poles asunder. Chalmers always felt there was a genius in the younger man, but never knew what it was all about or whither it would lead. He could not understand his eccentric and erratic ways.

This apprenticeship ended in 1882. Irving was eager to be on his own, in his proper life work, and so was ready to accept the call from the Caledonian Church in London that year.

Nevertheless, his Glasgow period was a formative one. It determined his future course, and in no small measure that also of the Catholic Apostolic Church. Irving was not simply the Protestant minister: he was the Priest. His sympathies were drawing toward those
services in the Church which prevailed in "Catholic" communions. Language, demeanour, and theory marked him out as the Priest. Even before coming to Glasgow he had taken for his companion that great Anglican Divine of the Caroline period, the "judicious Hooker", with his High Church theory of the Church and the Priesthood.

Irving's early acquaintance with Hooker's "Ecclesiastical polity" was when as a boy he was staying at a farm at Annan near his home. There he found a copy of this book, which attracted him and gave a bent to his thoughts. His biographers relate the story that he spent the whole of the money he had received for a journey in buying this book, and some Patristic writings with Newton and Hume also. In later life he writes of "the venerable companion of my early days, Richard Hooker." 22

Hooker (1553? - 1600) was one of the more moderate Anglicans who set themselves to oppose the Puritan Biblicism and claims to the Divine Right of their system. He finds for Episcopacy Scriptural basis and urges the system on the ground of its essential reasonableness. It is the great Anglican Classic. The Scriptures are not the final word in the matter of

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Church discipline and government; and Apostolic practice is not necessarily applicable to the present day situation for they acted according to the needs and situation of their own particular day. The Christian Society, the Church, has therefore power to legislate for her well-being and order, to appoint ceremonies, her authority being final in this respect; all, therefore, who are born within the borders of a State Church must give their obedience to her laws while they operate though they may be changed as circumstances may demand. Consistently with the British temperament as well as the history, Christianity was part of the national structure ever since Henry VIII set the Church of England upon her feet. The English people accepted and believed in authority. The Church of England was one aspect of the State, which, in virtue of this establishment, gave its acknowledgement of God; and just as one born within this realm is a subject of the king, so he is a member by birth of the Church.

Heretics, Dissenters, etc. were enemies to the Commonwealth, and though left unmolested in times of peace they were to be excluded from positions of influence and control. Again, in Hooker is a high view of the Christian Ministry. The Priest is the person

25. For note, see next page.
"inheriting the keys which the Lord committed to Peter, and wields the power of translating out of darkness into glory." "The Church is endowed with such privileges that for anything we know to the contrary, all without it are lost sheep." Transubstantiation was no issue to rend the Church in twain. It is not correct to say that the "doctrine of the Eucharist as a mere memorial" was held by Hooker.24

This ablest exposition of Anglicanism was taken over by Irving and applied to the Established Presbyterian Church of Scotland he gave a meaning not usually accepted by Presbyterians, seeing in it a SUCCESSION, and a CONTINUANCE of the ancient order and Ministry.


25. Irving's view of Dissenters can be seen from "Dialogues on Prophecy" Vol. II. p. 344 : "It is impossible to foresee how it (the projected University of London) will work; but, at all events, it will prove the real character of the Dissenters. No orthodox Christian can differ from the Doctrinal Articles of the Church of England: the Independent differs as much from the Presbyterian in discipline as he does from the Episcopal; and the Baptist differs from all three; if, however, they can merge their differences in discipline, in order to unite with each other, and with the Papist, Jew, and Deist in the London University, from which Christianity is excluded; but cannot merge these differences nor unite in the King's College, in which Christianity is the substratum, it is a proof that the question of discipline being the same in both cases, they prefer Infidelity to Christianity."
CHAPTER II.

THE MINISTER:

FROM GLASGOW TO CALEDONIAN ROAD.

The Scots Presbytery in London came into being the second half of the 18th century. Despite the name, it could appeal to no higher Court of the Church of Scotland because that Church had no jurisdiction in England. Yet they looked on themselves as part of that Church. Several such Churches in London ministered to Scotsmen. The one to which Irving was called was the Caledonian Church in Cross Street near Hatton Garden. Since the resignation of the last minister, in 1820, that Church had been filled by supplies and the congregation dwindled and was having a struggle to exist.¹ In the midst of their discouragement the elders and people heard of Irving and approached him. He preached there on December 1821. So eager was he for the great opportunity there presented that, to meet the legal stipulation of that Church as to its ministers, he offered to spend six months learning Gaelic.² However, this requirement was ingeniously overruled or waived. The call was accepted and Irving went, confident in himself and in his powers and message, and in all that he was going to accomplish. His

1. Hair, John: Regent Square. Chap. IV.
2. Hair, John: op. cit. p.31f.
ordination took place in Scotland at his home Church in Annan, where he had been baptized, and in 1822 he began his ministry in London, being inducted on October 16th, of that year.

Immediately things began to look up at Caledonian Church and soon arose a wave of popularity. The whole of London Fashion flocked to the Church, so much so that its capacity of 600 was pitifully small, and it was necessary to institute admission by ticket. It is generally conceded that what started this rush was a speech in the House of Commons by Canning, who had been taken to that Church by Sir James Mackintosh, and was impressed by Irving's utterance. Canning told the House of this preacher whom he "heard preach the most eloquent sermon....that he had ever listened to."

The presence of the elite, apart from ministering to the preacher's vanity, was congenial to him. "They prepare," he writes, "for teaching gypsies, for teaching bargemen, for teaching miners, by apprehending their way of conceiving and estimating truth; and why not prepare for teaching imaginative men, and political men, and legal men, and scientific men, who bear the world in hand?"

But, if congenial, it cannot be said that he made the best use of his opportunity. Great preaching, the

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4. Oliphant, op. cit., p. 84.
Irving, Orations, and Argument for Judgment to come.
handling of great themes, rhetorical gifts above the average, a power of appeal, all these were present; but there is little that is constructive. His preaching is too replete with denunciation of those differing from him, too self-confident even to be Christian. The vituperation, temper, vanity and egotism, arrogance and conceit, refusal to reason, pugnacity and heroics, may not be ignored. The unconscionable length of his sermons and public prayers bespeak more an indifference to his public and the Christian Community, than the enthusiasm of a preacher. His ministerial position seems to have given him a strange sense of self-importance and dogmatism. In all these items must be sought the explanation of the antagonism and hatred of the erstwhile admiring crowd, which may have been fickle but was also outraged.

This year, 1823, was the year of his marriage to Isabella, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Martin of Kirkcaldy. She is spoken of as an ideal helpmeet. But even Mrs. Oliphant admits that "in her admiration for her husband's genius....and the short sightedness of love, she was led rather to seek the society of those who held him in a kind of idolatry than....friends more likely to exert upon him the beneficial influence of equals and so contributed to clouding his genius." Though Irving persuaded himself that it was a happy event, the marriage

5. Jones, W. : Biographical Sketch, quoting from Westminster Review, etc., pp. 33, 35, 50, etc..
was unfortunate. A blunder in fact according to Carlyle, and something Irving himself did not desire but from which there was no escape. 7

Popularity, marriage, Coleridge are the three things to be noted in connection with 1823. Irving now made the acquaintance of Coleridge "a marvellous sage and man" to him. "Good Irving strove always to think that he was getting priceless wisdom out of this great man but must have had his misgivings." This attitude perhaps must be attributed to Carlyle's dyspepsia. It is indisputable that Coleridge exerted great influence upon his contemporaries and their contemporary thought. He profoundly influenced, for instance, W. W. Andrews, of U.S.A., who gives this description referring to "Aids to Reflection" as it appealed to a young student: "It was a book for thoughtful study, not for hasty and superficial reading, and we soon came to value it and to admire it for the insight it gave us into the deep underlying principles on which Christian philosophy must rest, and which furnishes the key to the structure and history of humanity. It is scarcely too much to say that it wrought in us a great intellectual and spiritual revolution. It taught us

the art of thinking or of referring facts to principles and of looking below the phenomena of the moment or the age to the imperishable truth which gave them their meaning and value....We found in his writings also the sure antidote to Pantheism and Materialism in their teaching about God, living, personal, triune; in his relation to the creature brought forth by him and filled with symbols of spiritual truth but never to be identified with him. Nor did he find in nature or man any substitute for divine revelation but his word and spirit, but held up the Bible as an inexhaustible storehouse of truth respecting God and the inspired record of the work of Redemption through the incarnation, death, and resurrection of His Son. The Bible became to us a living book, every part of which had its relation to the whole and could never lose its use and power till the complete accomplishment of the purpose centering in the Incarnate Son."  

10. Stewart, H.L. : A Century of Anglo-Catholicism may be consulted for a fuller account of the influence of S. T. Coleridge during the period.
Irving's extraordinary popularity did not last beyond 1823. As Carlyle says, "Fashion went her idle way," giving place to severe criticism. The fury broke out in connection with his Sermon at the anniversary of the London Missionary Society. It was well known that such Societies at their annual service or Sermons seek to set before their hearers the kind of work they are doing, and so they touch their hearts and their purses. Irving's great prominence brought him the invitation to preach this Sermon on Thursday, May 14th, 1824. So great was his egotism - or according to Mrs. Oliphant, his simple mindedness - that he chose to discourse on something totally different, viz. "For Missionaries of the Apostolical School," dragging in all his peculiar theories, and preaching at inordinate length. Vast crowds had assembled before the appointed time, and many were turned away. 11

The sermon had many gems of thought and utterance. But it represented a distrust of all human Societies, and a refusal to believe that God works through human organizations as well as by direct miraculous intervention. Irving will not recognize such possibility because of the Apocalyptic and cataclysmic theory of the end of this dispensation to which he was committed. Basing his remarks on Matt. x. 5-42 as the Missionary

11. The sermon was expanded and published as Four Orations in 1825 under the same title.
Charter he challenged the basis of prudence which these Missionary Societies urged, contending that what they should act upon rather is Faith. He disparaged the appeal for money in support of the cause. Instead of advocating the cause of the London Missionary Society, the sermon is an attack upon its principles and methods as he supposed them. He argues that the commission to the Seventy was, not to preach the Gospel, but to be the Heralds of a coming, imminent crisis; and that such should be the permanent attitude of missionary effort. There is a hint too that missionaries are actuated by sordid motives; and it is implied that it is not always or often that men of the best calibre, of high name and reputation are sent out. In the New Testament days God chose men of little learning and little means of support, giving them no sustenance but bidding them go out upon faith. This sermon was of three and a half hours' duration.  

The dismay with which this pronouncement was met by Missionaries, their friends, and the Missionary Societies can well be imagined. Nor was the Religious Press dormant, but subjected the preacher to a severe castigation. Assaults upon the printed volume were made from several quarters, the most important and dignified of which came from Mr. Orme, the Secretary of the London

Missionary Society; a production which, contrary to Mrs. Oliphant's dictum relegating it to oblivion, is a masterly defence, necessarily in the light of the views of that period, of the work and aims of Missionary Societies to this day. The publicity, however, among other reasons, must have caused the Orations to run into three editions that year. But there is no change of position or language in the successive ones. Irving's vanity refused to listen, and to modify or lessen the asperities of the sermon.

In 1825, the Anniversary Sermon of the Continental Society was preached by Irving. This was a Society under the impulse of Henry Drummond, working for Evangelical Christianity on the Continent - a field which, according to the views prevalent in Irving's time, was the place where the prophecies of doom of the Apocalypse were being fulfilled, Babylon being the Church of Rome. Again there was an opportunity, not neglected, of introducing the preacher's Apocalyptic views. But the references to Rome left it uncertain in the minds of the listeners whether the preacher was for or against Roman Catholic Emancipation, which question was being greatly agitated at the time. He undertook therefore, for the sake of clearing misapprehensions, to publish the sermon; which he did, entitling it "Babylon and In- fidelity Foredoomed."

In this work Irving followed the hints and arguments of some predecessors in prophetic interpretation, but went beyond them in fixing the foretellings to particular events. The Papacy began in 533, when Justinian in the Code known as the Pandects, gave the Bishop of Rome authority over the Churches and was declared to be the head of the Church. In Prophecy, the period of this anti-Christian power is given as 1260 years, so that it brings it down to 1793, the very year of the French Revolution. It was then that the time of judgment upon Babylon commenced, and during the thirty years 1793-1823, the first six vials of wrath had been poured out upon the Beast. The second period of forty-five years is opening now, and the seventh vial is about to be poured out. When the period expires, 1868, there will be the battle of Armageddon, the coming of Christ, and the establishment of the Millennial Kingdom.

This kind of application of prophecy was startling in its definiteness; but was not new or restricted to Irving. The peculiarities of the method of interpretation he had taken over from J. Hatley Frere, who was a person well connected, and was a member also of the Albury Conferences. Ever ready to respond without

measure to any one influencing him, Irving became his disciple as he had been of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and dedicated to him the aforesaid volume. In that dedication occur these words: "I am not ashamed to confess that, at first, my mind fell away from the system of interpretation which, with Mede and More, and other exact interpreters, you have followed, and inclined to the simple idea that the Apocalypse is a narrative of events running on in regular historical order." The newer interpretations taken up by Irving were derived particularly from Frere's Treatise on the Prophecies of Daniel. This particular mode of interpretation is no necessary part of the belief of the Catholic Apostolic Church; but the devotion to the Apocalypse and the intense study of prophetic writings certainly is.

During 1825-6 there was steady development of his views on Baptism and on Ecclesiasticism generally. Dealing with the years 1826-7, it has been questioned whether "his mind had ever been content with the sober Presbyterian ideal of a democratic Church in which the will of the people had really if not nominally a distinct and apparent sway, and in which the priests were subject to perpetual criticism of a community too much disposed to argument and never open to yield much veneration to legitimate leaders." Irving had been led "to construct

another ideal of a Church than that which has long been supreme in Scotland. Unconsciously he assumed in his own person the priestly attitude and felt himself standing between God and the people. Then the community itself rose under his glowing gaze into a baptized world - Christendom separated by the initiatory ordinance of Christianity of which Christ was the sole head."

And with exaltation of the Person of Christ to this position in the Church came also the adoration of that Person and the vivid hope of seeing Him in the flesh at the imminent Second Advent.

With this attitude of heart and mind he took to a Spanish work on the "Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty." This is supposed to be by a converted Jew, John Josafat, Ben-Ezra, but is really by a Spanish Jesuit

17. "The name and character of Ben-Ezra are but assumed, the real author of the work in question being Father Lacunza, a Jesuit. The work was printed in Spain during the brief period of intellectual freedom enjoyed under the government of the Cortes; and was suppressed immediately that the Inquisition recovered its power. In 1816, a large edition was printed in England for circulation in the South American States; and it does not appear that a single copy remained in this country. The work became known, however, in France, and was forwarded thence to an English clergyman, who showed it to, among others, an intimate friend of Mr. Irving, who had begun, on Christmas Day, 1825, to preach that Second Advent of the Lord of which Ben-Ezra had written." - From Washington Wilks, Edward Irving. An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography. 1854.
named Lacunza, written during a brief spell of liberty in that country, yet clearly in fear of the Inquisition. This work Irving translated, though the chief importance of that translation is in the lengthy preface which Irving added to the work.

In keeping with this trend in his thought was the invitation which came about this time from Henry Drummond, to Irving and others, to spend a few days at Albury in Conference and study of Prophecy. Five such annual Conferences were held, the first being in Advent, 1826; a list of names, as appearing in their accounts, is given in the footnote.18

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Church/Position</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rev. Beckett, G.</td>
<td>Church of England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryan, W.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Burder, H.F.</td>
<td>Independent, Hackney</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cole, T.W.</td>
<td>Vicar of Honerst, Surrey</td>
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<td>Dodsworth, W.</td>
<td>Church of England, Margaret Chapel.</td>
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<td>Dow, W.</td>
<td>Church of Scotland, Tongueland</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hawtrey, C.</td>
<td>Author of Sermons on Second Advent.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Do. J.</td>
<td>Wesleyan Methodist</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hooper, I.</td>
<td>Curate, Westbury, Wilts.</td>
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<td>Irving, E.</td>
<td>Church of Scotland, London.</td>
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<td>MacLean, H.B.</td>
<td>Do. London-wall.</td>
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<td>McNeile, H.</td>
<td>Rector of Albury</td>
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<td>Marsh, W.</td>
<td>Vicar of St. Peter's, Colchester.</td>
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<td>Okeley, Dr.</td>
<td>Moravian, Shoelane</td>
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<td>Phillips, G.W.</td>
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<td>Proby, W.</td>
<td>Arch-Deacon of Landaff.</td>
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<td>Simons, J.</td>
<td>Rector of Paul's Cray.</td>
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<td>Story, R.</td>
<td>Church of Scotland, Roseneath.</td>
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<td>Stewart, J.</td>
<td>Haldane, Church of England, of Percy</td>
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<td>Stratton, J.</td>
<td>Independent, Paddington. (Chapel.</td>
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<td>Vaughan, E.T.</td>
<td>Leicester.</td>
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<td>White, J.</td>
<td>Baker Street Chapel.</td>
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<td>Wilson, Dr.</td>
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<td>Wolfe, R.</td>
<td>Rector of Crawley</td>
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The year 1827 saw him move to a new Church, "Regent Square," over the building of which he had watched with tender care. It had become necessary through the inadequacy of Caledonian Church for the huge crowds, though the terrific rush of the former days had ceased. Irving was not now to speak to a world; he was to be pastor to his own flock; a work for which he was well equipped.

In 1827 Irving took part in the Apocrypha controversy agitating the British and Foreign Bible Society. The purpose of that Society was the circulation of the Scriptures without note or comment, but nothing had been said in its constitution about the inclusion of the Apocrypha, which in the Anglican

18. contd.
Lord Mandeville, afterwards Duke of Manchester.
Hon. I.J. Strutt, afterwards M.P.
Capt. G. Gambier, R.N., afterwards Admiral.
Mr. Bayford, I., Proctor in Doctor's Commons.
- Borthwick, T., afterwards M.P.
- Cunningham, W., of Lainshaw, Church of Scotland.
- Chevalier, T.W., Surgeon, Torrington Square.
- Drummond, H., of Albury Park.
- Frere, J.H., in the Army Office.
- Haldane, A., Editor of the 'Record'.
- Leach, W., of the Board of Control.
- Perceival, Spencer, York Street, London.
- Simon, E., Director of Jews' Asylum, Randolph St.
- Sumner, R., afterwards High Sheriff of Surrey.
- Tudor, I., Artist, the Secretary of the Prophetic Society. - Boase, C.W., p.745-746.

19. His biographer sees here the Catholic rather than Calvinist attitude towards a shrine; if so, it is in keeping with later "Catholic Apostolic" Church views. Oliphant, op. cit., p. 102.

Prayer Book are recognized as possessing practical value and secondary inspiration, and which are included in the Roman and Greek Canons of Scripture. The Protestant supporters of the Society took exception to this proceeding and the Society announced its decision to discontinue the practice, but the undertaking was not kept and there was much friction between the Edinburgh and London Committees, the former being violently against the Apocrypha and the latter drawn rather to the other side. Irving broke into the Anniversary meeting of the Society and appeared on the platform warning the Committee, and urging it to retrace its steps. His attitude may be explained partly by his antagonism to everything Roman Catholic; and the final, determining factor, "The earnest desire to abolish schism and... the love I bear to my native land. And you should remember that this Apocrypha is not at all known or recognized in Scotland. Open your minds and consider what effect it must have had on a Christian Church whose reverence for the Word of God is well known and has often been tried, to find that this which they recognize not is passed off as the true Word of God." - and more to that effect. What precise result this intrusion had is not known. In any case the Society had already made up its mind not to incur schism, and so withdrew the Apocrypha.
The year 1828 brought charges of Heresy as well as developments in the preacher's own views not usually held by his fellow ministers. Certain discourses of his suggested that he now had peculiar views on the human nature of Christ. These sermons had been rather commended by his hearers. But one, Rev. Henry Cole, an Anglican Clergyman residing in London, took it upon himself to investigate the matter and expose the erroneous teaching of this Presbyterian minister, who, in the course of the agitation that followed was wrongly accused of attributing sinfulness to Christ. Cole's pamphlet drew attention to the minister of Regent Square, who already had numerous enemies eager for his fall. Not only did it arouse suspicion in Scotland and produce treatises against it, but the London Presbytery also took it up, pronounced adversely to Irving, and summoned him before it for an explanation. In October, Irving withdrew from the jurisdiction of the Presbytery, and his Church along with himself issued a statement affirming its orthodoxy. In it occur words repudiating any derogatory views regarding the Person of Christ.

Another thing to be noted that year was Irving's sympathy with the Rev. J. McLeod Campbell of Row.

Scotland, who was proclaiming the Universal love of God and a Universal atonement by Christ. This was novel doctrine to the Scotland of that day, overladen with a hard and inflexible Calvinism. Says Thomas Carlyle — the advocate and later Apostle — while an elder of the National Scotch Church:

"A preacher in the west of Scotland (Rev. J. M'L. Campbell, of Row, on the west side of the Clyde) began to preach mightily the love of God to sinners. I knew him, and often heard him. Multitudes, enchained by sin, were moved to tears of joy and penitence by his words; but those who would not be converted could not endure the sharpness of his holy message, and went away. He threatened not, he did not terrify by picturing the torments of hell. The picture he drew of the present love of God was insufferable to them. Insufferable is it to the high-minded to be left without excuse by love and compassion. In the Scotch Church at that time, the doctrine prevailed that Christ had died only for the elect. Many pious persons had no joy in God, but were ever tossed to and fro in uncertainty and spiritual distress, because they could not tell whether they were of the elect or not. So they dragged out a miserable so-called religious life, expecting perhaps on their death-beds to receive the assurance of forgiveness, and enter into peace. He preached that Christ hath taken the nature of all men, and hath perfectly sanctified it; and that, not through His omnipotence, but through His faith, He walked therein as our example. Further, that our Lord laid down His life in this nature upon the cross, vicariously bearing the sins of all men in His own body, being made sin for us. Whilst the wicked were stirred up to wrath by this preaching of living facts, and not empty doctrines, thousands were converted, and such a confidence in God awakened in them as they had never before experienced. By this means God was enabled to pour out His holy Spirit. For where no filial feeling towards God exists, how can the spirit of adoption be given?"
In the early part of 1828 he preached to his congregation a Fast Day sermon on "an Apology for the ancient fulness and purity of the Doctrine of the Kirk of Scotland." His views of the Sacraments and especially Baptism, which had been maturing in his mind for some years now became explicit: "The Sacraments, to every true receiver of them, convey the grace of the Holy Ghost signified in Baptism and the grace of communion with, and sustenance by Christ's risen body signified in the Lord's Supper; insomuch that everyone who receiveth these sacraments is responsible to God for all the grace therein contained." 23

The year 1829 saw the appearance of the "Morning Watch" under the editorship of Mr. Tudor; a journal dominated by Irving and devoted to prophetic study. It may be viewed as representing Irving's position. Financially no doubt it depended on Drummond.

In 1830 appeared his work on "The Orthodox and Catholic doctrine of Christ's Human Nature," which was challenged by the London Presbytery and which drew a statement of Faith from his own Kirk Session, himself included therein, repudiating the charges and the insinuations of them. It is signed by Irving and his assistant, David Brown, the five elders and six deacons. 24

To anyone closely following Irving's thought, there is no doubt that his meaning was distorted and that by the term "sinful flesh" which he applied to Christ was in no way meant to imply Sinfulness in Christ, and was only made out to be such by his opponents. It is true that in controversy, and to a lesser extent in writing, he was betrayed into unguarded language which gave cause to his enemies to attack him on this point; but a careful study of his teachings, and even more of the purpose he had in mind, would not justify the things said about his Christology by his critics. "Third degree" or inquisitorial methods are apt to bewilder a victim but not necessarily to elicit the careful truth; and to such methods Irving was subjected. He writes, -

"With respect to my printed works I solemnly, before Almighty God and His Church in heaven and on earth, declare that, however they may be tortured by ingenious and critical men to speak another language than the language of this declaration, they never were intended by me to do so, nor, I dare affirm, will be found to do so, being candidly and charitably judged, because other doctrine than the doctrine herein expressed I have never held, and therefore, being an honest man, can never have expressed, Whether or not I may have expressed myself at all times in the terms best fitted to convey my mind, whether in a moment of indistinct perception which everyone proves, I may not have dropped an expression which may seem to bear, or even may really bear, against my steady and constant faith, I say not; but of this I am sure, that never have I uttered anything derogatory to the holiness of the Lord Jesus Christ, but ever laboured, by word and deed, to demonstrate the same unto my brethren." 25

"Morning Watch" Feb. 1830.
Irving had been called upon by the London Presbytery, when the book was printed, to explain the seemingly dangerous teaching therein. This he refused to do, denying the Presbytery's jurisdiction in the matter. Thereupon they withdrew from him and declared that some of his teachings referred to were inconsistent with the doctrines of the Church of Scotland.

But the General Assembly of 1831, which deposed Campbell of How, took steps regarding Irving, also, to the effect that if he should at any time come within its territory, the Presbytery in which he might be working should enquire into the doctrine of certain works of his. Conscious of the momentous nature of the General Assembly of that year a regular early morning prayer meeting in its behalf, at 6.30, was started at Regent Square; and it was continued after the Assembly, enlarging its scope accordingly. The attitude of the Assembly clearly was one of suspicion regarding Irving at this time.

What precisely was his teaching? Irving was concerned to declare and maintain the great truth of the Incarnation: God became man not in a theoretic, fanciful way, but in truth. Christ's humanity therefore was the kind of thing of which we ourselves are also partakers. Now ours is not prelapsarian, something of which we are unaware; it is human nature such as we know it, with all the limitations and consequences of
the Fall; and as such it includes the possibility of temptation and fall. In Christ as in us, resistance to evil, and therefore freedom from sin, is a moral act. The human nature that needed saving and for which God became incarnate was this particular thing and not an imaginary something. And in the terminology of the time, based on the current Calvinistic estimate of human nature, that nature was hopelessly sinful, corrupt. Where the mistake on the part of the Orthodox lay was in their not understanding those terms aright. There was constant dwelling on the vileness of humanity, apart from any sinful act it had performed. It was the theology that found its way into the songs and hymns that little children were taught to sing; whereas the essential part of that teaching was rather the peculiarity of human nature, the liability to respond to evil; but conversely, the possibility by grace to avoid the peril.

To Irving, the union of God with man therefore, if it was to have any meaning for us, meant that Christ took on him our nature, not in its pristine glory or perfection or prime, but as it was broken and shattered by the Fall. Irving saw that unless Christ was truly temptation able he could not be said "to have been in all points tempted like as we are." If "He wrestled hard as we do now
with hopes and doubts and fears", he must have been like us, entering into the depths of human experience, and winning the moral victory we ought to win likewise.

It did not enter the minds of the critics that their Incarnate Christ was defective, in the manner of some of the early Christological heresies which the subtle Greek mind early saw and rejected. The orthodoxy of 1830 was in fact denying that Christ had come in the flesh. That of the ancients taught otherwise. "That which was not taken was not healed", says Athanasius. The critics accused Irving of maintaining that which Athanasius and all the Fathers upheld against Apollinarius and other heretics, that unless our Lord took on him our Nature as it is, he has not purified and changed it; His Nature is something totally different from ours. Rather as one of their writers puts it, "Our Saviour humbled himself in taking our body of humiliation, and took a servant's form, being of that flesh which was enslaved to sin." 27

Irving was dumbfounded to encounter the general outcry, having no suspicion that he was preaching other than the Catholic and Orthodox doctrine regarding the Incarnation. 28 But by that time another idea had come

28. Cp. his use of this title in his work on the subject.
to prevail. It was the re-emergence of the mediaeval discussions regarding Christ as "non posse peccare" and "posse non peccare", - Irving holding to the latter. Those disputes had left as a legacy to the Church a theory regarding a Christ who in effect was different from man; and his opponents were as loth to give up their modern traditions as the opponents of Nestorius their term Theotokos.

The Presbytery of Annan, which had ordained Irving, urged thereto by a committee of the General Assembly, took up the case now and summoned him to appear before it. The case has been fully reported, and there is danger of overlooking the issue because of some of his unguarded statements at the time under the stress of the Trial. The Presbytery condemned him and withdrew from him its ordination, May 4th, 1832. Before that event took place, however, (i) Irving's sympathy with the teachings of the now deposed J. McLeod Campbell was known; and (ii) the "tongues" had appeared, with the consequent scandal in London, the expulsion of Irving and his associates from Regent Square, and the setting up of the strange charismatic Church in Newman Street.
CHAPTER III.

THE CHARISMATIC PERIOD.

The last phase is connected with the revival of Spiritual "Gifts" and with Irving's attitude to them. It is necessary here to go back a few years.

To the religious minds of England and Scotland as well as other countries, the French Revolution was a portent. They saw in it, besides a subversion of the social order to which they had become accustomed, the triumph of Rationalism; the defiance and undermining of Religion. Magnifying the ills of the French Revolution out of all proportion there came a fear, almost a despair. The figure of Napoleon was also dominant, holding a position not dissimilar to that held by Nero in the Early Church, and was equally formidable though now departed. Religion, too, was at a low ebb. There was no open vision. To many who had no eyes to see all around and detect the reawakening of faith, the lowest ebb had been reached and the only hope of salvation was in a divine intervention. Certainly the fact of God was becoming more dominant in the thoughts of men. Or, to use the language they employed, the need felt was for an outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Prayer to that end was being made in many parts. Ministers and people had

been wont to dwell on such texts as Joel ii. 23, 28; Isa. xxxii. 15. Sundry tracts and writings had appeared on the Holy Spirit. Men were vaguely feeling toward something higher. In 1826 there was sent out to clergy and people of all denominations a proposal for uniting in prayer every week at stated times for this outpouring. This was from the Rev. J. Haldane Stewart, a clergyman of the Church of England, who also suggested the sort of prayer that might be used. The response to it was great. Meanwhile Mr. Stewart travelled extensively through the country establishing with success Prayer Meetings everywhere.

A parallel movement was the study of prophecy, which had spread in the belief that in the prophetic writings could be found light on the existing situation, and guidance for the Church. One of those specially interested was Henry Drummond, a wealthy banker, who proceeded to invite to his country seat at Albury a group of persons interested in the prophetic writings. The conference was called "in order to endeavour to ascertain the mind of the Spirit and in the humble hope that the Lord will vouchsafe to reveal His will (regarding the

3. Life of J. Haldane Stewart, pp. 103, 96, etc. For the invitation to prayer, cp. Christian Observer, Oct.-Nov. 1820. See also pages 109-111.
4. Later an Apostle, p. 130. For the prophetical Conferences see ante pp. 37, 38.
Second Coming) to his waiting servants." Likeminded persons therefore were thus called to "meet, pray, and consult together on the first week in Advent (1826) and remain assembled seven complete days;...and that in the meantime they should bring the subject daily before the Lord in prayer." 

The findings of the company were concerned with the Second Advent, and the order of events to be expected, the present and future condition of the Jews, the Gentile Dispensation, and the Signs of the Times.

They were agreed upon certain points:

(i) Premillennialism: that is, instead of the world becoming better gradually till the Millenium arrives, the Christian dispensation is to be destroyed the way the Jewish one was.

(ii) That judgments are coming upon Christendom during which period the Jews will be restored to Palestine.

(iii) That the judgment will fall chiefly upon Christendom, the people of God according to its privileges and favours being held responsible.

(iv) That at the termination of the judgment the Messiah will come.

(v) That the Millenium will be ushered in - a season of blessedness to all mankind and every creature.

(vi) That the Vials of the Apocalypse began to be poured

5. J. Haldane Stewart: Memoir...p. 155
out at the French Revolution, since the great period of 1260 years commenced in 533, when Justinian gave special recognition to the Papacy.  

As to what the country-wide group had in mind in praying for the Holy Spirit we find suggested in the tract by James Haldane Stewart, which states: "By the outpouring of the Holy Spirit is meant according to the frequent use of the term in the sacred volume, the gift in a large measure of his divine influences....By a general outpouring of the Holy Spirit is intended a grant as wide in extent as it is abundant in measure....which may include all Bishops, Pastors, Ministers, and Teachers at home, all members and Christian instructors abroad; which may enliven, purify, and establish those Christian churches whose foundations are already laid, and plant, enlarge and extend others not yet begun;....which may increase the zeal and love and holiness of all true Christians and give spiritual life and light to sinners now dead in trespasses and sins;....which may bring the divine blessing upon the labours of the Christian press throughout the world, and give wisdom, simplicity and success to every religious and benevolent institution;....which may comprehend both the Jew and the Gentile.

7. Dialogues on Prophecy, 3 vols. It gives an account of the discussions under assumed names. Rev. Joseph Wolff, for instance, is introduced as Josephus and says Lewis Way is Basilicus and Irving Anastasius. Mr. Cardale, in the "Letter on certain Statements" in 'The Old Church Porch' denies this last was Irving's pseudonym; but Mr. Cardale probably is mistaken, for he was not present on that occasion. Mr. Wolff was.
Except certain persons imbued with the prophetic writings and the Conferences thereupon, the large company praying for the Spirit did not look for anything spectacular or charismatic. But in the tense religious atmosphere in Western Christendom, particularly the Protestant part of it, and among people dwelling on Apocalyptic studies, it is not strange that the Charismata, or special gifts of the Spirit, should be emphasized.

History records that in periods of revival and of tense religious feeling, unusual happenings occur, such as visions, dreams, faintings and seizures, voices, portents - which may not necessarily be explained on psychological grounds; so with tongues and ecstatic utterances. There is record of the latter occurring in Bavaria, in a neglected peasant area - Karlshuld - where under the faithful ministry of the Roman Catholic parish priest, Johann Evangelist Georg Lutz (1801-82) there had come about a revival, and in response to an appeal he found his Church one day in Lent thronged with parishioners who had come desiring to confess their sins and enter upon a new life (1827). On February 20th, 1828, these persons began to speak in ecstatic or prophetic utterances, to indulge in visions and predictions, the substance of this "prophesying" being the Second Advent, the restoration of the spiritual gifts of the primitive Church, and the early ministries including that of
Apostles. The Vicar was hesitant about these happenings and was glad when they gradually decreased and ceased altogether by February 1829. "We know nothing" said the 'gifted' persons to him "of that which we utter until we come to speak; a power comes upon us and the words which we are to speak are given to us." According to Scholler it was not until 1842 that Lutz heard of similar happenings in Scotland. The first words spoken in power at Karlshuld were "Know, ye children of God, that ye are living in the last days, in the days in which our Lord will come. Know ye that before the Lord comes He will give again Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers as at the beginning." 9

Similar events took place in the West of Scotland, where the situation was favourable. The general religious awakening was showing itself in increasing piety all around and especially in the life of one who was reputed to be, and was a saint: Isabella Campbell of Fernicarry, in the parish of Rosneath, an invalid and a sufferer whose fortitude and patience, so striking, were known to many, so that people came from near and far to see her and have

9. Scholler, L.W.: A Chapter of Church History from South Germany... Tr. by W. Wallis. (Scholler, L.W.) Short History.
converse with her. In the Memoir of her life her pastor, Robert Story, tells of her great spiritual power and relates that she was at times under the control of some special supernatural agency, and that her letters and counsels were helpful to multitudes.

In the same district, at Row, was a scene of revival under the preaching of the Rev. J. McLeod Campbell, whose teaching, which has come to be known as the "Row heresy", was nevertheless condemned at the General Assembly of 1831. Religious thought at the time was passing through a sifting process. The fixed theology of Scotland, which had indeed done much in the past in forming the Scottish character, was now being questioned. Its strict Calvinism was not commending itself to many minds. In opposition to it some, like Erskine of Linlathen, and Campbell of Row, were now preaching the freeness of the Gospel with all the fervour of a new spiritual discovery. It was for maintaining that Christ died for all men and that the whole world stood upon common ground in universal relations to the manifested love of God that Campbell was deposed by the General Assembly of 1831. It is strange, considering the Calvinistic standards prevailing in the Scottish Church of that time, that Campbell did not think he was guilty of heresy. In spite of the Assembly's attitude, however, Campbell's preaching had caused immense stir in the

11. See ante p. 40.
neighbourhood, and, as the Life of Robert Story vividly describes, new life and religious fervour had resulted from it.\textsuperscript{12} Irving had had a visit from him and was in general agreement with his teaching. But it should be added that though Campbell was attached to him, he never came to accept the "manifestations" as in any way divinely inspired and refused to become one of the circle in London who held by them.

The third influence was a young man, Rev. Alexander J. Scott, who was acquainted with Campbell at Row.\textsuperscript{13}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{12} Story, R.H.: Life of R. Story, Chapter III.
  \item \textsuperscript{13} Mr. Scott (1805-1866), son of a minister, Dr. John Scott, of Greenock, was born 26th March, educated at local grammar schools, and then at the University of Glasgow, receiving his M.A. degree in 1827. He was licensed by the Presbytery of Paisley. His first sermon was preached for the Rev. J. McLeod Campbell. He made the acquaintance of Irving in 1828. Toward the end of 1829 he went to preach for J. McLeod Campbell. His sermon of "Charismata" on that occasion led to extraordinary manifestations of "tongues" and prophesying. The movement had greater effect on Irving than Scott. He received a call from the church at Woolwich, 1830, to succeed the Rev. Dr. Blyth, deceased, and preached for a while before seeking ordination. When seeking ordination he wrote his objections, among other matters, to the Presbytery, to the doctrine that "none are redeemed...but the elect only." He was never ordained but remained pastor in Woolwich till 1846.

  In 1848 he was appointed to the Chair of English Language and Literature at University College, London. In 1851 he became the first Principal of Owens College (later the University of Manchester), continuing as Professor even after his resignation as Principal in 1857. He married Ann Ker of Greenock, sister of David ker, the only Deacon at Regent Square who clung to Edward Irving. (Chiefly from Dict. Nat. Biography, S.V.; and Hair, John: Regent Square, p. 102, 103.)
\end{itemize}
He had come to feel that the early supernatural endowments of the Church were not intended to be restricted to the Apostolic age, and ought to be claimed by the Church of the present day as well. By 1828 Irving had moved in that direction and his acquaintance with Scott confirmed and strengthened these views. Irving says: "As we went out and in together 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." Campbell relates how Scott had visited Mary Campbell, then an invalid, and sought to impress her, vainly at the time, with the importance and fact of these special teachings regarding the gifts of the Spirit. At Irving's suggestion Scott agreed to be his assistant in London without any pledge as to doctrine. In 1830 he was appointed minister of the Scotch Church at Woolwich. But while his ordination was under consideration questions arose regarding his views on the Human Nature of Christ, and after some delay the General Assembly in 1831 withdrew from him his license to preach. He continued, however, to minister to a congregation in Woolwich, and finally entered upon a distinguished career as the first Principal of Owens College, later known as

15. Sister of Isabella Campbell; playing a conspicuous part in "Catholic Apostolic" History.
the University of Manchester. Mr. Scott, though convinced that supernatural gifts were part of the Church's inheritance, refused to recognize as such the "tongues" connected with Irving and his associates.

At Port Glasgow, February 1830, certain persons became possessed of supernatural power, and in particular two brothers, men of humble walks of life: James and George Macdonald. Their sister, too, had had an unusual experience. She says on a certain evening during a period of devotion while singing (part of Psalm 106): "I was quite overpowered with a sense of the presence of God... I was so swallowed up in God I did not see those who were with me in the room nor hear their voices singing; but I heard the trump of God sounding in my ears so loud that all other sounds were lost... I heard unutterable things... In Spirit I saw the Lord coming in the glory of His Father and of all the holy angels so that I was quite swallowed up in transport."\(^\text{16}\)

On April 14th, 1830, while at the house, talk was about the Spirits, baptism and abnormal spiritual incidents: "at dinner time James and George came home as usual, whom she, Mary Macdonald, then addresses at great length, concluding with a solemn prayer for James that he might at that time be endowed with the power of 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. There was such a change in his countenance."

The account by Mary Campbell of her health and recovery is given in her letter to James Macdonald:18

"On Wednesday I did not feel quite so languid, but was suffering some pain from breathing and palpitation of the heart. Two individuals who saw me about four hours before my recovery said that I would never be strong; that I was not to expect a miracle to be wrought upon me: it was not long after until I received dear brother James Macdonald's letter, giving an account of his sister's being raised up, and commanding me to rise and walk. 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 mind until I took it up again and began to read. As I read, every word came home with power, and when I came to the command to arise, it came home with a power which no words can describe; it was felt to be indeed the voice of Christ; it was such a voice as could not be resisted: a mighty power was instantaneously exerted upon me; I felt as if I had been

lifted from off the earth, and all my diseases taken from off me at the voice of Christ. I was verily made to stand upon my feet, leap and walk, sing and rejoice."

Mary Campbell was peculiarly susceptible to supernatural influence, and she began to speak in unknown tongues the Friday and Saturday following her healing. Soon after the Macdonald brothers did the same. A contemporary, Alan Ker, writing on April 29th, 1830, has described it thus: 19 "There cannot be a doubt," says Mr. Story, in his letter to me on the subject, "but that Mary Campbell has the gift of speaking in an unknown tongue." Several of the good people from Edinburgh, etc., have already come to investigate; many were dubious at first, but going away quite convinced of its being of God. Dr. Chalmers has written Mr. Campbell with much propriety on the subject, and he has invited him to come and see. Mr. Erskine is here at present. He went up to Port-Glasgow yesterday or the day previous, and held a prayer meeting. The meeting was peculiarly solemn, and sweetly overpowering were the emotions of those in prayer, and they seemed filled with the Holy Ghost. Young James Macdonald started suddenly up and spoke the unknown tongue. While speaking, his countenance all at once assumed a new expression, and he

exclaimed - 'The shout of a king is among us! God is in this place. He has taught me the interpretation!' Straightway he proceeded to interpret what he had said! Mr. Erskine was in floods of tears to-day in speaking of it at my bed-side."

Another contemporary, Ann Ker, writing on the 11th May, 1830, describes one of the gatherings at which utterances occurred, and adds "at one time were some strange words. Disco, capito, halo halo, seemed the sound of them."

However differently interpreted, the whole religious world of Scotland was stirred by these happenings. Of the character of the persons involved there was no question, nor of the saintliness of the Macdonalds and the Campbell sisters. Mary Campbell had a reputation for sanctity of the same type as her sister's. She played a prominent part in the developments in London. Among those who went from Edinburgh to the Campbell home was a young man from Edinburgh, William R. Caird, who later was prominent in "Apostolic" circles, and married her. Principal R.H. Story quotes letters of his father's, showing a change in the attitude of the latter toward Mary Campbell, accusing her of vanity and desire to attract attention; also that after she went to London she tried to fit in with Irving's ideas on the subject.

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of the 'gifts'. A casual reader of the volume may infer from these assertions that Mary Campbell deliberately set out to impose on Irving's credulity. This is not true, and Mr. Caird issued in print a letter correcting the mistakes - wrong statements and things withheld - which in justice to the memory of Mary Campbell ought invariably to be read in connection with Story's account of her. This is a letter showing what were the disputes and disagreements with the family which caused their pastor unfortunately to turn from his earlier favourable view of Mary Campbell, into one of harsh and unjustifiable criticism of her; a statement also showing her saintly life, as one who for many years had married companionship with her could testify. The only thing in support of Mr. Story's position is that Mary Campbell without intending to deceive, had the instinctive desire to please those whom she liked, and unconsciously allowed herself to fall into those attitudes, or to develop those habits, which were congenial to Irving in the light of his convictions regarding the spiritual gifts.

The Macdonald brothers did not, however, agree with the later developments in London. "While rejoicing

22. See the last chapters of the Memoirs of the Macdonalds, especially chap. VIII, entitled "Connection and their Disunity with Mr. Irving's Church."
at the news of the manifestations, and to that extent showing unity with the movement, they disapproved of the arrangement whereby the gifted persons in London were made subject to the pastor of their Church; and also... rejected the... promise of God through the prophets, to restore Apostles to His Church." Their gifts gradually ceased, and they both died in 1835.

The ferment in Clydebank attracted wide attention also in London, and in particular of the members of the Prophetic Conferences. In "Morning Watch" 1830, there is an article on "The Extraordinary Manifestations in Port Glasgow", which states that the writer (Irving) had conversed with eight individuals who had been to Scotland and been eye-witnesses of the manifestations, and were unanimous both as to their supernatural character and their power. Then follows a letter from Cardale, who speaks of himself and his five fellow travellers, describes the incidents, and affirms his conviction that the languages were indeed unknown tongues.

The persons in question, mainly gathered from other sources, were: J. B. Cardale, Anglican - not of Irving's Church, though not a stranger to it; Mrs. Cardale, Anglican; E. O. Taplin, Anglican; Miss Emily Cardale, Anglican; R. Norton, Anglican; Dr. Thompson, the only one of Mr. Irving's Church.

Mr. Cardale says 24 - "I went to examine for myself and without reference to or communication with Mr. Irving, in company with three ladies and two gentlemen, one of the ladies, like myself, a member of the Church of England.... We went in August and returned in September (I returned early), and the three gentlemen were invited by Mr. ---- (Drummond) in the latter end of October to meet several clergymen and others, and among them Mr. Irving, for the purpose of narrating to them in common what we had witnessed."

In another connection he says 25 - "Three gentlemen went down from London in the month of September for the express purpose of examining into the subject. One of these, and one only, was a member of Mr. Irving's congregation, and even he...was expressly recognized by Mr. Irving and his Session as a member of the Church of England. The other three were members of...and habitual attendants in the Church of England." Elsewhere 26 he remarks - "On the last day of April, 1831, the first instance of those manifestations of the Spirit occurred, but, as I have said, it was bestowed upon a member of the Church of England, and in her own home - upon one who had never witnessed anything of the kind."

This is incorrect, since the person, Mrs. Cardale, had been to Port Glasgow and either had witnessed the manifestations there or knew everything about them.

In July, 1830, at the Albury Conference, the chairman stated what was the common belief of those present, "that it was our duty to pray for the revival of the gifts manifested in the primitive Church; which are wisdom, knowledge, faith healing, miracles, prophecy, discerning of spirits, kinds of tongues, and interpretation of tongues", and "that a responsibility lies upon us to enquire into the state of those gifts said to be now present in the West of Scotland." 27

On the return of these visitors from Scotland and on their reporting on those proceedings, Christians of like mind in London began to meet together in prayer for the Holy Spirit in terms of the Scottish manifestations. About this time, the autumn of 1830, the religious world of London was startled by a remarkable case of divine healing - that of Miss Fancourt, daughter of an Anglican clergyman - which happening suggested to minds prepared for the subject as well as to many who had not thought thereupon before, that the age of miracles was at hand again, and of those spiritual gifts of which there is record in the New Testament.

27. (Cardale, J.B.) op. cit. p. 13.
Certainly from this time on Irving directed his thoughts more than ever to the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

The first instance of these gifts in London occurred on 30th April, 1831, at a private house - that of Mrs. Cardale, an Anglican, when this lady "spoke with great solemnity and prophesied." With these things in the minds of people, Prayer Meetings at 6.30 a.m. were instituted in Irving's Church for the General Assembly of that year about to meet; the Assembly which in fact set in motion forces which were destined to lead to the deposing of Irving himself. The Meetings continued after the Assembly was over, their subject being more particularly the outpouring of the Spirit upon the Church. Says Irving, "We cried unto the Lord for Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers anointed of the Holy Spirit, the gift of Jesus, because we saw it written in God's Word that these are the appointed ordinances for the edifying of the body of Christ." 27a.

The next instance was soon after, when Miss Emily Cardale was visited by the same power. Then on Thursday, 25th August, 1831, at a prayer meeting in Irving's house, E. O. Taplin, who owned a school, began to speak in prophecy. After this, the same three were often speaking in power at the early prayer meetings at Irving's Church; not, however, in the Church itself, as they had been requested to abstain from doing so. But on October 16th, 27a. Oliphant, op. cit., p. 318.
at the morning service, the power came upon Miss Hall, a governess, and in order to comply with the restriction imposed, that no such speaking should occur in church, rushed out to the vestry and there gave way to the impulse, her shouting being heard in the Church and causing much commotion and excitement. In the afternoon, during his exposition of I Cor. xiv. Irving stated that whereas, following advice received, he had given the said caution, he would no longer do so, nor forbid the speaking in Church. This set the speakers free and at the evening service Taplin gave an utterance to this effect - "Why do ye flee from the voice of the Lord? Surely the Lord is in the midst of you. If ye flee now, where will ye hide yourselves in the Day of Judgment?"

The rumour of these strange happenings rapidly spread that day. A tumultuous, angry crowd assembled in the evening. Utterances took place, and pandemonium ensued. The newspapers and periodicals now rose against Irving. The "Times", which began to suggest that the time had come for the removal of Irving from that Church, declared that millenarianism and apocalyptic imagery "may offend the judgment but did not offend the nerves. But have we the same excuse for the recent exhibitions with which the metropolis has been scandalized?"

Are we to listen to the screaming of hysterical women and the ravings of frantic men? Is bawling to be added to absurdity and the disturber of a congregation to escape the police and treadmill because the Person who occupies the pulpit vouches for their inspiration?"

The climax was reached on November 13th, when there were disturbances at both services.

The trustees now were forced to act, and sought to prevail upon Irving to suppress the manifestations. It is possible that if he had restricted them to the prayer meetings the matter would have been allowed to remain at rest; but he believed these to be of God, and could not possibly bring himself to suppress them in any way, and tumult and confusion continued. In their bewilderment and distress because of their personal regard for the minister, the kirk Session stressed the inconsistency of these innovations with the Discipline of the Church of Scotland; but to no avail. Friends, likewise, had warned Irving, unsuccessfully. Carlyle relates his interview and remonstrance with Irving, which, however, had no result. Another loyal friend, the Elder, James Nisbet, proposed a resolution which the minister did not put before the Session, but which is recorded in the Minutes to the effect that "the

Session cannot recognize any teacher but our own ordained pastor and other ministers lawfully called, and cannot suffer any interruptions to any of the services of the Church." To argue as Irving and his friends did that special consideration should be shown to him and his ideas because the church was built on the strength of his name is quite irrelevant. It was on the strength of his name as a minister of the National Church of Scotland and abiding by its discipline and ways; they would not have been bound to consider him if, for instance, he had turned Buddhist or Mohammedan.

The trustees did not believe this to be the voice of God and felt responsible for the order in the Church in accordance to the views of the Church of Scotland. The Presbytery of London before whom the matter was brought sustained them. The refusal of Irving to meet the views of the trustees forced them to take Counsel's opinion,- in this case, Sir Edward Sugden - whose opinion was in their favour: "the trustees ought immediately to proceed to remove Mr. Irving from his pastoral charge by making complaint to the London Presbytery in the manner pointed out in the deed."

The complaint was received by the Presbytery on 22nd March, and in the main is concerned with irregularities mentioned, in Public Worship. The Trial, which

excited much attention, and of which extensive documentary evidence exists, took place on April 26th, 1832, and is particularly famous for the profound and eloquent defence by the accused. The decision was that "the Rev. Edward Irving has rendered himself unfit to remain the minister of the National Scotch Church, and ought to be removed therefrom in pursuance of the conditions of the Trust Deed of the said Church." 31

That the decision was inevitable and just may be conceded. But there was no excuse for the manner in which it was carried out. It is strange that persons who held Irving in high esteem should act in this matter with such precipitancy and should shut him out of his Church without warning or some consideration for his feelings. The unpleasant truth is that next morning at the prayer meeting hour, he and his group assembled, found the doors of the Church closed against him, May 4th, 1832. Quoting a member of the Church: "You will have seen by the newspapers that the trustees were not tardy in carrying out the decision of the Presbytery. On Friday I went as usual to Regent Square for the early six o'clock service. What were my feelings on seeing our dear pastor bare-headed standing before the gates of that building where for so many years he had been minister.

31. Hair, J., op. cit., p. 121; Appendix, p. 334-338.
He was engaged in prayer, with a few of his flock around him; they soon congregated, and the service commenced by our singing the twenty-third Psalm. It was an affecting moment, but we felt that the Lord was indeed our shepherd, and we should not want. Mr. Irving then read the notice from the trustees, which was the reason of our meeting in the open air, also an accompanying letter, in which a strong testimony was given of the blameless life of the individual deposed; who therefore has been cast out solely because he has acknowledged the Lord Jesus as the baptiser with the Holy Ghost. After reading these communications, on which he made no comment, he proceeded with the service; as he concluded, the Spirit burst forth in joyful utterance, calling on us to rejoice in our deliverance, and that the Lord would do great things for us. Before we departed, Mr. Irving told us that he should forthwith proceed with his elders and deacons in different directions in search of a suitable place for his flock to meet in, and, as he confidently looked to the Lord to provide this, he directed us all to come up at seven o'clock to the gates of the Church, where a deacon would be stationed to give the address, or, in the event of not succeeding, to inform us."

In fairness to the Trustees it should be noted that Irving had defied them to do this very thing, though they ought to have had more grace than act upon it. Mrs.
Oliprant quotes Irving, 28th February, 1832, with reference to the Opinion of Counsel: "... If the trust deeds do fetter me therein (ministerial office) I knew it not when the trust deed was drawn, and am sure that it never was intended in the drawing of it; for certainly I would not, to possess all the churches of this land, bind myself one iota from obeying the great Head and Bishop of the Church. But if it be so that you, the Trustees, must act to prevent me and my flock from assembling to worship God, according to the word of God, in the House committed into your trust, we will look unto our God for preservation and safe keeping."32

That early morning, the company held their meeting on the steps of the Church. For the next few days they sought a place of meeting and then found it in the Socialist Rotunda, or Hall, in Grays Inn Road, which had been used by Robert Owen, the Reformer. There they held Communion Service on the 6th of May, and continued to meet there for some months, while at the same time, they did preaching out of doors in many places.33

32. Oliphant, op. cit., p. 349.
33. The sincerity of the accusers no less than the accused ought to be borne in mind. It was no easy or pleasant task that the Courts had. The anxieties and care of the General Assembly and the Presbyteries are hinted at in Principal David Brown's (who was Irving's assistant after A. J. Scott, until they could not see eye to eye about the Gifts) "Personal Reminiscences of Edward Irving." Expositor, 3rd series. Vol. VI.
CHAPTER IV.

THE CASE OF ROBERT BAXTER.

During the last four months at Regent Square the gifted group had been joined by Robert Baxter of Doncaster; a devout Churchman given to Christian work, and a solicitor who later attained some eminence in the profession. In dealing with him it will be advisable to give extensive quotations from his writings because, as will appear, they were made use of by the "Catholic Apostolic" Group, and had a far-reaching influence.

While in London on a business visit, and being anxious to attend the aforesaid Prayer Meeting, he did so in January, 1832. "After one or two of the brethren had read and prayed, Mr. T---(Taplin) was made to speak two or three words very distinctly, and with an energy and depth of tone which seemed to me extraordinary, and it fell upon me as a supernatural utterance, which I ascribed to the power of God; the words were in a tongue which I did not understand. In a few minutes Miss E. C. (Cardale) broke out in an utterance in English....Those who have heard the powerful and commanding utterance need no description; but they who have not may conceive what an unnatural and unaccustomed tone of voice, an intense and rivetting power of expression - with a declaration of a cutting rebuke to all who were
present, and applicable to my own state of mind in particular - would effect upon me, and upon the others who were come together... In the midst of the feeling of awe and reverence which this produced, I was myself seized upon by the power; and in much struggling against it, was made to cry out, and myself to give forth a confession of my own sin....and afterwards to utter a prophecy that the messengers of the Lord should go forth publishing to the ends of the earth the mighty power of God, the testimony of the near coming of the Lord Jesus."¹

Baxter was present at Regent Square in August, 1831, January 13th-18th, 1832, and February 20th-27th,² and was used in prophetical utterance which was recognized by the group to be such. But the undependability of some of his predictions, the contradictory utterances and positions accepted as inspired by the group, the distinctive "Catholic Apostolic" doctrine regarding the Human Nature of Christ,³ led him to doubt his own utterances as being from God. And while always believing these to have been something supernatural, ere long he came to the view that these had been not the Spirit of God at work but of Satan, and that he, Baxter, had been deceived. Firmly convinced of his error he hastened to make amends; and the very day Irving had to

². Ibid., p. 4.
³. Ibid, p. 124, etc.
appear before the London Presbytery he visited him, stating his newer conviction and urging Irving to reconsider his steps. This was the more disturbing, because another prophetess, Miss Hall, had confessed to feigning spiritual utterances at times, uttering what she had premeditated. Irving refused to accept Baxter's interpretation, that he had been deceived while prophesying; holding rather to the genuineness of the utterances, and regretting Baxter's fall.

But Baxter felt it his urgent duty to make amends for his error. He published his "Narrative of Facts", which was seized upon by Irving's enemies and those of the movement generally, and which has ever been a stumbling-block to the "Catholic Apostolic" group, who have been at pains to answer it in detail. It may be indeed conceded that Baxter is inaccurate in a good many of his statements, both in this volume, and the later pamphlet called "Irvingism", and that he projects his own ideas too much. As Cardale puts it, the title more correctly would have been "A narrative of Mr. Baxter's thoughts and feelings, of revelations made to Mr. Baxter, of Mr. Baxter's words, of Mr. Baxter's actings, and of words and actings of others to and concerning Mr. Baxter -

4. Oliphant: Life of Rev. Edward Irving, p. 364 - Miss Hall. The case was cited at the meeting of the Presbytery; Baxter, op. cit., p. 95.
6. Published 1836.
and in a very large proportion of words of Mr. Baxter to and concerning himself. The pamphlet on "Irvingism in its rise, progress and present standing" appeared in 1836. It is useful to the historian as giving a good general idea of the movement, but contains a good many inaccuracies, as Cardale points out in the aforesaid "Letter on Certain Statements... in The Old Church Porch" which ought to be read always conjointly with Baxter's writings on the subject. The "Catholic Apostolic" people deserve much sympathy in this distressing episode of which their enemies have made unfair use; use exceeding anything that Mr. Baxter intended. But Mr. Baxter too is entitled to sympathy. That he laboured under difficulties of personality or of understanding may be conceded; but it is important to look behind the inaccuracies to the motives of the man in his recantation. The reading of these pamphlets suggests, irrespective of the particular application he gives, that here is a man convinced that he had been involved in a work that was not of God, no matter how he worded that conviction. He felt he had been instrumental in leading others astray, and sought in this way to arrest the evil he believed he had started. He admits that during his utterances, now held to be

8. Cp. the inaccuracies about them in "The Old Church Porch", based on Baxter; dealt with by Mr. Cardale in the above work.
Satanic, he was conscious of having deep communion with God and a desire for holiness. But his sincerity in what he looks on as his awakening from a delusion should be borne constantly in mind. His arguments and objections no doubt could be, and probably were, adequately disproved by those "Catholic Apostolic" authors who wrote against him or rather against the arguments; for of him they always had proper regard, and admit his goodness and religious character as he does theirs throughout.

Some of his prophecies which they accepted are:

1. The expounding of the Two Witnesses (Rev. XI). He was made to say that these "were two offices; one, the office of the prophet, the other, the office of the minister - that the one kind of witness they had for some time had in the midst of them, in those who spake with tongues and prophesied, (alluding, as we understood, to the gifted persons who so spake); and that the other form of witness, the Lord had now for the first time manifested (alluding to the gift which was manifested in myself) and this should be multiplied and many ministers sent forth...."  

2. The prophecy, concerning the precise words of which there is difference of opinion between Baxter's own statement of it and Cardale's as representing the rest.

of the "Catholic Apostolic" people, relates to the 1260 days and the going up of the saints. "The words of the prophecy were most distinct, to count from that day (viz. 14th January, 1832) 1260 days, and three days and a half (Rev. XI. 11), and on innumerable other occasions, by exposition and by prophecy was the same thing again and again declared, and most largely opened." 11 In the evening of the aforesaid day, when the power was "abundant upon" him, he was made to declare that they 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, and evermore be with the Lord." 12 Reckoning from the 14th "of the first month" which Baxter understood to be January, the date pointed to was July 14th, 1835. Cardale mentions his utter disbelief that Baxter ever uttered words to the effect that the Lord should come on or about July 14th, 1835, or on any other given date. It is possible that the interpretation given by Baxter to the event that was to be was mistaken. 13 But the date was momentous in the movement: though the Lord did not come on that date it was nevertheless prepared for and became the chief date for the "Catholic Apostolic" Church in that

12. Ibid. p. 17.
13. This work of his was written in 1833.
"The Separation of the Apostles" took place then, which is the annual feast held in greatest honour to this day. Prophecy was given that the Bible Society was "a curse going through the land", and similar adverse utterance came concerning religious Societies in general which were declared to be the "confederacies" condemned in Isaiah VIII.9, etc. This attitude was fully taken up by the group and seems to persist to this present time. 

4. This is not stated as a prophecy though there may have been such an utterance, but as conviction to which he had come reluctantly, and contrary to his earlier views, viz. "That the Church of England, as included in the visible church, was cast off and abandoned of God for apostasy" - a view not dissimilar to the one that came to prevail in the sect.

5. Early in this period a prophecy was given by him that "God had cut short the present appointment for ordaining ministers by the laying on of hands by succession from the Apostles. That God would not henceforth recognize such ordinations; though it was declared, that, up to this time, such had been the appointed method.... The Spirit of God having withdrawn from the church, the church was thenceforth desolate; and now God would endow men with the power of utterance in the Spirit,

15. Cp. his "The Layman's Appeal."
as the gift distinguishing those set apart for the ministry. It was explained, that the Spirit was not taken from faithful men in the church, but from the visible church as a body. The whole visible church was now cast off as God's church and God would bring forth his spiritual church with the fulness of the gifts of the Spirit, and extend it to the ends of the earth within the appointed time." 17

He says, "I was then made to give forth a distinct command to all present, and to all who should hear it, to go forth and declare, wherever the providence of God should open a place of testimony to them, the near coming of Christ, and the coming in of the spiritual ministry. The command was very express, to go into the highways and byeways, the streets, the lanes, the alleys, and the public ways, and warn all men, that they might be prepared for the spiritual ministry, and not mock at it when it broke forth. The exhortation was most energetic, to linger not, but go forth....If men...(mocked) they would be cut off as committing the unpardonable sin of blaspheming against the Holy Ghost....They were enjoined not to wait for the power of the Spirit but...go forth in faith." 18 He adds that "In conformity to this message, many of the congregation went forth publicly to preach and continue in it to the present day, being

called up before magistrates on account of it."\textsuperscript{19}

Irving approved of the above message, and at the suggestion of a member in the congregation he permitted himself to return public thanks to Baxter.

6. "It was declared in utterance that the Lord would again send apostles, by the laying on of whose hands should follow the baptism of fire, which should subdue the flesh and burn out sin; and should give to the disciples of Christ the full freedom of the Holy Ghost, and full and final victory over the world."\textsuperscript{20}

Again, at Mr. Irving's, he was made in power to address him on the subject of the Church of Scotland and "their offence against God in the popular constitution of their churches, and the rejection of bishops as the standing sign of the apostolic office. I had felt much concerning this message, fearing Mr. Irving would not be able to receive it, from the opinions I knew he entertained in favour of Presbyterian ordination and constitution. To my surprise, however, and very greatly to my gratification, he said his mind had been prepared for this, and he could fully assent to it."\textsuperscript{21}

7. He continues "Proceeding in my address, in the power, after setting forth the glorious work which the Lord was

\textsuperscript{19} Baxter, R.: Narrative of Facts, p. 38.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid. p. 65.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid. p. 69.
about to do, I was made, with many pauses and much preparation, to declare to him, that he was not to be the hand by whom the Lord would principally carry on this work; that because of the sin of the Church of Scotland he was rejected from the apostolic office, but that he should be a mighty prophet, and be endowed with all power, and go to Scotland through the length and breadth of it.... That...he must speedily go forth ...to bear the Lord's warning to his native land. Mr. Irving declared his willingness to be laid aside or used as the Lord should be pleased to order for his own glory."22

On the morrow (Baxter)"was made to give forth what seemed a most glorious prophecy concerning the endowments which would attend upon the spiritual apostles whom the Lord would now send forth; in how much they would exceed the endowments given to the twelve apostles."23

"It was then held among us, that when the spiritual church was fully constituted, water would no longer be used in baptism, nor bread and wine in the supper of the Lord... In one utterance in the country it was said, that when the faithful ministers were cast out of the visible church, they must cease to use the visible symbols. However, in subsequent utterances, it became confirmed that the spiritual church could not be

22. Baxter, R., op. cit., p. 69
23. Ibid. p. 69.
fully constituted, until the full powers of an apostle were given, and of this we were now in daily, and I may say hourly, expectation... If apostolic powers were again given it would be manifestly according to order that they should regulate the ordinances of the church."

Mr. Baxter remarks that the delusion of the new apostles is evident for "they are now avowedly exercising apostolic functions, upon the mere command of the voice, without pretending to have the signs of an apostle, in signs and wonders and mighty deeds: and the individual who has thus been set apart for the apostolic office, prays, in their meetings, in the following strain:

'Lord, am I not thine apostle? - yet where are the signs of my apostleship? - where are the wonders and mighty deeds?'...

Baxter also speaks of the "folly" of "Mr. Irving claiming, as 'angel of the church' authority over the apostle; and the apostle is put under subjection to the pastor or angel, as he designates himself." This is in direct opposition to what took place later, when everyone, Irving included, was subordinated to the apostle.

It will be seen that these views in the main found

25. Meaning Cardale.
27. Ibid. p. 85.
a definite place in the system evolved. In other words the group accepted them as representing Baxter's divinely influenced period and as messages from above for God's church.

Baxter sought an interview with Irving and Cardale the very day of the trial, when these were on the way to make their defence of themselves and the happenings at Regent Square. They were thus confronted at the outset with the emphatic declaration of the chief speaker and influence in bringing those happenings about, that he had in all this been labouring under a delusion. But these considerations did not change Irving's views or alter his course.

Opponents of the movement made much use of Baxter's writings. They form the substance of the indictment in " Irvingism" in the "Old Church Porch", an Anglo-Catholic production which in its reference to the "Catholic Apostolic" Church is full of inaccuracies. One cannot but sympathise with Cardale's indignation when in his old age - many years after the events mentioned he proceeds to answer the charges. It is particularly erroneous in its inferences from Baxter's Narrative.

Before leaving the case of Mr. Baxter it is incumbent to consider his criticism of the trend as well
as the character of the movement.

1. "The extreme secrecy enjoined by the spirit, and the manifest shrinking from public examination. The Spirit has, both in England and Scotland, forbidden the writing down of utterances, and even the attempt to report them verbatim. Thus errors and contradictions are more easily concealed and explained away." 29

2. "The manifest denouncement and debasement of the understanding... Now I am assured, both from the remembrance of my own utterances in power, and from those of others, as well as from the later correspondence with the gifted persons, 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... The doctrine propounded is and was: If contradictions appear, or failures appear, wait until the spirit by other utterances, shall clear up the difficulty." 30

3. "The bitterness of denunciation and hastiness of spirit, found in the manifestation of the power... Many times have I been appalled at the stern and remorseless denunciations which, under the power, I have been made to give forth." 31

4. "The spirit of separation, which marks out a

30. Ibid. p. 127
31. Ibid. p. 128.
line by the reception or rejection of the utterances— all who bow to the utterances are received; those who cannot are not acknowledged, but after the first and second admonition, are rejected. The effect of this is very extraordinary. It casts off, under the name of Babylon, the great mass even of orthodox professors, and raises up the little church which does receive the utterances, into the distinctive title of "The Church"... At the same time it takes its own members out of public observation, and leads them into a comparative privacy; far away from the correction of example or opinion beyond their own pale."  

Regarding Irving, Baxter thinks that in the matter of the manifestations he is "greatly tried. He cannot shut his eyes to facts which are daily rising up before him, and yet he is (as I was under my first doubts) afraid to entertain doubts, and deals with them all as temptations; so silencing doubt, he will give himself up to the power, and go on until God is pleased, by some broad flash of light, or some gross error in the utterances, to show him its darkness."  

5. "One circumstance of these manifestations cannot but force itself upon observation; that is, the continual use which was made of the doctrine of the Second Advent

33. Ibid. p. 130. Page 29 has a good appreciation of Irving and analysis of his attitude to utterances.
of our Lord... The nearness of it, its suddenness, and the fearful judgments which would accompany it... With the French prophets, who arose about the beginning of the last century, and with the followers of Joanna Southcote, in our own days, the nearness of the second coming has been the leading doctrine. The inevitable effect of this fanatical use of the doctrine is to create prejudice, and to induce a persuasion that it is a dangerous doctrine."

Mr. Irving, however, was not willing to let Mr. Baxter go in this way. In words of inimitable pathos he addressed him in a paper entitled "What caused Mr. Baxter's Fall", beginning "Oh, my brother, where is thy discernment gone between God and Satan, good and evil, that thou shouldst thus turn aside like a deceitful bow?"

These quotations give us an insight into Baxter's character, and into the trends of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church. A study of him would show that he was a High Churchman, with the usual antipathies to Methodists, Dissenters and all Liberals, and equally in support of the throne, the nobility and the established church, and that these appear in his prophecies. If this were a study of Psychology it would naturally involve a study

of Dual Personality. This has been done by Dr. Andrew L. Drummond effectively in his study of "Edward Irving, and the Gift of Tongues." These same characteristics will be found in the main in the "Catholic Apostolic" Church, certainly during the earlier period.

In the dispute between the "Catholic Apostolic" leaders of that day, and the position of Baxter, much, no doubt, could be said on either side, and equally sincere were the parties disagreeing. But it is important for this history to note the importance of Baxter at the time of the inception of the movement, and also his contribution by his utterances toward the development of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church, as well as the place he had in the development and history of Irving himself.

CHAPTER V.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE NEW CHURCH.

On October 19th, 1832, the Exhibition Hall, otherwise West Picture Gallery, in Newman Street, off Oxford Street, was acquired, and was made into a Church. The opening meeting of the congregation there was on the 24th of that month. It began with "Manifestations," and they were continued through the succeeding evenings.

On the 7th of November, 1832, the first apostle was called, of which one of the accounts may be taken, though they all agree in detail. In a letter dated February 13th, 1872, (long after the event) Deaconess Cardale, the sister of Mr. Cardale, wrote: "I will

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2. Mrs. Oliphant, Life of Rev. Edward Irving, p. 383, says it was on October 24th, evening.
3. With regard to the "Manifestations" it is well to explain the difference between "tongues" and prophecy. The gift of "tongues" was addressed to the understanding of God rather than man, and was a sign to the unbeliever that one greater than man was present. It is not the language of any country. The Holy Ghost can use the tongue of a man in a manner which neither his own intellect could dictate nor that of any other man comprehend. A "tongue" (see I Corinthians) is equally unintelligible to the speaker and to the hearer - not so the gift of prophecy. He that prophesieth speaketh unto man to edification, and to exhortation, and to comfort. But the Angel was supposed at least normally to tell the expediency of prophetic words uttered and to discern what they purported (Dowglasse, Chronicle, pp. 6,7,17). It is no disparagement to the "tongue" therefore if no one understands it. On the other hand a specimen of prophecy is given on page 196.
relate to you the account of my brother's call, as I was present; as he was the first of the Apostles called or designated in these last days; and we did not for months, perhaps years, see the close parallel between what took place in his case, and in that of Paul and Barnabas, the first Apostles of the Gentiles, (Acts XIII) …On the evening of November 7th, 1832, I was at a prayer meeting at Mr. Irving's house amongst a great many more, and my brother engaged in prayer, and was very earnestly asking the Lord to give us the Holy Ghost, when Mr. Drummond rose from his knees and went across the room to my brother, and said, in great power, 'Convey it, convey it, for art thou not an Apostle?' Of course it was very solemn, but none spoke of it; the prayer-meeting went on, and my brother soon commenced doing Apostolic work, although always being moved to it in the power of the Holy Ghost..."4 The next morning, Mr. Irving, narrating the dealings of the Lord in the designation of Mr. Cardale, "solemnly addressed him accordingly, adjuring him to be faithful, and warning him of the exceeding great responsibility and awfulness of his office. Also warning us against any idolatry or undue exaltation of a man, inasmuch as the whole church was apostolic, and instead of needing to lean on

any man, was itself 'the pillar and ground of the truth!'\textsuperscript{5} The exercise of Apostolic functions was not resorted to until December 24th, 1832. Prophetic utterance had bidden Mr. Cardale go down to Albury and ordain as Evangelist William Rennie Caird, who since April of the year, with great devotion, had been working there, visiting and preaching to the poor.\textsuperscript{6} At one of the prayer meetings which had been held for some time at Albury Park, Cardale was moved by power to lay hands on the young man, and called him to be an Evangelist, and also was given words to bid him receive the Holy Ghost for that special work. On December 26th, at the prayer meeting, Ernest O. Taplin\textsuperscript{7} was given to utter words calling for the ordination of Angel to take place. Thereupon, supernaturally impelled, Cardale laid his hands on Drummond,\textsuperscript{8} who was called to be Angel of the Albury Church.

\textsuperscript{5} Norton, R. : Restoration of Apostles and Prophets, p. 66. The last sentence is important as bearing on Irving's idea of apostleship.

\textsuperscript{6} In Drummond's "Setting up of the Church of Christ at Albury" (1833) it is said that Mr. Caird did this work at the request of Mr. Drummond, being tutor to his boys at the same time. Formerly he was engaged in some similar capacity by Miss Olivia Sparrow, an ardent member of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church.

\textsuperscript{7} The position of Mr. Taplin in the movement is mysterious. He was repeatedly stated by other inspired persons to be in error, and without the Spirit. But Mr. Cardale, notwithstanding, had implicit confidence in him, and he became indispensable to the movement as it evolved. (Baxter : Irvingism.)

\textsuperscript{8} Drummond, H. : Setting up of the Church of Christ at Albury." (1833).
With the appearance of the Apostles the movement takes on a new character. It is no longer Irving, but Cardale, that has the situation in hand, and is responsible for such developments as occurred, both in the theory of the Church, in its ministry, and its theory and practice of worship. But already under Irving's supervision, if not direction, certain changes had occurred indicative of the fact that since the ejection from Regent Square a new religious body had come into being, which was no longer of the Presbyterian model of the Church of Scotland. A new terminology had become familiar, the pastor being Angel with quasi-episcopal powers though minus the name. The prophets had now received a recognized place and been given free play, though their precise relation to the rest of the ministry had not been determined. A new order of service was introduced. The Scottish version of the Psalm, however, was continued under Irving, though it was scarcely suitable for what had come to be an English congregation.

The interior of the new Church, too, calls for comment. Baxter, in "Irvingism", thus describes the place: "The room adopted for their meetings was fitted

10. 1836.
up in the usual style of pews and galleries as in a church; instead of a pulpit however, there was constructed at the upper end of the church a raised platform, capable of containing perhaps fifty persons. In the ascent to this platform are steps, on the front of the platform are seven seats; the middle seat is that of the Angel; the three on each side of the Angel are elders. Below them on the steps and in parallel line, are seven other seats belonging to the prophets, the middle seat being allotted to Mr. Taplin as the chief of the prophets. Still lower in a parallel line are seven other seats appropriated to the deacons, the middle seat being occupied by the chief deacon. This threefold cord of a sevenfold ministry was adopted under direction of the utterance. 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.\(^{12}\)

While these non-Presbyterian developments were taking place in London, the Church of Scotland, to which Irving still owed allegiance, was becoming concerned.

A Committee of the General Assembly\(^{13}\) which had been

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11. Mr. Baxter does not mention that there was a reading desk (in lieu of a pulpit) in front, looking toward the audience. (Wilks, Washington: Edward Irving, p. 257).
12. Also Oliphant, op. cit., p. 381; Jones, W.: Biographical Sketch of the Rev. Edward Irving, p. 188
appointed to be on the look out for, and guard against the perils of Irving's theology, now urged upon the Presbytery of Annan to take action. That Presbytery began by asking Irving if he was the author of the writings containing his views of the Human Nature of Christ. He replied in the affirmative, unfortunately including therein needless aspersions on the General Assembly - abusive in fact - which were bound to irritate the Church in Scotland, and make him many enemies. He was summoned to appear before the Presbytery and did so. The Trial took place on March 13th, 1833, and he was deposed from the Ministry of the Church.

The concluding act was interrupted by one of the prophets. The sentence was about to be pronounced, when a voice - that of David Dow - was heard: "Arise, depart, arise, depart! flee ye out of here! Ye cannot pray! How can ye pray? How can ye pray to Christ whom ye deny? Ye cannot pray. Depart, depart, flee, flee!" There was much commotion. Dow then got up to leave, and Irving followed him. As he did so, he exclaimed to the crowd obstructing his passage: "Stand forth. Stand forth, What! Will ye not obey the voice of the

Holy Ghost? As many as will obey the voice of the Holy Ghost, let them depart."  

Irving later returned to Newman Street - to a church different from what he had had to deal with or had in mind. Changes had taken place and were taking place. Worship had been changed at the supernatural directions of the Apostles; the very apostleship for which so many had prayed was proving something other than what he had understood it to be. Clearly Irving represented the older order, not the new. Perhaps it is incorrect to say that the new group were embarrassed at his presence. Mrs. Oliphant holds to that view, though it is officially denied by the chief Apostle that this was the case. But some embarrassment there must have been if only because of Irving's unpreparedness for the newer developments.

Irving now had to undergo a process of subjection of his will to others - he, the Prophet of the Lord - and bow before Apostles, instigated by utterances of the prophets. When he returned from Scotland he took up his duties as before, never deeming other than that he was the Lord's minister still. But on the Sunday after his return, probably March 31st, as he was about to baptize an infant, through the mouth of the Apostle

it was declared that "what the Church of Scotland had given the Church of Scotland could withdraw,"\(^{19}\) and that therefore he should not administer the Sacrament seeing he was unordained, till he had again received ordination.\(^{20}\) In obedience to this word he abstained, going on, however, with his other duties as usual. Clearly, the effect of this word was to reduce him to Deacon's Orders,\(^{21}\) though only for a brief period; the lowest order in the Church.

It is not difficult to understand Mrs. Oliphant's applying to this procedure the word 'Indignity';\(^{22}\) or her comment that probably he never expected anything of the kind, for in his letter from Annan, though he was deposed from the Church of Scotland, he had no doubt as to his being a minister in the Church of God, and subscribed himself their "faithful pastor and angel over Christ's flock."\(^{23}\)

But a new order had come, in which everything was to be subjected to the Apostolate. It was not long before the needful ordination took place. On April 5th,

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19. There is no "indelibility of orders" in the Presbyterian tradition, so that reordination was the only thing to be done.
Friday, 1833, Cardale was moved to ordain Irving Angel over the Church in Newman Street. An utterance was given through Cardale that the Lord would give Irving ordination. On March 30th, the same gave utterance that the congregation should present themselves and call a solemn assembly. On March 31st, Irving was stopped, as stated, from administering baptism, in the very act of doing so; being limited, traditionally, in effect to the work of a deacon, though deacons may baptize.

On Thursday, April 4th, at the morning service, after the reading of Jeremiah I, a prophecy applied the words "I see the rod of an almond tree" to a spiritual ministry now budding, and ended with a direction to the Apostle "to ordain the called Angel of the Church." Next day the congregation was bid to present themselves for a special work in the evening.

On April 5th, Friday, at the evening service, the Interior was arranged in keeping with Cardale's teaching regarding the Candlestick. Taplin, in virtue of his prophetic gift, placed the elders on either side of Irving although not all of these were as yet ordained. On the right hand - Horn, Mackenzie, Henderson. On the left hand - Perceval and Place, and a sixth was promised, who, in fact, was selected next day - Tudor.

Taplin, in power, bade Irving kneel, and the Apostle commanded Perceval, the elder appointed for that service, to read I Samuel, 3 and 4, and applied the teaching, prayed, then laid hands on Irving, ordaining him to that office, which is practically that of an Ignatian (not a Diocesan) Bishop; bidding at the same time that unleavened bread and wine be brought with which the Eucharist was to be celebrated.

Irving's attitude, after these events, seems to be that of a man who has been crushed. The "Catholic Apostolic" Church views it as but the bowing of his will in faith and in recognition of the act of God; equally plausible is the explanation that it was the act of a broken man, unable now to resist forces which were proving too strong; which he had set in motion, and which, Frankenstein-like, were proving beyond his control. Even Cardale, in the course of denying precisely this accusation, practically admits it. "I do not deny that Mr. Irving had great difficulty in bringing himself to the hearty reception of the position into which those called to be Apostles were gradually introduced; that he had fears on their behalf and on his own, and on behalf of all, and that he entertained

25. See page 103
26. Thus introducing the custom that has prevailed since. Historically they would be called Azymites, cp. Patriarch Photios of the Greek Church, in the 9th century.
a jealousy, which, within due bounds, was peculiarly proper to him, against any undue assumption, not warranted by the Word of God, and derogatory to the place of the chief minister of congregations, but I do utterly deny that there were any such contentions and oppositions that the author has been led to imagine."\(^27\)

When the Rev. Edward Irving was dismissed from the Regent Square Church, we are told "he had a desire to appoint as counsellors, and for some ministerial acts, the two elders and two deacons who followed him. But in spite of his wise lucubrations on the subject in 1828 he did not realise the truth, and still entertained the modern Presbyterian idea that elders and deacons have no spiritual function to fulfil; just as he had at first no idea that an Angel over a church was anything more than a Presbyterian minister."\(^28\)

At Irving's ordination as Angel, Cardale "demanded of Mr. Irving whether he would engage to keep those charges of Christ to his church, and on receiving the Angel's assent he proceeded to consecrate the elements, blessing them before the Lord; and after administering them to Mr. Irving, who was required to kneel, contrary to the former Presbyterian practice, he bade him administer them to the elders and congregation."\(^29\)

\(^{27}\) Ker, D., op. cit., p. xv.
\(^{28}\) Boase, C.W., op. cit., p. 808.
It is admitted by the "Catholic Apostolic" Church that "the congregation of Mr. Irving was so rich in numbers, ministries, and gifts; he was so truly a father to his people, so enthroned in their hearts and affections, and reverenced by them; that it was hard both for him and them to recognise the superior office of Apostles, or to regard the church as incomplete", i.e. not as one of Seven.  

Norton quotes Irving: "We were beguiled to think that the full measure of the tabernacle of the Lord would be given to that church over which I preside as angel; which was no less than the exalting of the angel of the church into the place of Christ... I confess for myself that I was very slow, yea, and reluctant to turn back from my evil way; whereto I do trace the heavy chastisement of the love of my God."  

A very important section on this subject is given by Mrs. Oliphant. It is a letter from Irving's brother-in-law, Rev. J. Brodie of Monimail, who had happened to be in London and went to Communion service at Newman Street. He writes: "After praise and prayer he (Irving) proceeded to dispense the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, and pointed out the character of those

30. Ibid. p. 127.
31. Ibid. p. 129.
32. The last letters. See Appendix. But it is by no means certain to what incident Irving refers.
who were invited to approach, and of those who were unworthy. While he was doing this, one of the Apostles exclaimed: 'And if there be anyone who does not acknowledge that the Spirit of God is amongst us, if there be any one that doubts the work of the Lord, let him abstain; let the unbeliever depart'... Next forenoon Mr. Irving came to call for me. I very readily expressed my belief that not a few of those who belonged to his congregation were true believers in the Saviour. When he asked me, 'Why then did you not come and join with us at our Communion?' I replied, 'Even if I had desired to do so, how could I, after having heard it so plainly stated that all who doubted as to the nature of these manifestations were commanded to abstain?' He paused a moment, 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 truly catholic feeling by which he had formerly been led to regard all true believers as brethren."

The rest of his life was a period of learning to acquiesce, and of accommodating himself to utterances of Prophets, and to rulings of Apostles, which were contrary to what he had believed and loved; and in faithfully carrying on his work as pastor. But his spirit is crushed, he is crumpled up, a broken man. The seeds

of consumption had already appeared, and the strain of the several events were now telling upon him. In January, 1834, he was sent to Edinburgh, to help in a difficulty attending the new "Catholic Apostolic" Church, of which the Rev. Walter S. Tait was pastor. No longer was he at liberty to conduct his former great preaching missions in that city; he was a man under authority, not free to act upon his own judgment. This is shown a month later, when the Apostles Cardale and Drummond were in Edinburgh to ordain Tait Angel. During their absence a command was given at Newman Street by a prophet (Taplin), in power, to which Irving gave instant obedience. The Apostles, on hearing this, wrote rebuking both prophet and angel. The prophet withdrew in anger for a time; the angel bowed his head in submission. 34

But now strength was waning, and his friends were becoming alarmed. Yet, remembering his call to be a prophet to his beloved Scotland, he determined to take the needed change and rest by going thither, to his native air; this, in spite of warnings of the officials of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church, apostles and all. The journey through Wales was tedious and exhausting, but finally he reached Glasgow. There the lingering

illness told upon him definitely. At a friend's house he died just after midnight, the 8th of December, with his wife and a few friends surrounding him, while he murmured words of Scripture passages. With the words "If I die I die unto the Lord" he passed away.

He is buried in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral, like his Master in the grave of a stranger, who was the first introduced him to London. He was forty-two when he died. There is a memorial window above it by a famous Italian artist. It is a picture of John the Baptist, whom Irving so resembled in mission and in contents of preaching; with the words "Repent ye for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." But the face in that picture is the face of Edward Irving.

It remains to speak of the relation of Irving to the "Catholic Apostolic" Church. Since the ecclesiastical and apostolic developments in that body were alien to him and contrary to his teachings, there is point in the objection to the name "Irvingism", though it be difficult to get away from it. He never felt at home in the movement judging from the allusions already quoted. And yet, with equal justice it may be held that it was his immense prestige that gave recognition to the "tongues" and Prophesyings; and made them respectable as far as that was possible. Irving dominates the whole scene,

35. Bertimi, of Milan.
until, a broken man at last, he allows the leadership to pass into other hands; and a movement strange to him comes into being, toward which he must have felt as did St. Francis toward the development of his own order when his own guiding hand was removed and others had taken hold.

But in some respects Irving's influence is still in the movement, the "Catholic Apostolic" Church objections notwithstanding, e.g. -

1. In practical matters, its unfavourable attitude toward the present, to secular education, to corporate activities for the betterment of the world in Christ's name, such as Foreign Missionary, Temperance, and other Societies; its theocratic idea, with its consequent support of State Churches and its dislike of Dissent and Dissenters; its anti-liberalism and its dislike of democracy. These ideas are found in Irving's teachings long before there were prophesyings and "tongues" in London.

2. Terminology in vogue. The strange name Angel for Bishop, as well as the Ignatian idea of Episcopacy, whereby the Bishop is chief pastor not of a diocese, but of a Local Church, having a full complement of clergy. Also the fourfold ministry of apostle, prophet, pastor, evangelist, emphasized in the "Catholic Apostolic" Church -
these are all found in Irving. 36

3. The pro-British sentiments of his seem to be reflected in the appointment of twelve Apostles, all British.

4. Method of Biblical interpretation: one of extreme literalism, and an inability to understand what Biblical scholars of that day were trying to do; conjoined with a constant dwelling on the prophecies.

5. Apocalypticism and strong pre-millenarianism. Emphasis on the Second Advent was intense, and this has been taken over by the "Catholic Apostolic" Church.

6. Approximations to the traditional Catholic ideas of the Church and ministry as has been seen in the course of the narrative. Irving says that he has been delivered "from the infidelity of evangelicalism, which denies any gift of God either in the work of Christ, or in the sacraments, or any where, until we experience it to be within ourselves; making God a mere promiser, until we become receivers; making his bounty and beneficence nought but words, till we make it reality by accepting thereof; in one word, making religion only subjective in the believer, and not elective in God, - objective in Christ, in order that it may be subjective in the believer; a religion of moods, and not of purposes and

"facts; having its reality in the creature, its proposal of reality only in God. The true doctrine of the Sacraments will always strike this infidelity upon the head. It revolutionized my mind."  

7. The teachings on the Sacraments; and particularly on Baptismal Regeneration, and to some extent on the Eucharist. In Irving's homilies on Baptism we read what comes strange from a Presbyterian, though not from a Tractarian: "For as when we are born of our natural parents the seeds of a corrupt nature are thereby conveyed to us, - so, when we are baptized into Christ, the seeds of a spiritual nature are thereby conveyed to us: otherwise it were vain to hope that there could be any fruit of holiness yielded to our husbandry of prayer, faith and instruction. Baptism, declaring the child's natural deadness and inherent corruptness, placeth a bar against all dealing with the child; for who laboureth upon the dead? This bar it must remove, otherwise it were the inlet to no good hopes or painful labours of faith and love. If it declareth spiritual death, it must also declare spiritual life, or be utterly ruinous to all purposes and endeavours after holiness... No man can take upon him to separate the effectual working of the Holy Spirit from baptism without making

"void all the ordinances of the visible church; which become idle ceremonies, or worse, save for the faith that the Holy Spirit may be and is in them of a truth, to all to whom the Father granted the faith of his presence in them." 38 Much that follows is Calvinistic in outlook, but the part just quoted would not be unwelcome to any Tractarian.

8. Infant Baptism. Akin to this is perhaps that of unconscious infant faith - a doctrine of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church - which justifies infant baptism - "Our little babe was taken; you would have seen the stroke of death subdued by faith." 39

9. The Human Nature of Christ, which among other things sought to conserve that Christ was tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin: "He wrestled hard as we do now, with hopes and doubts and fears." He took on our nature therefore, not in its created, but in its fallen state; in short he took our nature upon himself.

10. The introduction of Apostles; to which he refers in his writings, though by no means in the sense which that office acquired in the new body.

Judged by ordinary standards, Edward Irving was the one Apostle and the Prophet par excellence of the new movement. But he was not called to be an Apostle, nor were prophetic gifts given to him. The best title perhaps for him would be that of Herald or Announcer. It links him up with the John the Baptist idea which was not foreign to his thinking, though it seemed too high to him: "Though I be rather a sort of pioneer and forerunner of the Elias-Dispensation which is to introduce the kingdom than a herald of the kingdom."

Into the significance of the Gifts, that is, the particular interpretation of the phenomena, it is no part of our purpose to enter. They must be interpreted according to the wisdom given to the theologian; to the medical profession; to the psychologist of religion; as well as to the devotee. Glossolalia, or speaking with "tongues", was no new thing. In every season of revival some unusual happenings occur. Whether they be divine or not does not affect or invalidate the movement in question. Contrary to the contention of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church, the alternative to their being true is not necessarily that they are fraudulent. They may be due to mistake. The extravagances of Montanists,

Anabaptists, early Quakers, early Methodists, were no essential part of those movements which the Church now recognizes as having been divinely sent; and this because the Church has got to the underlying truths which those movements were intended to restore to the Church Universal. To reject a part is not to reject the whole. One is not to be considered a scoffer if he rejects for instance some of the methods or even theology of the Salvation Army, seeing he probably recognizes with gratitude the spiritual work which that organization is doing. In like manner, whatever the interpretation of the "gifts" of the "Irvingites" and their Apostles, there need be no rejection of the deeper mission, which is the manifestation of the Spirit's guidance of the Christian Community; the gift of the Holy Ghost.

41. The "Catholic Apostolic" Church speaks against the Salvation Army as well as Temperance Societies. 42. At Annan, centenary celebrations of the death of Irving were held on the 8th of December, 1834. There does not seem to have been any representative of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church among those present or at any rate none in a prominent position. (Annandale Observer, 7th and 14th December, 1934.)
PART II

THE "CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC" CHURCH: ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.

A. In Great Britain.

CHAPTER VI - PRESUPPOSITIONS.

I. Spiritual Considerations.

During the years 1820-1830 the fact of the Holy Spirit in the Church was receiving increasing attention, and it had become customary to deal with promises of the Spirit in sermons, addresses, and miscellaneous writings. An Anglican clergyman, Rev. James Haldane Stewart, conceived the idea that in this lay the hope of the world, and issued an appeal to all Churches to pray for that coming. At the moment he was at Nice, in the South of France, for health reasons, but he gave himself to this one task, returning to Great Britain and travelling everywhere encouraging the churches. He was a member of the first Albury Prophetic Conference. Three large editions of his appeal were soon exhausted, and the Religious Tract Society issued an abridgement for circulation among the poor. He gave a specimen of a prayer to be used by the suppliant church, and in that prayer occurred the following phrases:

"O, grant that the Holy Spirit may enlighten our
understandings, and shed abroad Thy love in our hearts. May we be filled with the fruits of the Spirit. May He guide us into all truth. May He make us to abound in every good word and work, for Jesus Christ's sake.

.... "Grant, we entreat Thee, Heavenly Father, that the Bishops and pastors, and all other ministers of religion in our land, and in every land into which Thou hast sent Thy servants, may be filled with the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit; may they be men of God, 'full of faith and of the Holy Ghost.'

.... "Grant Thy people, O Lord, 'the Spirit of grace and of supplications:' teach them to 'cry mightily unto Thee;' and do Thou hear and answer the prayers Thou Thyself shalt teach them.

"We beseech Thee, Heavenly Father, to hear us for the rising generation. 'Pour Thy Spirit upon our seed, and Thy blessing upon our offspring.' Especially bless, O Lord, all universities, colleges, and schools of religion and useful learning.... And, O grant, we beseech Thee, good Lord, Thy heavenly benediction to all who shall be called to any office in the sacred ministry of the Church. May they come forth as burning and shining lights, to the glory of Thy name and the benefit of Thy people.

Bless all Societies which have been formed, under Thy providence, for extending Thy kingdom; bless them with a very abundant measure of the influences of Thy Holy Spirit. Give wisdom to their designs and success to their endeavours; and dispose the hearts of Thy people to contribute liberally to their support.

.... "Hast Thou not promised that 'a nation shall be born at once?' - that the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea?' O Lord, do as thou hast said - pour out Thy Holy Spirit upon all flesh.

.... "Have mercy, O Lord, unto Thine ancient people. Remember Thy promises to Abraham and Isaac. 'Be not wroth very sore, neither remember iniquity for ever.' Turn away ungodliness from Jacob, and grant that all Israel may be saved. May the receiving of the Jews be as life from the dead to the Gentiles.'

.... "Heavenly Father, for Thy dear Son's sake, hear these our prayers. 'We do not present our supplications
before Thee for our righteousness, but for Thy great mercies. O Lord, hear; O Lord, forgive; O Lord, hearken and do; defer not, for Thine own sake, O our God; and for the sake of Thy Son, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."

From this prayer it is clear that the expectant church was to wait for greater zeal and deeper knowledge, which is about all that was meant by the Holy Spirit. But there were some whose minds went back to the New Testament Period, and who took that more literally. The first miraculous case in London, following in the wake of those in Scotland, was in the autumn of 1830, when Miss Fancourt, the daughter of a clergyman, was healed. For eight years she had been a cripple. For two years all remedies were abandoned. She had to be carried and was worn and emaciated. On the day of her healing a friend who had the case in mind for some time past made her, in the name of Jesus, to rise and walk, which she was enabled to do. But though the religious world was indisposed to admit it, maintaining that "we must admit any solution rather than a miracle," and the idea of a divine work is "dangerous and unscriptural, and inconsistent with the present dispensation," all this seemed to be proof that the

3. Norton, R., op. cit., p. 45
gifts of the Spirit were now returning to the Church. About the same time there occurred the speaking with "tongues" both in Clydesdale and in Bavaria. The Spirit seemed to be moving among men and the expectation raised thereupon was considerable. No doubt the attitude to-day would have been different; for not only are there the pilgrimages to Lourdes, to Ste. Anne de Beauprais, or to St. Joseph's Oratory of Montreal, and numberless other places, which proves that the Roman Church has not given up its belief in miracles; but in Protestantism, too, there are kindred movements, such as the Guild of Health in Great Britain, the Emmanuel Movement in America, and the Healing Work of the late Mr. Hickson. This suggests that the Church has not made use of all the privileges it has had in presence of the Spirit. Yet, this emphasis on the work of the Spirit is absolutely essential to the understanding of the movement, although the "Catholic Apostolic" group, as well as their opponents, perhaps, have made the mistake of largely restricting the work of the Spirit to "tongues" and Prophecies.

II. Literalism in Scripture.

The second thing to be noted regarding this movement is the extreme literalism of their approach to Scripture, apart from which the movement can not be
understood, nor, in fact, can it be sustained. The historical method had not yet arrived in Great Britain. The pioneer work that was being done, for instance in Germany, was little known in this country, and, as a matter of fact, the mere knowledge of German on the part of the theologian rendered him suspect. Yet these were the days of Strauss, of Schleiermacher, of Ferdinand Christian Baur, and the Tübingen School. Gradually the new knowledge was coming in, but in the "Catholic Apostolic" Church this was altogether unknown, and, maybe, still is unknown. They were fundamentalists of the extreme type. Along with this, and arising from it, there was the extreme belief in the Second Advent of our Lord, which was encouraged and supported by these writings.

III. Political Events.

If these are the spiritual presuppositions of the Church, certain other reasons are to be found in the condition of Europe. The people of that day were greatly concerned because of the French Revolution, which, as is known now, had not only brought about many needed reforms, but, unfortunately, had tried to do away with religion, and had, in a moment of aberration,

4. Stewart, H.L. : Anglo Catholicism, p. 41f; and the whole of Chapter II is important.
accepted the cult of the Goddess of Reason. People of that time talk of the French Revolution in terms wilder than those used of the modern and more serious Russian counterpart. They looked upon that event as being a sign of the end.

Turning to the situation at home, we observe fear, almost panic, because of the Catholic Emancipation Act (1829), which gave to Roman Catholic subjects the rights of citizens; and because of the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts (1828), which in a similar way gave to nonconformists their elementary human rights. In addition, there was the formation of the University of London, (1835), which caused dismay among a certain class because it excluded religion from its curriculum. Edward Irving himself declaimed against it, and others responded to his remarks and repeated them. There is further the fact of Napoleon the Great which was looked on as a portent in those days, and assumed a legendary form corresponding to the legends regarding Hero in ancient days. The Revolutions of the period were no less distracting: the Greek Revolution of 1821, and the French one of 1830, not to mention the series of a later period - 1848. All these roused the people to what they called the Perils of Democracy, and against democracy, as they understood it, they placed the
stability of the British Constitution as it existed at the time. For this reason they supported almost every-
thing which now seems reactionary. The chief develop-
ment of democracy was seen in 1832 in the coming of the
great Reform Act. Many of them write as if the coming
of this Act meant the end of everything. For an illus-
tration of this frame of mind one can only be referred
to the pages of Coningsby,\textsuperscript{5} which was written about this
time with this as its subject. Democracy, however, was
interpreted as seen in the United States of America,
also as it had been in France. One of the pamphlets
circulated by the "Catholic Apostolic" Church shows this
type of mind. It is a speech by M. Donoso Cortes,
Marquis de Valdegamas, from which the trend of thought
is marked, and is seen to be in favour of monarchical
institutions, and against anything of a democratic
character:\textsuperscript{6}

\begin{quote}
...."Ever since that revolution, of formidable
memory, there is nothing solid, nothing sure in
Europe.

.... Cast your eyes, sirs, on Europe, from Poland
to Portugal, and tell me, your hands on your hearts,
if you behold one society which can say, - I stand
secure: one single establishment which can say, -
My foundation standeth sure.

.... But the evil lies far deeper, is a far more
serious one. The evil is not in governments, it
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{5} Disraeli, B.: Coningsby, 1844.
\textsuperscript{6} This is seen even in Canadian writings; see below,
chapter on Canada, the writings of A.H. Burwell. Where
these are unobtainable an idea of the same is seen in
Aileen Dunham: Political Unrest in Upper Canada.
"is in the governed. The evil is that the governed are become ungovernable.

.... The Republic subsists in France, and, I say farther, will subsist in France, because it is the necessary form of government for ungovernable people. With those nations where the people are ungovernable, government necessarily assumes the republican form. That is the cause of its present and future existence in France.

.... The period of civilization, which I have called affirmative, progressive, catholic, is included in these three affirmations. Let us now enter on that period which I have called negative, revolutionary. In this period, three negations correspond with the three preceding affirmations.

.... This pantheism in the religious economy corresponds with republicanism in political economy.

.... And this fearful chastisement shall be that of England. Her ships shall be helpless against that Colossus which shall hold Europe in one hand, and the Indies in the other; and that immense empire shall be shaken, rent in pieces; and the doleful crash of her downfall, and her long drawn out sigh, shall echo from pole to pole.

.... Against such pressing eventuality, there is but one remedy, one only. The mystery of the future is in England; because, sirs, the Anglo-Saxon race is the most generous, the noblest, and the most courageous in the world; next, because she is the least exposed to revolutionary shocks. I believe a revolution to be much more likely at St. Petersburgh than in London.

What does England require, to enable her to prevent the inevitable conquest of all Europe by Russia? What is wanting?

She must avoid that which would ruin her. The dissolution of standing armies by revolutionary means: the spoliation of proprietors in Europe by Socialism; that is to say, she needs an outward policy at once monarchical and conservative; and that were but a palliative.

England, monarchical, and conservative, can impede the dissolution of European society up to a
"certain point, and for a certain time.

.... In order that the remedial might be added to the palliative, England must be not only conservative and monarchical, but Catholic; and I repeat it, sirs, the radical remedy for revolution and for Socialism is none other than Catholicism; because Catholicism is the only doctrine which is their entire opposite. What is Catholicism? Wisdom and humility. What is Socialism? Pride and barbarism. Socialism is like Nebuchadnezzar - king and beast together."7

IV. Philosophical Issues.

A Philosophical reason is in the newer theories of man and humanity in general. Rousseau's (1712-1778) "Emile", with its view of the fundamental goodness of man, was by this time, in that first quarter of the century, being translated into action. Parallel with it was the teaching of Auguste Comte, Positivism, which was receiving a welcome on the part of a few, causing some needlessly to fear that its "Religion of Humanity" would take the place of the "Religion of Grace."

V. Religious Developments - The religious situation from 1800-1835. For the type of mind given to the literal interpretation of the Scriptures the situation was alarming. This is seen in the parallel movement of the Tractarians; when on 14th July, 1833, John Keble, who had anticipated himself in his poems "The Christian Year" (1827), preached his famous sermon entitled "A National Apostasy", which is viewed by Anglo-Catholics as

7. M. Donoso Cortes, Marquis de Valdegamas.
constituting the beginning of the Tractarian Movement. He believed, for reasons which to us seem inadequate, that he was witnessing a national decline, in that university education was becoming available to persons other than signatories of the thirty-nine articles; that there was the emancipation of Roman Catholics; that there was the abolition of ten Irish Anglican Bishoprics, which were not wanted by the people; that countenance was given to the efforts of Thomas Arnold to include, by Act of Parliament, into one body, not only Anglicans, but Presbyterians and Methodists; that many were refusing to pronounce in public the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed; and that there was indisposition of others to assume such teachings as Baptismal Regeneration, and the power of priestly absolution. These are the very questions that appealed no less to the "Catholic Apostolic" people. The general spirit of Latitudinarianism was as averse to these as it was to the Oxford Movement itself. The methods with which they approached this subject were old and backward, but the same criticism could apply to other denominations of the time. The Methodists of that day, for instance, no less than the Evangelical Churchmen, lived practically as much as anyone did, in the first and second century of Christianity, believing in multitudes of angels and devils, and

their influence. They were ignorant, or at least not responsive, to a nascent science of the time, and even so great a man as John Wesley had argued in the preceding century for the existence of witches. The reading of the devotional public is so backward that it will hardly bear scrutiny.\footnote{Cruse, Amy: The Englishman and his Books in the Early 19th Century. Chapter IV and passim.}

It was therefore imperative that people should turn to spiritual things, and there were abundant signs at the time of the need, assuming, that is, that the Scripture was interpreted literally. The Second Coming was imminent, and the outpouring for this was overdue. Men took to studying the prophetic writings to find some guidance in the days of present perplexity, and the movement therefore took one form as that of the Tractarians took another. It is in this spirit that people hailed the coming of the Gifts, or the Charismata.

This, however, should not be confined to modern periods. One need only remember the early Church - the Montanists with their emphasis on the Gifts of the Spirit; or, later, Joan of Arc and her "Voices", George Fox and the early Quakers, Wesley's experiences, Emanuel Swedenborg, Joanna Southcott, Shakers, or the revivals of more recent date. The Charismata were a means of escape, and they showed themselves in speaking
with "tongues", in miracles, in healings, in the restoration, as it was believed, of the old ministries of the Christian Church, whereby it was held that God would "restore thy judges as at the first and thy counsellors as at the beginning." (Isaiah I, 26.)

Such is the situation at the back of this movement, and these considerations are needed to understand it, namely, a Spiritual need, literalism in Scripture, political events, philosophical issues, and, finally, religious developments. We shall now proceed to consider the movement itself.
CHAPTER VII.

THE RESTORED APOSTOLATE. ¹

There were a great many prayers offered about this time, but none more specific than for the restoration of the lost apostles. Irving, for instance, writes: "We met together about two weeks before the meeting of the General Assembly, in order to pray that the General Assembly might be guided in judgment by the Lord, the Head of the Church; and we added thereto prayers for the present low state of the Church. We cried unto the Lord for apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, anointed with the Holy Ghost, the gift of Jesus, because we saw it written in God's Word that these are the appointed ordinances for the edifying of the body of Jesus. We continued in prayer every morning, morning by morning, at half-past six o'clock; and the Lord was not long in hearing and in answering our

¹ The following works bear particularly on this chapter:

- Truths and Untruths respecting a Restored Apostolate - (Robert Norton).
- A Discourse on the Office of Apostle - (J. G. Francis).
- The Gifts of the Spirit and the Ministries of the Lord - (W. R. Brownlie).
- Reasons for Believing that the Lord has Restored to the Church Apostles and Prophets - (Robert Norton).
- Substance of a Ministry on the Office of the Apostle in the Gentile Church - (F. V. Woodhouse).
- Divine Government - by Basileutos.
- The Permanency of the Apostolic Office as distinct from that of the Bishops - (John S. Davenport).
prayers."

The ground of their expectation was probably their common hope, but it may have been particularly Mr. Baxter's own expectation of the event. One quotation from this source will suffice: "A few days after I left him, Mr. Irving forwarding me a letter, added a few lines of his own, telling me how greatly they were encouraged and strengthened in London by my last visit, and stating how they looked forward to my return with the full powers of an Apostle." They were continually talking of apostles, and it would have been surprising indeed if something of the kind had not been given. At the same time, in the light of Baxter's repeated utterance, it is worth noting that Baxter was not called to that office, nor yet was the greatest of them all, Edward Irving, who was called to be neither a prophet nor an apostle. It was a masterful man, John Bate Cardale himself, who was the first to receive the call.

I. Theory of the Apostolate.

Regarding the "theory of the Apostolate" we have their contention that it was of permanent duration. Quoting Ephesians iv. 12,13, Christ gave to the Church "first apostles, then prophets, then evangelists, then pastors and teachers," it is contended that His gifts

are not to be repented of, and therefore they are meant to be in the Church to this day. There is High Presbyterian authority for the possibility of the restoration of apostles and prophets. Calvin says in his 'Institutes': "Those who preside over the government of His Church, according to the institution of Christ, are, first, Apostles; secondly, Prophets; thirdly, Evangelists; fourthly, Pastors and Teachers. Of these, only the two last sustain an ordinary office in the Church; the others were such as the Lord raised up at the commencement of His Kingdom, and such He still raises up on particular occasions."....Willison of Dundee said in the 18th century: "Such unchristian disorders may arise in the Church as will require the presence and coming of an Apostle to correct and reform them." 4

There is a still more pertinent reference to this subject in the older Church of Scotland books, particularly in the 'Second Book of Discipline' (1581) Chapter II, Section 6: "Sum of thir ecclesiastical functiones ar ordinar, and sum extraordinar or temporarie. There be three extraordinar functiones, the office of the apostle, of the evangelist, and of the prophet, quhilks ar not perpetuall, and now have ceisit in the kirk of God, except quhen it pleasit God

extraordinarly for a tyme to steir sum of them up againe. There are foure ordinarie functiones or offices in the kirk of God, the office of the pastor, minister, or bischop; the doctor; the presbytar or eldar; and the deacon. Chap. iv. 1. Pastors, bishops, or ministers, ar they wha ar appointit to particular congregationes, quhilk they rewll be the Word of God, and over the quhilk they watch. In respect whairof, sumetyme they are callit pastors, becaus they feid their congregation; sumetyme episcopi, or bishops, because they watch over their flock; sumetyme ministers be reason of their service and office; and sumetymes also presbyters, or seniors, for the gravity in manners quhilk they aucht to have... Chap. v. 

"Apostles," said a "Catholic Apostolic' writer, "were set 'first' in the Church; they were its rulers; and as their chief work was to labour in the ministry of the word, and to teach the doctrine of Christ, they could not possibly attend to the multifarious details requisite in the 'daily ministration' of help to the poor." 

A further quotation from Mr. Cardale himself 'On the Office of the Apostle to the Gentile Church', giving their point of view, will suffice : "Such is the office of the Apostleship in the Christian Church. But it is

an office to be brought out now for the first time. Nothing that was seen in the first days, in the infancy of the Church, was a manifestation of the office."  

That being so, why did the Apostles cease in the first century? The answer is found in the decline of the Christian Church. "There is no definition of the Church in which Apostles are not represented as occupying the highest place, nor any record of its action in which they do not take the chief part."  

The first Apostles, the twelve, were for the Jews, but there was one born out of due time, St. Paul, who, with Barnabas, was the apostle to the Gentiles. But as he himself saw and declared, his work was not accepted by the Church, therefore it was withdrawn, and some eighteen hundred years elapsed before the second sending of Apostles to the Gentiles. They are sent forth from "Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised Him from the dead" without human ordination. They cannot receive ordination from human hands seeing that no superior ministry exists whereby such authorisation could be bestowed. As in the case of Matthias (Acts 1.23) the whole company of disciples appointed and "gave forth their lots; and the lot fell upon Matthias; and he was numbered with the eleven Apostles." To assume that

7b. See page 125.
Bishops carried on the office of Apostle is a mistake, for "their office was subordinate, their authority derived, their jurisdiction limited." 8 Bishops are not the successors of the Apostles as an Anglican theory holds. Moreover, they could not have jurisdiction over the whole Church, but only over their dioceses, unless it be the Pope of Rome himself, who claims to be the successor of Peter in virtue of his being the Bishop of Rome. Throughout the literature of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church the subject of Bishops is constantly discussed with similar conclusions.

It might be asked "What is the need of Apostles?" to which the answer is, that they are a central body, constituting in themselves a final authority in matters of doctrine, and, it may be added, preventing freedom of thought. The Christian Church is divided into many parts, which the Apostles alone could bring into one, forgetting in this particular, that they have to do with human beings, who are not to be checked in their intellectual speculations. Some extracts from Mr. Woodhouse's works are to the point: "The Apostles, as a body corporate or college, as an unity, are the law-givers and rulers of the Church....expressing the mind of the Lord, which is only found in the Apostolic

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7b. (Fluker): The Restoration of the Gentile Apostleship.
"Herein consists the true unity of the Church - that she has fellowship with the Apostles (I John, 1, 3), submits herself to them, receives doctrines, and laws, and commandments from them." 10

But being without Apostles "they are contending might and main for their own views on these subjects; but there is no unity - no standard - no certainty regarding them... False doctrines and wicked principles gain the upper hand daily." 11

As to the specific functions of Apostles, they were for "the guidance and government of the churches when formed, including ordination of ministers, authoritative decisions of doubts and controversies, the charge of doctrine and of worship." 12 They are "not to be merely witnesses to Christ's resurrection or any other past fact, but for the perpetual guidance and government of the Churches; which could not present itself as a permanent object before St. Peter's mind, anterior to the day of Pentecost, when as yet no churches existed; but, as soon as they began to multiply, it would be evident that there must be men inspired by the Holy Ghost for their government as one, for the ordination of ministers, for the authoritative decision of doubts and controversies, for the charge of

10. Ibid, p. 43
11. Ibid. p. 53.
doctrine and of worship, and the organisation of the Body of Christ as a whole.\textsuperscript{13} It is true that the past eighteen hundred years witnessed the Apostles supplanted by Bishops, and Councils of Bishops had taken it upon themselves to legislate for the whole community. The apostles, however, represent a bond of unity between the Churches, because they belong to no particular diocese, but to the Church as a whole.

II. The first Apostles.

On the 19th October, 1832, John Bate Cardale, 1802-1877, was called through the Prophet Drummond to this signal office, and of which he was the sole occupant for nearly a year. He was born in London, and inherited considerable property from his father. He entered Rugby, after which he was articled to his father in 1818, and admitted as a solicitor in 1824. For some years he was head of the firm, retiring in 1834, to devote himself to his work as an Apostle. Many people were exercised in mind about the speaking with unknown "tongues" in Clydesdale, and Cardale, with some other persons, went to investigate. He returned convinced that these were genuine, and he held prayer meetings asking for their occurrence. His minister did not countenance this, so that Cardale withdrew, and commenced attending the Regent Square Church under

\textsuperscript{13} Groser, T., op. cit., p. 5.
Edward Irving. In 1842 he was chiefly responsible for the adoption of a Liturgy. He was indefatigable in his labours, in fact he was the founder of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church. He had at his command a great many languages, which he brought into use in his work. His sister, Emily Cardale, who later married James Hore, and died 1879, was a prophetess, as also was Mrs. Cardale.

On July 14th, 1877, while attending the forty-second commemoration of the separation of the twelve, in Gordon Square, he was taken ill, and died July 18th, that year. He was buried in Albury churchyard. He is known for his strength of will, his calmness and clearness of judgment, and his kindness of heart and manner. It is said, "that he never seemed to hesitate or doubt on any subject; he had that decided look which would deter anyone from expecting him ever to change his mind about anything." 14 Another says that "Mr. Cardale, who, at the time of his death, must have been not far from seventy-five years of age, was not only 'Apostle for England'....but, whilst also theoretically the 'primus inter alios' in the Apostolic college, and official 'pillar of Apostles', had really been from the first, and ever continued, the chief rul er of the whole body. A man of iron will and dominating character,

which would brook no opposition, he alone held the reins of government, and from first to last, he gave shape and colour to the whole. I remember being told some years since by an Irvingite minister how Mr. Cardale, at a council of the Apostles, when some difference of opinion had been manifested respecting the mode of action proposed by him, taking up his hat, said, 'Well, gentlemen, I leave you; when you see your way to assent to my proposition you may send for me.'

Of Mr. Cardale, Mr. W. W. Andrews (see Chapter XIV.) writes: "This is very painful tidings, and seems a summons to be ready for the instant coming of the Lord. Mr. Cardale was the senior Apostle, and it had been almost forty-five years since his call. His great soundness of judgment, firmness of character, and spiritual wisdom, joined to indefatigable industry, made him preeminent amongst the Apostles, and to him more than anyone else the bringing out the order of worship is to be ascribed." In a commemorative address he also speaks of Mr. Cardale's "great service in disentangling the apostolic order from the prophetic and pastoral, and lifting it into its true place of authority."

The other man who might be called his equal in founding the community is Henry Drummond, concerning

16. Private Information.
whom there is considerable information, chiefly in the Biographical Memoir by his son-in-law, Lord Lovaine, which is prefixed to 'Speeches in Parliament', 1860. 16b

He was born in 1786, his father having died before he was eight years old. His mother, marrying again, accompanied her husband later to India, leaving behind her oldest son, aged sixteen. He was then still at Harrow, where he had been since the age of seven, and during which time he was the contemporary of Peel, Byron, and other men of genius. He was very popular with Mr. Pitt, with whom he was brought in contact by his grandfather. He went from thence to Oxford (Christ Church) where he remained two years, coming away without taking a degree. He became by inheritance a partner in a banking firm at Charing Cross. On returning from a tour in Russia in 1807 he married Lady Henrietta Hay. In 1810 he entered Parliament for the borough of Plympton Earle, but, for reasons of health, he retired in three years time. He secured, however, during that time, the passing of a Bill, whereby embezzlement by bankers of securities entrusted to them was punishable by fourteen years transportation.

In 1817 he broke up his hunting establishment, and set out for the Holy Land, but he stopped at Geneva, and there carried on the work of Robert Haldane against

16b. Also in Dict. Nat. Biography. s.v.
the Socinian tendencies of the Consistory. Summoned before the Consistory he withdrew to French territory, and continued this work from there for a time. He encouraged the ministers ejected to form a body of their own, which was done on the 21st September, 1817. In 1819, he founded the Continental Society, and was one of its constant supporters. In 1825, he established the Chair of Political Economy at Oxford. He was called to be the second Apostle in the Irvingite fraternity, and his career from this time on was chiefly bound up with the fortunes of the Group. He supported the 'Morning Watch', 1829-1833, and built, also, at Albury the beautiful Apostles' Chapel, at a cost of £16,000. Thomas Carlyle visited him, thanks to the interest of Irving, and his characteristic comments may be cited: "This Drummond, who inhabits a splendid mansion in the West, proves a very striking man, taller and leaner than I, but erect as a plummet, with a high-carried head, quick, penetrating eye, some forty-five years of age, a singular mixture of all things - of the saint, the wit, the forceful - swimming, if I mistake not, in an element of dandyism."17 And again, Carlyle says that there had been talk of "Henry Drummond as a

fine, great evangelical, yet courtly and indeed universal gentleman, whom prophetic studies had brought to him, whom I was to know on my next coming to London... He continued ever after an ardent Irvingite, and rose by degrees in the 'tongues' business to be hierophant and chief over Irving himself. He was far the richest of the sect, and alone belonged to the aristocratic circles, abundant in speculation as in money, a sharp, elastic, haughty kind of man." Later on he speaks of him as "a man of elastic, pungent, decisive nature, full of fine qualities and capabilities, but well-nigh cracked by an enormous conceit of himself, which, both as pride and vanity, seemed to pervade every fibre of him and render his life a restless inconsistency."

He was member of parliament again from 1847 for the West Surrey constituency. Always known for loyalty to the Crown and veneration for the institutions of this country he nevertheless did not pledge himself to any one party, but maintained his independence. He spoke much on ecclesiastical questions and was opposed to the admission of Jews to parliament. He is an enormous writer, chiefly of pamphlets, a full list of which would take up too much space. He died at Albury, 20th February, 1860. The connection of the

Percy family with the "Catholic Apostolic" Church dates from the marriage of the then Duke of Northumberland with the daughter of Mr. Drummond.

III. The Separation of the Apostles.

By this time, four more apostles had been called, namely, Mackenzie, an elder of Irving's church; Mr. King, who was later known as King-Church; Mr. Armstrong; and Spencer Perceval, of aristocratic family.

There was a request for six more men to fill up the apostolic office, and the Apostle was commanded by prophecy to visit the churches and make investigations and complete the number. Accordingly, Mr. Cardale, taking with him Mr. Taplin, the first ordained prophet, went through the churches in June, and called and ordained to the apostleship the Rev. H. Dalton, who was curate at Bridgenorth, in London; J. Tudor, artist, and editor of the 'Morning Watch'; in Edinburgh, Thomas Carlyle, advocate; in Lowick, F. Sitwell of Barmore Castle; in London, the Rev. W. Dow, recently parish minister of Tongland; and in Dumfries, David Dow, until recently parish minister of Irongrey, Dumfries.

The time was now drawing nigh for the fulfilment of Baxter's words regarding the 14th July, 1835, which they accepted as a prophecy, though he himself had come to repudiate it. His words, taken from the Narrative,
were as follows: "The declaration of the two witnesses was again repeated, and 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, and evermore be with the Lord.... The prophecy of the 1260 days testimony and going up of the saints, set forth a period of three years and a half, from the time of its delivery, up to the translation of the saints. The words of the prophecy were most distinct, to count from that day (viz. 14th January, 1832) 1260 days, and three days and a half; (Rev. xi. 11) and on innumerable other occasions, by exposition and by prophecy, was the same thing again and again declared, and most largely opened." It goes on, "We were also promised that at the close of three years and a half of testimony to the world, commencing from the 14th of January, 1832, the Lord Jesus would come in glory; the living saints would be caught up to meet Him; the dead saints would be raised, and the world would be given over to judgment for an appointed season, before the millennial glory would be established in it." 19

Although he had himself repudiated his gift of

prophecy, the facts of his utterances remained with the Group and were acted upon. The time signified was the 14th of July, 1835. As it drew near the company was restless. A summons was given out for all the apostles to appear in Albury a week before that date. On the day appointed it was found that one of the designated apostles was absent, and it was directed by prophecy that he be sent for. This was David Dow, and two apostles - Woodhouse and Sitwell - by command of prophecy, proceeded to the country to urge him to return to his place. They travelled night and day, but on reaching Scotland they found he had gone to London. They returned and found him there, but immovable, and he was dropped from the apostolic list. It is interesting to note that in the seventies he is once more an Elder of the Church in Mansfield Place, Edinburgh. The situation was critical for the Group, but on the analogy of the vacancy created by the death of Judas they proceeded to nominate two names, and asked the Lord to choose between them. He chose Mackenzie, who had been an Elder in Irving's Church and stood by him in his trial. The other person, who was not elected, Dr. Thomson, received compensation in that he was elected to an office second only to that of Apostle, namely, Chief of Pastors. This was fully a
week before the fateful day of the "Separation of the Apostles." On the completion of the number of the Twelve "the Angels of the Seven Churches in London, who represented officially, as in a model, the whole Church of Christ...were bidden together to lay hands on the Apostles, one after another, in the order of their seniority and call to that office." And it seems that the other Angels, who were witnessing the event, stood up in token of their assent. They took great care to declare that they did not, and could not, make them to be Apostles, for the apostolic office is not from man, neither through man. But it can at least be contended that the Apostles received Presbyterian ordination, for such some of the Angels were. That act is the great feast of the Church in its Christian year.

They were next bidden "to set the Church an example in giving up wives, children, lands, houses, everything for the Gospel's sake", which, however, was not literally interpreted, and several prophets were assigned to them as guides in interpreting the Divine Will. They were bidden to come every fourth Tuesday to the Council in London, whereto the Angels of the Churches should bring their difficulties - a Council

20. Woodhouse, F.V. : Narrative of Events, p. 48. It can be held therefore that in the case of Reunion with an Episcopal Communion reordination would be necessary; not so where ordination is by Presbyters.
was to be delivered by him to Pope Gregory XVI. In reality it was delivered in July to Lord Acton, who was the Pope's Secretary of Memorials.

2. The Rev. H. Dalton, M.A. He was incumbent of St. Leonards, Bridgenorth. There was disturbance in his Church, because of his allowing the speaking with 'tongues', his omitting prayers and offices of the Liturgy, and his attempting to enforce the administration of the Sacrament according to the new usage. He was removed thence, but continued in the Church of England. His 'tribe' was France (Asher), and he was commissioned along with Drummond to deliver the message to King Louis Philippe. After this he had work in the Church of England in Devonshire, being curate of Clovelly, and later Vicar of Frithelstock, so much so that his duties in connection therewith prevented his coming in 1845 at the time of crisis; but he did so in 1860 when Apostles were dying, and his services were needed in the work. He died in 1871.

3. Thomas Carlyle. He was a schoolmate of Edward Irving at Adam Hope's School. An advocate of the Scottish Bar, he was retained by Irving to defend him before the General Assembly during the agitation against J. Macleod Campbell. He was given the 'tribe' of North Germany (Simeon) where he gave himself to
unremitting labours, including the superintendence of the congregations, of which the chief to-day are those of Marburg, the oldest, and secondly that of Berlin.

Of his converts the persons most noteworthy are - Herr H. W. Thiersch, the Church historian of Marburg, whose first volume of Church history was translated by Carlyle; and Herr C. J. T. Bohm. He gave much time to the study of the German character, and an important study of his is included in his collected works, entitled "The Moral Phenomena of Germany" - a work which the King of Prussia at the time expressed a desire to know. His labours impaired his health, and he died in 1857. He was an extensive and careful writer, and perhaps the other work which he is best known by is - "Pleadings with My Mother - the Church of Scotland."

4. Woodhouse. Francis V. Woodhouse was the son of Dean Woodhouse, who wrote on the Apocalypse. He had entered the law, being called to the Bar in 1829, and at the time of his death he was the father of the British Bar, and had been a lawyer seventy-two years. His name, however, was practically unknown as a barrister except that it appears in the Law List. In September, 1838, along with Drummond, he placed a copy of the Testimony in the hands of Prince Metternich for the

21. Surrey Advertiser, Feb. 9th, 1901.
The other men are of less importance:

5. Mr. Mackenzie. Though he was a layman he was elected Apostle, 1835, and his 'tribe' was Norway and Sweden (Gad). In the time of the crisis, however, and partly because he was uncertain regarding the apostolic idea, he withdrew altogether from the body in 1840, and remained so till his death, 1855. 6. Mr. King (died 1865) was a clerk in the Tower. He took the name Church on acquiring some property, so that he is customarily known as King-Church. His 'tribe' was Denmark and Holland with Belgium (Issachar). 7. The Rev. W. Dow (died 1855) was a minister of the Scottish Church, and he had been a member of the Conferences at Albury. His 'tribe' was Russia (Dan). Excluding the names of Cardale and Drummond dealt with elsewhere the last three names are of some importance: 8. Mr. J. Tudor was a member with some of the others of the Albury Conference, and evidently professed prophetic powers because "the power was mightily on him" one morning when Baxter himself felt moved. His chief work which entitled him to some lasting importance was the Editorship of the 'Morning Watch', which continued from March, 1829, until June, 1833 - a remarkable production, but eclipsed by the appearance of the Tractarian Journal 'The British Critic.' On the strength of his having
been in India early in life he received as his 'tribe' Poland with India (Ephraim). It is doubtful if he went much to his field, but his labours impaired his health, and he died in 1862. He was the most learned of the Group, one of his works - 'The Primeval Language of Man' - had the peculiar idea that Hebrew was the original language of the human race, before Babel, and will be after the Second Advent. 9. Mr. Frank Sitwell was owner of Barmoor Castle in Northumberland. He was well connected and is chiefly known as the author of an undoubtedly able work, which is considered one of the leading expositions of the movement: "Purpose of God in Creation and Redemption" (Anon.). He received as his 'tribe' Spain and Portugal (Naphtali), but the land was unpropitious. He admitted that "In the state of the country it was very little indeed that he could do. The only thing which was open to him was, to take up his abode at an inn, keep his eye on the various persons who might enter, and see if there were any who were likely to listen to his words. Generally they were shy or distrustful, but when he gained their confidence, they often told him that they were not Catholics, but Protestants; a Protestantism, however, not of a very definite or intelligible kind." The last Apostle was -

10. The Rev. Nicholas Armstrong, who was of Irish extraction, but a member of the Church of England. He had a Church of the New Movement a short while before Irving's new Church was constituted. He was called at the same time as Mr. Woodhouse to the Apostleship, though he himself remarked that he had none of the qualities and no special gifts as an Apostle, except patience. His sermons are printed in several volumes, and evidently he possessed gifts of which he was not himself aware. Of him the Rev. Zachary Eddy, Congregational Minister of Northampton, Mass., writes: "I would like much to meet Mr. Armstrong, should he return to this country. I remember his sermons in New York with the deepest interest. There was a power in them truly prophetic - a kind of power which I do not often recognise in the preaching of our contemporaries.... Mr. Armstrong is unlike any other man; he seems to speak in the Spirit." 24 His 'tribe' was Ireland and Greece, and though he did not neglect to visit Greece, the writer has found in no Greek papers of the period any reference to him; but, Ireland was within reach, and fully ministered to. Mr. Armstrong had poor health. He went to the United States on certain occasions, but finally he was obliged to return

unequal to any work.

From the account of all these men it will be seen that they belonged to the better classes. They were not Missionaries in any sense of the word, for they went to their 'tribes' to listen and to learn. Some of them were clearly of the wealthy classes, and one of them, it is well-known, was one of the wealthiest commoners in England, who, however, gave of his substance munificently for the upbuilding of the Kingdom of God as he understood it.
CHAPTER VIII.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE CHURCH.

The title is in a sense a misnomer, because the "Catholic Apostolic" people themselves maintain that they are simply a Restoration and not a new Church. Theirs is a restored Apostolate, restored Ministries, and a restored Eucharist. But this is not strictly correct, and the affirmation that they are not a Sect is not enough. John Wesley could say he lived and died a member of the Church of England, but when as a presbyter he ordained ministers for the American Colonies the Methodist Societies had started their sectarian career. So in the "Catholic Apostolic" Church the differences may be seen in several respects. In the first place, they maintain that they accept the Creeds.

1. Some of the Books which may be of service in following this chapter are:
   (Willis) The Fourfold Ministry and the Fourfold Constitution of Man.
   (Thiersch, H.W.) The Order of the Deaconship in the Christian Church.
   (Cardale, J.B.) A Short Discourse on Prophesying.
   (Cardale, J.B.) A Discourse upon the Obligation of Tithe.
   (Carlyle, Thomas) The Mosaic Tabernacle - a Symbol of the Christian Church.
   (Carlyle, Thomas) The Ministry at the Golden Altar. 1836.
of the Church, of which the Athanasian is one, but that Creed is a Western production not accepted by the Churches of the East, nor, in fact, is the Apostles' Creed. Secondly, there is their emphasis on the voice of prophecy in the Church, and on the fact of the restored Apostles, which, however true it may be, is not accepted by the rest of Christendom. Again, their references to dissenters seem derogatory. It is well-known that Presbyterianism, and all the other Churches which are not Anglican, have a definite position with regard to the Ministry and to the Sacraments. The "Catholic Apostolic" Church speaks disparagingly of those Ministries and Sacraments. In the writings for instance of Drummond (and others) they are considered to have no ministry higher than that of a Deacon. As an instance of this a quotation may be given from "A Letter Addressed to a Member of the English Church"²: "Dissenters not having the office of priesthood have no right or power to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. What spirituality or blessing is contained in that which dissenters by any partaking of bread and wine in remembrance that Christ died for them, I am not prepared to say. I do not know how much or how little communion with God a faithful

² (Manders, J.:) Letter Addressed to a Member of the English Church. p. 17.
dissenter may obtain in this devotional act. On the other hand, I must hold fast with much the Church has declared from the beginning and throughout all ages, namely, that no office of ministry less than a priest can consecrate bread and wine to be the Holy Sacrament of Christ's body and blood. Dissenters have told me themselves that they do not believe that any man receives the body and blood of the Lord in partaking of bread and wine, and that the Lord never intended any such thing. Dissenting ministers do not consider themselves priests. They will tell you that there ought not to be any priests under the Christian dispensation, save the one High Priest, the Lord Jesus Christ in the Heavens. It is true that other ministers lay hands upon them before they begin to consider themselves the teachers of any particular congregation, but no special gift of the Holy Ghost is supposed to be conferred or received." This may seem an extreme instance of antagonism to dissenters, but, on the whole, it is the teaching that is to be found generally in pamphlets and writings of theirs. These considerations place them in a class by themselves, and give them a sectarian basis against which they in vain protest.

I. The Church buildings of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church are worthy of admiration, the chief of which are
the Apostles Chapel at Albury, and those of Gordon Square, London, and Mansfield Place, Edinburgh. The Central Church, Gordon Square, was formerly that of Newman Street (with its Horn in Kentish Town) built 1850-1853, of a most imposing appearance, both outside and inside, built in Gothic style, and with seating accommodation for twelve hundred people. The nucleus of the Communion is in the Seven Churches in London, which are viewed as a pattern of the whole of Christendom. The first of these was off Dover Road, which was opened on August, 1832, by the Rev. Nicholas Armstrong, and which preceded by two months that of Newman Street under Irving. This became later the Church in Southwark. The other Churches were - Bishopsgate, which although in Hackney, originated in the Congregational Church in Bishopsgate; Chelsea, which had its beginning in the ministry of the Rev. H. Owen, the first Angel of the Church; Islington, formed in 1834, the building being still in use; and Paddington, the sixth of these Churches, the present building dating back to 1891. There was a seventh at Westminster, which had its beginning in 1835, but the congregation removed to other parts, and the building is used for

3. A Horn is an offshoot of a Church, and may be cared for by an Angel with four priests representing the four orders of Ministry; or it may not be as elaborate even as that. (General Rubrics, p. 98f.)
other purposes. The interior of the buildings shows that not only is the chancel arranged for the several clergy, but that it is an elaboration which suggests the interior arrangements of the Roman rather than the Eastern Church, and moreover has a definite place allotted to different ministers thereof in the Church.

II. The Ministry is called the Elias Ministry, believing that the word of Malachi concerning Elijah that was to come remains unfulfilled, and that fulfillment can not take place in any one person. It is held that the movement is the embodiment of Elijah, being permitted to come to the world to warn Christendom of impending judgment. Quite early in the history of the movement attention was drawn to the arrangements and provisions of the Tabernacle in the wilderness. It was felt that in giving such minute regulations for its construction there was the eternal purpose at work, pointing out the details of the Christian Church that was to come. Every detail therefore had some prophetic significance, making up the total of the Divine Pattern. Aided by the Epistle to the Hebrews, as well as by their general prophetical studies, they proceeded to work out the scheme of the Church as God wants to have it, so that he can be worshipped in a manner befitting his plans. The explanations given of the details of the
tabernacle are ingenious, though in some cases they seem far fetched, and they arrange for the whole ministry and worship of the Christian Church.

The Ministry for this reason is a much more elaborate thing than in other Churches. This was arranged before the death of Edward Irving by a pronouncement believed to be prophetic by the premier Apostle, J. B. Cardale, and in accordance with which the Churches at Newman Street and elsewhere were gradually ordered.

It is known as the Ministry of the Candlestick:

"Opening of the Golden Candlestick. Shortly before the setting up of the Church in London, the Apostle was made, in the power of the Spirit, to dictate a letter wherein the whole order of a Church Particular, in its several ministries, as a candlestick of the Lord, was set out. In this revelation the Holy Ghost, taking the golden candlestick of the Tabernacle, Exod. xxv. 31, etc. - which was the type or shadow under the Law of a better thing to come, namely, a figure of a Church Particular, as shewn in Rev. 1.20 - made it clear that its seven lamps represented the Angel and six Elders, or sevenfold eldership of the Church, with the centre lamp specially distinguished pointing to the Angel as chief; the seven branches the sevenfold deaconship; the shaft the body of the congregation; and all the other parts thereof, even to the most minute particulars of the Mosaic account, having a spiritual significance. It was as follows:

"The Lord maketh known the mystery of the Candlestick unto the Churches. Jesus, thou art the Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. Thou hast the seven Spirits, the seven lamps of fire that burn before the throne of God: the Spirit of wisdom and understanding, the Spirit of counsel and of might, the Spirit of knowledge and of godliness (the fulness of), the Spirit of the fear of the Lord.

"Thou wilt again manifest Thyself in Thy Church.

4. Boase, C.W. : Supplement to The Elijah Ministry, p. 797-800.
Thou art giving, and wilt give, apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers. In this land shall be a company of apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers; and prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers, wilt Thou have in other lands. And in all lands, in all the Churches, Thou wilt manifest Thyself in all gifts of the Spirit, in all holy fruits of the Spirit.

"The Candlestick doth set forth the completeness of a Church, with its branches, its bowls, its knops, its flowers, its tongs, its snuffers, its vessels for the oil. The centre lamp doth set forth the angel. The six lamps to the branches do set forth the elders of the Church.

"Understand ye the mystery!

"The three bowls are the three ministries of the elders, which, supplying the lamp with oil, do unite in one glorious light. Let wisdom, let understanding, let counsel, let power, let knowledge, let holy worship, be shewn forth, 0 ye Elders! in oversight, in feeding, in teaching of the flock of God committed unto you. But be ye not lords over God's heritage. Ye rule in your angel, he ruleth by you.

"He that ruleth over men should be just, ruling in the fear of the Lord. O thou Angel! take heed that the oil flow freely, and supply the light of thy lamp through thy ministries of apostolic rule, of prophetic utterance, of teaching and of feeding the people. (And as thou art called to be an evangelist, teach thou and declare the message of the Gospel, committed to thee, to all the people without distinction.) And let the Spirit of the fear of the Lord be set forth in all thy ministries; for the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and it is the end of all the purposes of God. Yea, the fear of the Lord is the spirit of union unto all the branches of the Candlestick. Such is the word of the Lord unto all the angels of his Churches.

"And, 0 ye overseers of the flocks, ye builders in the house of God, and all ye people (for ye do support all the seven lamps - ye are the shaft, and ye are the branches), let the knops and the flowers be seen adorning the golden Candlestick!

"Ah! let the gifts of the Spirit be manifested. Let the word of wisdom be seen with its branches, prophecy and the discerning of spirits. Let the word of knowledge be seen with its branches, tongues and the interpretation of tongues. Let faith be seen with its branches, healings and miracles. These are the knops.

"Ah! and let the flowers be seen, although not opened: Yet let the outward leaves appear to all men.
Yea, and let the beauty of the flowers be the rejoicing of the Church of God: Love, branching into joy and peace; Long-suffering, into gentleness and goodness; Faith, into meekness and temperance. Faith, hope, and charity - against such there is no law.

"And there are other knots and flowers adorning the Candlestick of Jesus. Let them be manifested, all of them, O ye Church of God! and God shall bless you; and Jesus, your High Priest, shall ever walk about with the tongs and the snuffers - the voice of apostolic exhortation and encouragement, the utterance of prophetic rebuke - to cause the light to shine more brightly.

"And, O ye people! bring up the pure oil - the first love - not of constraint, but with a willing mind. Fill ye your deacons, the vessels for the oil: fill ye them with the pure oil, that the heads of the congregation may bring it up unto the Lord, and that the bowls may continually be filled. From obedience, from a hunger and a thirst after righteousness, from a teachable heart, let the supply be brought up; and the light shall burn continually before the Lord. Ah! the Lord waiteth for this. The lamps must be supplied; and, when supplied, and burning brightly, the wise virgins must take heed that their vessels be still kept filled with oil.

"Understand ye the mystery of the Candlestick, and its branches and its lamps. The Lord giveth the shaft of pure gold, with its branches of pure gold, first of all. Then his Priest cometh and placeth the lamps on the top of the shaft, and of the six branches, that the light may continually ascend. Understand ye. The Lord prepareth his way in causing the hearts of his people to desire the manifestation of his glory. Then he cometh, and Himself chooseth out his servants, to place them as lamps on the top of the Candlestick. Jesus alone doeth this.

"Peace be with you all. Amen."

III. The Fourfold Constitution of Man. All this must be understood in the light of what is perhaps the most characteristic feature of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church, namely, the Fourfold Ministry.

Man's constitution consists of four parts: the Will, the Imagination, the Understanding and the Heart.
1. The Will. This is a spiritual faculty. "The exercise of Will is that immediate personal act of power and self-determination which is as it were creative."\(^5\)

2. The Imagination is "the faculty by which we take knowledge of external objects, and by which we apprehend those suggested by our inward consciousness, in such a way as to make them the subject of thought... We are also endowed with the capacity of receiving light and knowledge in the spirit... and therefore of receiving revelation in the spirit and the inspiration of God."\(^6\)

3. The Understanding. This is the power by which we apprehend truth or falsehood.\(^7\)

4. The Affections of the Heart. The Heart is that element in our mental and moral nature by which we feel and sympathize rather than think. Sorrow or joy, love and hatred, fear and hope, desire and aversion all proceed from the heart immediately.\(^8\)

All these predominate differently in different people, but all coexist in some measure. The perfect man is one who is perfect in each part of his fourfold character, though of only one Person, Christ, is this true.

In accordance with the fourfold Constitution and

6. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
corresponding human need is the fourfold ministry of Christ. He is revealed in Scripture as The Apostle, Prophet, Evangelist and Pastor. The work of the "Apostle, the Sent of the Father, the Lion of the tribe of Judah" is the appeal to the Will. His "office is to give guidance and direction both in doctrine and discipline; it presents an authority to the spirit; the word of wisdom to the mind; commandment and discipline to the senses and material part of man." 10 As Prophet he is "the one through whom the mysteries are revealed, the scripture opened, things to come foreshown." 11 "The distinctive mark...of this ministry...is light, or revelation of things previously concealed or not discriminated." 12 Through the Prophet revelation is made to the spirit, knowledge is conveyed to the mind, under symbolic forms truth is imparted. He is the Seer, the Searcher of the wonderful works of God and gazes upon his mysteries as the eagle looks upon the sun. 13 Jesus as Evangelist appeals to the Understanding. As such he reasons with, convinces, reproves. 14 This ministry is for correction and instruction in righteousness. He imparts conviction regarding past sins, present

needs, and means of salvation. As Pastor or Shepherd he comes with the word of persuasion and encouragement. He himself was a Man of Sorrows and acquainted with grief; and he imparts comfort and sympathy to his people.

This fourfoldness is believed to be typified throughout Scripture. The Cherubim, at the exclusion of man from Paradise (Gen.iii.34) are there a ministry, "though of exclusion and sorrow. To discover what these are one must turn to Ezekiel's Vision, (Ezek.i.10,22,26) of the Four Living Creatures. Their faces were of a Lion, an Ox, an Eagle, and a Man. This is meant to indicate the fourfold Ministry given to the Church, and meant to be irrevocable, permanent, unchangeable. The Lion is a symbol of authority and rule, which points to the Apostle; the Eagle soars into the heavens gazing at the sun - that is the Prophet. The Man is the Evangelist who goes forth to preach the gospel or exhibit the righteousness of faith to those without. They have the face of a Man to indicate their duty to speak the ordinary language of common sense, as men, which every man can enter into;...thus establishing the principles of truth in the firm conviction of every man's understanding. The Ox suggests the Pastor or Shepherd, the office of sympathy, bearing sorrows and burdens of the flock."

15. Cardale, J.B., op. cit., p. 266.
16. Willis: "fourfold Ministry."
Passing by some centuries we come to Apocalypse 4. A door is opened in Heaven. Four creatures are seen as in Ezekiel, but now, unlike the former who bear Jehovah's firmament on their head, i.e. the burden of their ministries while on earth, and their wings stretched upward in labouring and striving to maintain the Church in heavenly places - in Apocalypse there is no more burden or struggle. It is the full repose of the Eternal Sabbath, the Jubilee for which Creation is waiting. They rest from their labours. The crystal firmament is taken from their heads and now appears at their feet, a shining sea like unto crystal. Thus the Church of Eternity shows the same organized structure which was intended to be on earth; and the Christian ministry is not an alterable thing at man's choice, but something that God's will has arranged and given.

Of this symbolic fourfoldness many other instances there are in the Bible, such as Four rivers, Four winds, Four colours, and in Zechariah 1.20. to restore the Lord's house which had been burnt "I looked and behold four carpenters" suggesting a fourfold ministry for the work.

This fourfold ministry is the Gift and Divine appointment for the Church - "He ascended on high and gave gifts unto men." (Eph.iv.8) The Ascension is of
the utmost significance to the Church, which is meant to be a spirit-filled community and to live in the Spirit. Ephesians iv.11-13 states what those gifts are: "He gave some to be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the building up of the body of Christ till we all come to...the unity of the faith, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ." These are not optional, but a Divine gift and appointment, meant for all time. This fourfold ministry then, which is like the Ministry of Christ as indicated, answers to the fourfold constitution of man and his need. It is foretold in prophecy and is meant for all time. Not having it, the Church as a whole is a loser and a sufferer, having foregone its heritage. But at length in answer to promise, and in response to prayers, is fulfilled the word "I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning." (Isaiah i.26).

Of this fourfold ministry there are echoes everywhere. It appears in a solitary pamphlet in the Ottawa Archives, and in United States publications, no less than in British. One writer has worked out
the scheme in the following way:

JESUS.

The Apostle The Prophet The Evangelist The Pastor
ministers to His people by
Apostles Prophets Evangelists and Pastors;
addressing Himself to
The Will, Imagination, Understanding, Affections,
by the word of
Doctrine, Reproof, Correction and Instruction in
that we may grow in
Wisdom, Heavenly Uprightness, Holiness,
mindedness,
as being
Sons of God, Begotten to Dead to Sin, Alive to
a lively Hope,
that when He appears we may be like Him. 17

Applying all this, there is first of all in the
Universal Church which is symbolized by the Apostles
Chapel at Albury, Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists and
Pastors, but all these, as has been stated, in view of
their supervision of the whole Church, have to be taken
from Episcopal rank, that is of Angels, and they are
specially commissioned with the Apostles to share with
them the oversight of the Universal Church. The

17. (Boase, G.C.) Three Discourses on certain Symbols
used in Worship. p. 42.
"Apostles have been commissioned immediately by the Lord, and have received universal jurisdiction. And Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors are chosen from the highest order, the order of Angels or Overseers, and being specially commissioned by the Apostles, partake with them of that enlarged jurisdiction over the whole Church, and are thus enabled to exercise a care and oversight over those who are themselves Overseers." 18

In addition to that every minister is to have a "Help" possessing the same power and of Angel rank, though naturally somewhat inferior. Quite early in the history of the Communion, it was shown by the light of "prophecy" that the fourfold ministry or channel through which spiritual blessings were to be conveyed should belong to the Church Particular, that is, the Individual Church. The order of a local church consists of Angel or Bishop, Priest, and Deacon; but as each of these will at the same time belong to one or other of the fourfold ministry it will be evident that the two classifications will overlap.

First of all, for the consecration of a Church there must be the ordination of an Angel, and a church is said to be set up when that is done, and a sufficient ministry is assigned to the place. Besides Angels, there are Elders, which in the Church are viewed as of priestly

18. Woodhouse, F.V. : Narrative of Events, p. 64.
rank, and there are Deacons; but the whole is placed under the care of the Apostles. There is strict emphasis on the "border" of each one, whereby no one dares trespass in the "border" or province of any other. The Diaconal work for instance can be by the Deacon and none other, and an Elder's by an Elder.

Edward Irving was ordained Angel on the 5th of April, 1831. On the 21st April, a further development took place in the appointment of Deacons. These are seven in number and are the elect of the congregation, though once elected they have to submit to ordination. It is possible that there are more than the number seven in a large Church, but these are pre-eminently the Deacons whose ministry is the looking after the poor and needy, and in fact are the only ones in the system who are so expected to do. It is now generally admitted that this office in the greater part of Christendom has deteriorated from its original purpose, or is merely a step in the ministry. Deacons are thus brought into their own in the service of the Church, though they exclude others equally qualified. When Mr. Irving's Society of Lady Helpers for that purpose met, the matter was taken out of their hands because it belonged to the Deacons.

important development in keeping with New Testament practice. It was also arranged, as in the Universal Church, that each office in the Church should have a "Help", basing this on I Cor. xii.28. 22

The office that calls chiefly for comment is that of the Prophet. As in ancient days in the period of the Didache (140 A.D.) prophets were the source of a great deal of discontent. "The limits within which the Prophet ordained to or acting in the priesthood may act, are not the same - they are not so large - as those in which the Prophet acts who is ordained to the Episcopate, and is actually fulfilling an Angel's mission... In the Particular Church the Prophet, in common with other Priests, is subject to the Angel and receives from him the doctrine of the Church and ministers the same according to his "border" to the people. But it is his especial duty to acquaint himself with the prophetic interpretations of Scripture, so that ministering...he may be an ordinance for light to the Angel, and through the Angel, to the ministers and people. As to the Prophet ordained to the Episcopate, he is called of God, and ordained an Angel, that he may serve the Universal Church as one of the twelve Prophets, the companions of the Apostles', and in the meantime,

until he be chosen to be one of the twelve, that he may accompany an Apostle or his Coadjutor on any temporary mission, or fulfil any temporary duty in which he may be conveniently employed." 23 Prophets have no independence. "Whenever God uses him to speak in the general congregation, he will speak only those things which have been already revealed to the Apostles and Prophets, and authoritatively delivered to the Church." 24

The interpretation of a Prophet's utterance rests, therefore, with the Angel - and no Prophet in fact is to be found in any church where there is no Angel. The Prophet 'calls' an Angel or Apostle, but the Angel or other minister has to decide if the prophecy is valid. This clearly shows an arguing in a circle, which the Apostles themselves also recognized: "It may here be remarked, that words of prophecy are not sufficient in themselves; they need to be discerned by those to whom it belongs to discern them, before their true import and meaning can be ascertained. Almost all the disorders in the churches, and certainly the greatest difficulties which the Apostles had to encounter, arose from words of prophecy, which were taken up and acted upon without the proper ordinance for the discernment of

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the same... The Prophet is no interpreter of his own word, and with all the light of prophecy which the Church has received during the last fifteen years, nothing but disorder and error would have been produced, had not the Apostolic ministry been raised up to discern and arrange, according to the mind of Christ, the light thus given."^ Of Pastors - a Pastor, says "the Manual", "has the especial care of the children of God; he is the immediate and intimate guardian of their souls".
The work of Evangelists is to preach the Gospel of the Coming Kingdom, and of what the "Catholic Apostolic" Church stands for. They are not preachers to outsiders. That was the case at the beginning, but now they are preachers to the elect, - to those, that is, who are already Christians - and they announce the speedy Coming of the Lord.

This assembly of clergy is an imposing one. Naturally the question arises how they are supported. In Irving's day there was much individual support; before he died however a better method was devised in that the tithe was restored and made compulsory. It is based on the story of Melchizedek, and on his receiving a tenth. The tithes being viewed as being not of legal institution but as old as the Covenant with

Abraham. According to it, a tithe or tenth of a person's income, belongs to the Church, and is deposited in a special receptacle as one enters into the Church. This makes possible too the avoidance of pew rents, and the having all seats free. Furthermore, the administration of this fund belongs entirely to the Apostles, and no question must be asked. 26 Besides tithes, there are willing "offerings" of the people, which may go to other purposes. In this way, a complete Ministry is provided for. 27 It might be added that the other ministers appointed were Sub-deacons. 28 Of the ministry of women there are only Deaconesses, who may be permitted to visit women. No other ministry among women is allowed.

So far, all the superintendence of the circuits was in the hands of Edward Irving, who presided at the Councils in London, but now came an important development in that the matter was taken over by the Apostles toward the end of Irving's life. There was a "Council of the Churches" in London, and Mr. Woodhouse explains how in anything affecting the order or regulation of

26. In a fully constituted Church there is a large collection of ministers. Besides the Angel there are Six Elders, Six Prophets, Six Evangelists, Six Pastors, and Seven Deacons, with a Help for each. Only the imposition of this tithe could enable these to be supported.
27. (Cardale, J.B.) A Discourse upon the Obligation of Tithe; Woodhouse, F.V., op. cit., p. 29, 30.
any church counsel was given by the Elders of the Seven Churches, and the seven Angels gathered up in a digested form the substance of that Council for action. The Seven ordained Prophets, also, had their opportunity to speak the Word of the Lord. The Apostles then retired to deliberate upon the whole matter, and subsequently the judgment was given by the Senior Apostle. It will be seen in a subsequent chapter that this Council was left in abeyance.

CHAPTER IX.

THE TRAINING OF THE APOSTLES.¹

The ensuing months were not inactive for the Apostles. The communion under them, separated in effect from all other Churches, had to be provided for, and had to develop its worship accordingly. The last monthly celebration of the Eucharist was in June, 1836, or forty-two months or 1260 days according to the word of prophecy, since the day of the separation of the Apostles.

The Retirement of the Apostles. After their separation from worldly concerns the Apostles were bidden to retire for study and meditation. Just as the Apostle Paul went away to Arabia, or John the Baptist was in the desert until the time of his showing unto Israel, they remained in Albury, and much of their time was spent in studying the prophetical books. They also studied the ceremonial parts of the Books of Moses, from which they saw that the Children of Israel in the wilderness are a figure of the Church in this dispensation. They made a minute study of "the Tabernacle, with its Court and its services, its materials, its parts, its furniture - altars, Candlestick, table,

¹. Of special value in this chapter is the Narrative of Events by F. V. Woodhouse.
and ark - the dresses of the Priests and ceremonies of their consecration, and the several offerings and way of preparing the same." 2 "They studied minutely the Epistles to the Hebrews, viewing it as a guide to the Christian Church in the matter of its worship. Their object was to discover what their call meant and what it stood for, and what they had to say to the world." 3

Testimony. One of the things to which their attention was directed was to prepare a Testimony against Babylon. For long there had been words of prophecy calling for this with declarations that the state of Christendom had become corrupt, and "that the states had departed from God, and that the time of their judgment was at hand... The Apostles, therefore, feeling the burden upon them in a marked degree, agreed that each one should write the burden of his heart respecting the sin of the Land, and of its rulers in Church and State, and of Christendom generally; that all these papers should be delivered into the hands of (Mr. Cardale); that he should combine them into one; and that the document so prepared should be delivered to the Heads of the Church by one of the Apostles." 4 There was to

be yet another which was to be written and delivered to
the King and the Privy Councillors as a Testimony re-
garding the state of the Nation, and the work which the
Lord had begun. This was entrusted to Mr. Spencer
Perceval, probably accompanied by Mr. Drummond.

Thus was produced a full and authoritative document
of the principles, doctrines, and constitution of the
Church.\(^5\) The first of these, prepared by Mr. Cardale,
was presented in January, 1836, by two of the Apostles -
Henry Drummond with a companion dedicated for the pur-
pose - to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and afterwards
to most Bishops of England and Ireland. The same
Testimony was also delivered to above one hundred and
fifty clergy in the vicinity of London, and to many more
in the provinces. It may be asked why this was present-
ed to the Heads rather than the people generally. Their
answer is clear: "The presentation of the Testimony was
on the principle that God's people should be addressed
through their existing Heads, not passing by ordinances,
nor infringing upon the principle of organization; that
therefore the first endeavour of the Apostles should be
to induce all persons professing to be servants of God,
to stand faithfully in their respective places, and be
the channels of God's blessing towards those under them;

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but that, if they would not hear the word should be addressed to all without exception." 6 The Testimony to the King and Privy Councillors was delivered by two Apostles, Perceval being the chief, having requested leave to have an audience of King William IV for the purpose of presenting him with a copy. It was given in addition to a number of Privy Councillors.

Somewhat neglecting the true historical order, we come to the Great Testimony, which was prepared in 1837, and which was addressed to all ecclesiastical and civil authorities in Christendom. In particular, this was meant for the Pope, who, being a usurper, as was believed, and forestaller of the dignity and the glory of the Kingdom of Christ, because of claiming to be King as well as Priest, was to receive the Testimony first. Drummond (with Perceval) was entrusted with that, and he gave it to Cardinal Acton, with the understanding that it would be passed on to the Pope. The second person to receive it was the Emperor of Austria, the successor of the German Emperors and autocratic Roman Caesars, holding irresponsible sovereignty by the Divine right. This was done by Drummond, with Woodhouse, through Prince Metternich. The third person was the King of the French, representing a limited constitutional

monarchy, which is described as: "The only form of monarchy suited to this dispensation degenerating in its present form into a monarchy not based upon the hereditary right of the first born or upon ancient law regulating the succession to the throne, but resting its claim to authority - the royal authority of the Lord Jesus - upon the vote, and gift, and nomination of the people, (embodying that wicked, blasphemous doctrine that all power is from the people) in which character of King by the choice of the people the present King stands officially at last as a usurper and forestaller of the dignity of the Kingdom." 7 Drummond and Dalton were entrusted with this.

Mr. Miller suggests that the chief mind among the Apostles being legal, considered the presenting of a Testimony was sufficient, like serving a writ, but it is not altogether fair to the Apostles so to estimate their work. After all, they need not go beyond the word of the Scripture when it says that the Apostles were "to preach for a testimony against them." (Matt.x.18; Mark,xiii.9). These Testimonies are to be found in the Appendices to Miller's work, including the Great Testimony. 8 These being easily accessible they are not

presented here, but a rare document, the American Angel's Testimony, is given as an Appendix to this chapter.

The Tribes of Christendom. In June, 1836, Mr. Drummond, speaking in power, declared that the Lord would divide Christendom among the Apostles, the princes of the Tribes of Israel. This is in accord with Revelation, chapter 7. The division is given in another part of this work. The Tribe division is largely fanciful, and according to some real or supposed resemblance between remote parts of the world. The division having been made the Apostles were required to go to their Tribes. Mr. Cardale, the senior Apostle, remained in England, which was his Tribe, and kept an eye on the flock; and Mr. Drummond, in the same way, having Scotland and Switzerland under his direction, likewise remained. They were to go for a definite purpose, namely - "to ascertain the state of religion in the countries which they visited; to observe their various customs and practices; to learn how far and in what way it was practicable to convey to them the truths they had been taught; to seek by intercourse with them to obtain a proper estimate of the value and importance of such forms of worship and such doctrines and rites

as obtained among them; and, lastly, to gather gold from all parts of Christendom." 10 For those men saw that there is much of great value in the Church of Christ under whatsoever name it is called. The division into Tribes is not universal but only co-extensive with those parts into which Christianity had more or less penetrated. It will be noted that there is no reference to vast continents like America or Australia. This is because these are looked upon as the Suburbs of Christendom, and as such, parts of the Tribe of Judah (England) which were under Cardale.

The Apostles returned at the end of 1260 days from their separation, that is at Christmas, 1838, but soon after they went out again to their respective fields. The benefit from their stay among their Tribes was manifold. The contact with other minds and types of Christianity helped them in their point of view, but more particularly they found that there was Christianity everywhere; that though it was imperfect in one or another respect, it was Christianity nevertheless, showing some aspects of Christ. Their position was right - a position which is only gradually being discovered by the rest of Christendom - that after all the Church is one; that it is one family, in

spite of its many divisions. They at least saw the common lineaments, and proceeded upon that assumption. They took note of the severity of Protestantism and also the ceremonial Christianity of Catholicism. Though nominally the whole of it was accepted, Protestant worship was not generally approved, and all the developments of the movement were in the direction of an elaborate ceremonial, which is associated more with Catholicism. Thus too, though they received benefit from Eastern and heretical Christendom, they did not make a sufficient use of Eastern Christianity. They were essentially Western and their consequent work bears the mark of its origin.

The Apostles were not yet ready for the work for which they were called, and they had to go out again, nevertheless they spent their time to much advantage in countries like Russia, Sweden, North and South Germany, Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal, Holland, Denmark, France, and Switzerland, as well as Canada and the United States, each Apostle taking with him a companion - an ordained minister. 11

The Crisis. Mr. Cardale did not go upon these travels, because he had charge of the Churches in England, and further he was deputed to call others back

11. Woodhouse, F.V., op. cit., p. 66
wherever occasion demanded. This was done in 1839, when they had gone out again, because of rebellion in the Church. They returned from different parts of the world by mid-summer, 1840, to face this crisis.

It appears that the Angels of the Churches were much disturbed because of lack of life and enthusiasm in their communities, and because there was rebellion against Apostolic authority. The official reason, however, is stated as: "the necessity which has arisen from the mistaken notion of some among the Angels of the Churches and ministers attached to the Apostles, as to the true meaning of the opening of the first chapter of Ezekiel, and as to the standing of the Apostles towards, when in connection with, the other three classes of Ministers: the sum of which misunderstanding would have been a virtual denial of the authority of the Apostles to rule the Church, and its consequences the undermining of all discipline." 12 In other words the absence of the Apostles abroad had caused "some active-minded members of the Church to... begin a speculation, which seemed likely to find favour, namely - that the Council was an instrument by which the Lord would guide the Church Universal, and that the Apostles were instruments for carrying into practice the will of the Council." 13

13. Woodhouse, F.V., Narrative, Chap.V.p.82ff; and Part II, Chap. 1.
This was nothing strange, because through the centuries the Church has had Councils to determine her course, the last of the Ecumenical ones being in 787. It was felt that the Apostles now were simply to carry on the behest of the Council, in this instance that of the Seven Churches in London. Mr. Cardale perceived the magnitude of the crisis, and he summoned the Apostles back though some of them were in remote parts of Europe and America. To quote Woodhouse: 14 "On their return after hearing the report of this thing which had taken place, they invited the Angels and the Ministers of the Universal Church to state freely any matters which they wished to state, and in the fullest and freest manner to lay out their views on the subject of the Apostles' place and standing, and of their own relative position towards the Apostles and the Churches." These communications having been received, the Apostles considered them, and after mature deliberation, and with a view to getting at rest for the future all doubt and uncertainty regarding their true position, they proceeded to draw up a declaratory statement of the duties of Apostleship in its bearing upon the other ministries and Churches, and in submitting this document to the Ministers associated with them, and to the Angels, they intimated that

14. Woodhouse, P.V., op. cit., p. 84.
they were willing either to be set aside or to continue guiding Churches as the Lord gave them ability; but that on no other terms, on no other principles, than those laid down in this document could they undertake the responsibility and guidance of the Churches.

From this it will be seen that, on the one hand, the Apostles adopted a policy of frankness, and that Ministers could tell freely what was in their thoughts, but, on the other hand, it is equally clear, that this document of the Apostles was in the nature of an ultimatum which the Church could not ignore. Furthermore, the Apostles felt the need of discontinuing the monthly meetings of the Council in London, which had met even though all the Apostles save Mr. Cardale were absent; and it was not resumed, and even then only partially, in 1847. They were also obliged to dispense with the services of the Ministers who had been attached to the Apostles in their travels "especially those through whom all communications between them of the Churches were made; and further, to intimate that until all erroneous notions in the minds of any of these Ministers regarding the discernment and true meaning of the words which had been spoken through the Prophets should be removed, the Apostles could not repose full confidence in them." 15

15. Woodhouse, F.V., op. cit., p. 84.
Clearly, there was a conflict of opinion in the Churches regarding the ultimate authority in the Church. Was it to be the Prophets or was it to be the Apostles? In this respect, the Apostles may be viewed as in the right, as Church history shows both in the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles" and since, but, on the other hand, the assertion of the Apostolate meant the suppression of any democratic movement in the Church, a movement which might have made the communion of service to the whole of Christendom, and provided a means of ending the many differences that there existed.

Regarding the Prophets - "By much experience in the light of prophecy and by the instruction of the Epistle to the Corinthians, the Apostles had learned that in the prophetic ministry as in all other forms of ministry the purity of the word spoken depended upon that inward cleanness of the individual, and that those whom the Lord was using ought to put away all filthiness of flesh and spirit, and they were also shown that when a Prophet or other Minister were in an unclean state no use could be made of the Ministry... As a general rule they discerned that errors on points of faith and doctrine in a Prophet's mind must necessarily hinder him from prophesying according to the analogy of faith." 16 From this,

however, it is evident that on a pretext the independ­
ence of the Prophet was really at an end.

The Church, as a whole, accepted the Apostles' presentation of the case, but the Churches were reduced in number by 1840. There were many disappointments and much defection, nevertheless the Apostles triumphed, and an inflexible system has come into being, nor has there been since any opposition or change. Few are aware of a great schism the "Catholic Apostolic" Church has experienced in Germany however in the New Apostolic Church, which is influential in the country. 17 One unfortunate result of this was the going away from them of Mr. Mackenzie, one of the Apostles. They contend that he was with them in the statement they had made, but that when exercise was needed by the Apostles of authority over all other Ministries, whether Prophets

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17. The New Apostolic Church originating in 1865 is not in the purview of this work. Suffice to say their leaders were the Berlin Prophet Heinrich Geyer, and the Hamburg Angel, Schwartz. These were excommunicated by Woodhouse. The Sect arising thence has grown, despite or because of its secrecy. It has its meetings in the United States among persons mainly of German extraction. Cp. Paul Scheurlen: Die Sekten der Gegenwart, 1930. The pages given are suggestive: the chapter of Die Katholisch-Apostolische Gemeinde, pp. 111-121; whereas Die Neuapostolische Gemeinde, from pp. 122-154. For United States information see The Census of Religious Bodies, 1926. "New Apostolic Church: Statistics, Denominational History, Doctrine, and Organization." 8pp.
or Angels, failed in his faith. Mr. Mackenzie, to the end of his days, refused to discuss the matter with them, or any more to act as Apostle. It seems clear that he had misgivings regarding the whole system, and that he felt that without special pentecostal endowment of power they had no authority to act, or to claim the power of Apostles.

The period of crisis was made use of, as will be seen in the next chapter, in making changes in the ritual and worship generally. There is little else besides except the development of the Apostles' Coadjutor. Mr. Cardale thus explains the reasons for it: "Gradually, in the course of nature, the greater number of them have fallen asleep in the Lord...but their reduced number suffices not for the task.

"But you know that, as the pressure has increased upon them, God has been bringing into exercise that constituent element of the Body of Christ on their behalf now, as from the beginning of His work He has done on behalf of the other ministries, - Helpship. Helps to Apostles are not, as it would appear, admitted into the fellowship of the College of Apostles as a Corporate unity, as certainly they do not share their supreme authority. Indeed, that peculiar and intimate relation

would seem to be impossible, except to those who have immediate and direct mission from the Father and the Son, which none but Apostles have. But it is not so much here, as in their mission into the tribes, that the burden of their reduced number presses. And this mission they can discharge by their Coadjutors or Helps equally as in their own proper persons. The fulness of the Spirit can thus be dispensed by them to people whom they cannot personally reach. The fulness of Apostolic grace is dispensed through the Coadjutor: one with the Apostle in the Spirit, distinct from him in person; the same grace, through a different man, and with equal authority though through a subordinate minister; Apostolic benediction through one who is not an Apostle, but by the absent Apostle through his Coadjutor present; all the grace and power both towards ministers and people, which the Apostle, if present, could convey to them; for He, the Holy Ghost, effects it, Who is the bond by which the whole Church, including the Apostleship, is one, as the Father and the Son are one. He makes the Apostle, absent in body, to be present with the Coadjutor in spirit. And thus the prerogative of the Apostolic office, - of Jesus, the Apostle, - is preserved inviolate, while the full discharge of all its functions is provided for."

The Church has continued its emphasis on Bible Literalism, and on Prophecy, but it is undeniable that the Church of England has captured the movement in the persons of its leading Apostles. If the people for instance were without ministrations in any part, they were advised to attend to the ministry of the Church of England. There is nothing savouring of Presbyterianism or any kind of Nonconformity. Thus the movement which began in Scottish Presbyterianism has now developed into a kind of High Church Anglicanism. The Church of England has been most considerate of its members who were "Catholic Apostolic", and there are known cases of dignitaries in the Church who maintained their position in Anglicanism yet had received the "sealing" from the hands of the Apostles. But, unfortunately, this has not always been the case, and less so with the Church of England overseas; consequently, the "Catholic Apostolic" Group have had to build their Churches wherever possible and to bear their testimony as best they might. Significant names are found in their annals - S. R. Gardiner, the historian, was a Deacon until the 1870's; Lord Maxwell who bears testimony to their devotion and to their sense of reverence; and so does the Rev. C. F. Andrews in his important work "What I owe to Christ."
CHAPTER X.

THE CULTUS OF THE "CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC" CHURCH.

During the difficulties consequent upon the Crisis, and partly because of them, all the Apostles gave attention to such matters as Liturgies, the worship of the Church, and the Vestments of the Clergy. Some changes had already been adopted by Mr. Irving himself, but these did not commend themselves to the Apostles. The Church, originating in Mr. Irving, had a Scottish Presbyterian tradition which, though not necessarily averse to set forms of prayer, to liturgies and to vestments of the clergy, had no definite rule regarding them. Again, they possessed no Creeds or Confessions or

1. In addition to Cardale's Readings on the Liturgy the following would be found useful:

(Cardale, J.B.) A Discourse on the Real Presence of the Lord in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. (1807).
(Cardale, J.B.) A Discourse on the Doctrine of the Eucharist as Revealed to the Apostle Paul and Delivered by him to the Church. (2nd Ed. 1876).
(Hughes, R.) The Liturgy of the Holy Eucharist. (1865)
(Hughes, R.) Eucharistic and Daily Sacrifice. (1866).
(Willis) The Prayer of Dedication and the Interpretation of the Burnt Offering.
(Rawson, T. Edward) The Restoration of the Holy Eucharist, "Ninety Years Ago."
(Carlyle, Thomas) Concerning the Right Order of Worship in the Christian Church. Translated from the German. (1905).
(Carlyle, Thomas) On Symbols in Worship. (1853).
(Kennard) Apostles and the Sealing Through their Ministry.
(Drummond, Henry) The Rationale of Liturgies and of Public Worship. (1857).
Standards or Articles, and no forms of worship once Mr. Irving was deposed from the ministry. The same is true of holy days, when even the feast of the Nativity - Christmas - remained unobserved. Mr. Irving himself did not feel the need of these things, but the Apostles already had made up their minds for a reform and proceeded to introduce it.

**Doctrine.** The Doctrine of the New Church was none other than the Creeds, at least theoretically, of ecumenical Christendom: that is to say, the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creed. But once more the wishes of the Eastern Church are ignored in this selection, for that Church has only one Creed which it accepts - the Nicene, minus the Filioque clause - and though it receives the others as substantially containing the truth it does not consider them as official and "Ecumenical" Creeds.

**Symbolism.** The worship of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church is replete with symbolism. Many of its acts are also careful anti-types of what they find in the Old Testament, and particularly in the arrangements of the Tabernacle. The human mind, it is pointed out, is never dissociated from symbolism, and needs it to represent reality. Only silent worship is strictly unsymbolical, for words are symbols of thought,\(^2\) - the

difference between type and symbol being that the former foreshadows something absent and future, and the latter something present but unperceived by the senses. The Early Church in its worship shows the same instinct—the lamp, the lamb, the fish, and other symbols which are to be found on the walls of the catacombs, and foremost of all, the sign of the Cross. Thus, the "Catholic Apostolic" Church with a true sense of human psychology makes use of symbols, but it teaches that symbolical worship must have its roots in Scripture, or have the sanction of their Apostles, and must never be selected to suit individual taste. It is aware of the difficulties attached to symbols, but it contends that these should be used in faith and with an understanding of what they are intended to signify. Realising that the overwhelming majority of the human race needs useful symbolism, the "Catholic Apostolic" Church claims that it has selected its symbols wisely as against the barrenness of much Protestant worship and the cumbersome extravagances of the Roman rites. It has based its selection on the following rules\(^3\): 1. that it must be according to direction of all present analogy of scripture; 2. that they are in conformity with the best practice of the Church; 3. that they are used as accessories and as aids, and not objects of devotion;

\(^3\) Carlyle, Thomas: Symbolism. p. 345.
4. that they are given intelligent use. One further principle distinctively "Catholic Apostolic" is, - 5. that they be used in accordance with the light of prophecy - that is, the "Catholic Apostolic" meaning of that term.

In this way we are to understand the disapproval by the Apostles of many things adopted on the authority of Irving himself. With their better understanding of universal rites and symbols the Apostles were able to approve of such as were historically correct as well as needful.

The Eucharist. According to the theory of the Church the Eucharist is the central part of worship to which all else is related. This is in keeping with the view held of the Communion, which is explained below. The weekly observances of the Lord's Supper in all the Churches began on the 14th April, 1833. It had already been observed weekly in the Church at Albury. The nature of the Eucharist, however, was not fully understood, and though it was received kneeling it was, nevertheless, in their pews, and at the hands of the Deacons. The Apostles were frequently called upon to offer some guidance, and they prepared a temporary Liturgy which was lithographed and sent to all the

Angels in 1838. The communication thus sent is as follows:

"Albury. February 17th, 1838.

"My dear Brother,

The Apostles have deemed it expedient at the present time, to use the order of the communion service herein-after stated. -- But in transmitting to you this order for your help and guidance in the performance of this service I desire to guard you, and through you the flock committed to your charge, against supposing that the true and perfect order either in this, or in any other of the services can be finally set in the churches, until all the tribes, whom they equally concern, are gathered as one body unto the standard of the Lord. For it is then only, that the perfect light, coming up from the fulness which resides in the whole body, and not in any part thereof - can be truly said to be brought to the Apostles of the Lord for judgment.

Inattention to this important truth has been a frequent cause of stumbling to the weak and ignorant of the flock, for, looking only to the changes that take place in the Church, and not at the same time considering the condition of the body and the increase of light, which together have called for these changes, they have been stumbled thereby.

I would also have you to bear upon your mind, that neither on this, nor any similar occasion, are such forms of Service to be regarded by you as a formula of rules and regulations to be followed out in all their details, strictly to the letter: - lest, however good and suitable in themselves, they should thus prove instrumental in bringing the Church into bondage - but the rather to be used by you as a direction and help in the performance of the services devolving upon you - that so with all the Angels, being duly instructed in the same things, you may reverently bear upon your hearts and intelligently observe in the Spirit thereof the same good order throughout all the Churches.

Order for the Communion Service.

I. The Angel call on the Deacons to bring up the elements - The Deacons present them to the Elders, and the Elders (including the Angel if an Apostle be present but not otherwise) to place them on the Table.

6. From a private document.
II. The Confession of Unworthiness.

III. The Absolution or Blessing.

IV. Prayer to consist of the following particulars (kneeling)
1. The Lord's Prayer.
2. Beseech the Lord to accept these Gifts at our hands, and ourselves in that act.
3. Beseech Him to have regard to the faith and prayer of the Church, and make the bread and wine to be to us the body and blood.
4. Remember before Him the whole Church.
   a. Ministers in Universal Church.
   b. Particular Churches, and especially ministers and people present.
   c. Bishops, priests and Deacons and the Baptized.
   d. Those who have departed in the faith praying for our common perfection at the coming of the Lord.

V. Act of consecration of the Bread.
1. Angel take the bread saying - The Lord Jesus Christ in the same night in which He was betrayed took bread and blessed.
2. The blessing which should be commemorative of His mercies in Creation and redemption and specially that the Lord Jesus is not only our Sacrifice for sin, but our heavenly bread - And should include a petition that God would bless the Bread, and by the Holy Ghost make it to us the flesh of Jesus Christ.
3. With this conclusion in which the people ought to join so soon as the Angel thinks he can introduce it. "Holy Holy Holy Lord God of Sabaoth Heaven and Earth are full of the majesty of Thy Glory."
4. He blessed and brake and said Take eat this is my body, etc..

VI. The Communion in the Bread.
1. The Angel communicate himself and the other Ministers.
2. The Angel give the vessels containing the Bread to the Elders, and the Elders to the Deacons that the Bread may be borne forth to the people.

VII. Act of Consecration of the Cup.
1. Angel take the cup saying likewise after supper He took the Cup and gave thanks.
2. The Blessing of the cup which should specially commemorate the blessings in the atonement through the blood and giving of the Holy Ghost and should include a petition for a blessing on the cup and that it may by the Holy Ghost be made to us the blood of Christ.
3. With this conclusion in which the people should join so soon as ye Angel thinks he can introduce it "Glory to God in the Highest - and on Earth peace - Good will towards Men."

4. He gave it to them and said - This cup is the New Testament and...This do ye as often as ye drink it in remembrance of me.

VIII. The Communion of the Cup, in the same form as the bread.
IX. A Song of Praise taken from the Psalms with the Gloria Patri.
X. The Blessing.

Where an Apostle is present he will conduct the whole service, except that the Angel will communicate the Deacons. The Deacons in communicating the people should give once to each of the communicants present; and the Elements remaining and not needed for the sick, should be consumed immediately after the service, for which purpose the Ministers may call up whom they please: the Ministers remaining until the same be consumed."

Regarding the "Catholic Apostolic" view of the Eucharist, it is held that Christ's presence in the Sacrament is a great fact, but we would not have known it if He had not told us. By the operation of the Holy Ghost and therefore most really and truly He hath effected that the body and blood, and therefore He Himself, are present under those visible substances of bread and wine. Henceforth they are inseparably connected with it, and the Divine presence is there where the symbols are present. To say, as in transubstantiation, that bread is no longer bread or wine no longer wine is an offence against reason and our senses, and the doctrine following it leads to a worship of the substances, which is nothing else than idolatry. We know that Christ's body is not
upon earth but is in Heaven.

But, on the other hand, if Christ be present with the elements, we cannot refuse Him the worship due to Him. That worship is not paid to the bread and wine, because we are not deceived into thinking that these in any way are the body and blood of the Lord, but in these same elements a change has taken place "not in the natural substances but in their spiritual efficacy and relation. Before consecration they are simply and only bread and wine, without any spiritual import or relation. In Consecration, by virtue of the action and words of the Lord Himself, and through the Holy Ghost, they are changed into a true sacrament."

This explains the high view of the Eucharist in the "Catholic Apostolic" Church. Christ has chosen these media through which to come to his worshippers, and therefore, as the "prayer for the removal of the sacrament" suggests, there is recognition of the fact. On the other hand, the "Catholic Apostolic" Church belongs rather to the Protestant tradition which, while venerating the substances because Christ said so, they worship Him present, and the Real Presence is not in the elements, but in the sacrament - a position with which Evangelical Churches need have no quarrel. This, too,

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will show why in the debates on the 1928 Prayer Book in the Church of England, longing eyes were cast by mediating theologians to the "Catholic Apostolic" prayer on the "removal of the sacrament", which conserved all that the Evangelicals were concerned about, and at the same time retained a practice which to the Catholic section was precious.

The Eucharist is also an unbloody sacrifice. Christ, in the heavenly places is a Priest, offering therefore a sacrifice. The priest on earth does the same, offering to God the sacramental symbols of his body broken in our stead and his blood shed for us. Unlike the Roman teaching this is not a repetition of the sacrifice which took place on Calvary. The act of "elevation of the elements" represents it. Christ said, "This do" which is taken to be a command to-day—that is, offer a sacrifice as He Himself has done. The resemblance to Tractarian teaching here will not escape notice.

The Liturgy was only a temporary expedient, and it was known, as a result of their visits to different parts of the world, that something fuller ought to be prepared.

8. Carlyle, Thomas: Concerning the Right Order of Worship in the Christian Church. p. 27.
It was during the Crisis that the Apostles gave their thoughts to the subject, and in 1842 at Albury Chapel a Liturgy was appointed, with permission, in 1843, to the Churches to copy it if they so desired. The order in this Liturgy has undergone much revision. For instance, in 1842, like the Book of Common Prayer, it begins with the Office for Morning Prayer and Evening Prayer. The present form, on the other hand, has changed the order, and it begins with the Celebration of the Holy Communion. The 1842 volume similarly included in different services a few hymns like the "Adeste Fideles" and "Hark the Glad Sound", and an abridged catechism. The present form is a much more elaborate one, having drawn upon the sources of Eastern, Orthodox, and Heretical, as well as Roman Catholic, and of course, Anglican, the wording being very largely that of Cranmer. The order for this Eucharistic worship is as follows:

ORDER of the EUCHARIST.

The Invocation and Response (In the name of the Father, etc.)
The Confession.
The Absolution
Versicles including Pax Vobiscum
Prayer of Access
Kyrie Eleison, three-fold.

Gloria in Excelsis (Hallelujah)
The Lord be with you. Response.
Collect
Epistle
Anthem "This is the day which the Lord hath made" unless another is appointed.

Gospel

Homily (Not called sermon, not more than ten minutes) preceded by Benediction on the Speaker.

The Nicene Creed, with Filioque Clause in it

Offertory Sentences

Prayer of Offertory

Psalm xliii

While Elements are brought up on the altar. Request people for prayer that the Sacrifice be acceptable.

Prayer of Oblation and Dedication

Salutation

"Lift up your Heads"

Preface - Long Prayer of Thanksgiving

For Creation and Providence
For Christ Incarnate
For Ordinances, the Holy Ghost
For Praise

The Trisagion - (Greek influence though in different place)

Lord's Prayer

(Invocation of Holy Spirit (Epiklesis: Greek Liturgy, Scottish Prayer Book, American Prayer Book); Recital of Institution.)

9. In the Liturgy, at the end of the service for the Holy Eucharist is appended this note: "The Creed in the above Office is set forth in the form used in the Churches in the West. The Churches in the East use the Creed in the form in which it was left by the Council of Constantinople. It does not follow that these two great divisions are irreconcilably opposed on the doctrines involved in that clause, which the Western Churches affirm and which the Eastern Churches abstain from affirming: and until a competent authority shall pronounce thereon, it seems unreasonable that either form should be universally imposed." In the Readings on the Liturgy. Vol. I. pp. 88, 107-111 (1893 Edition) seems less tolerant of the Eastern Church, and defends the Western addition.
these earthly elements we worship thee alone. We worship not the things we see; but Thee, who art invisible; and through Thee we glorify the blessed name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, one God."

A further development in 1838 had to do with Baptism, which is viewed as affecting in the candidate a change which can only be called Baptismal Regeneration. The following is the Order of Service given early to all the Angels:

"The Order for the Service of Baptism.

"The Lord having directed, (as you will see by words hereinafter given you) that two Rites of His Church should not be mingled by being celebrated at one and the same time, and having required that this matter should be set in order with respect to Baptism forthwith the following directions are sent for your guidance as to Baptism of Children of Members of your flock.

Parents should give notice personally to the Angel on or before the Saturday preceding that they will present a child for Baptism: on receiving which notice, he will direct them to bring it up the following Wednesday at 2 o'clock p.m. or such other day in the week or hour between 10 and 4 o'clock as the Angel may see fit to appoint. And the Angel should also give notice to the Church, at the forenoon communion on the Sunday so that all who are able may come up to the Service of Baptism.

12. (This note which also appeared in the document is inserted as giving an idea of prophetical utterance.)

"The following are the words above alluded to:

While an Apostle was expressing his feelings that there was something irregular in having Baptisms at the forenoon services on Sunday -

'Oh! the mingling at the Services - the mingling of the 'order - the mingling of the worship of the house - Ah! 'set ye in order - Oh! let things be at their appointed 'season - at the due appointed times let things be done - 'let there not be mingling - set ye in order.'

And on the following day -

'It is in the ways of Babylon - the confusion of Babylon. 'Ah! the mingling together - Oh! the putting two things
The essential parts of the Service as you will see are -

i. That all do understand and confess that all are conceived in sin, born in iniquity and inherited of wrath and condemnation.

ii. That God's love is over all - that He hath given His Son to be a ransom for all and that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth from all sin.

iii. That the word of God which with the water is the means ordained for regeneration is also when read or declared by the Minister the instrument of cleansing ye hearers.

iv. That the hearers being cleansed by the blood, and washing of the word are fit to offer their child to the Lord for Baptism.

In accordance with the above remarks, and for as much as Baptisms will henceforth take place at a distinct service - such service will consist of the following parts.

i. Confession of sin and unworthiness.

ii. Absolution

iii. Reading of the word - either Mark x.13-16, John iii.1-8, or Rom. vi. 1-11.

iv. Administration of Baptism as directed in Record No. XLIX and which is here subjoined.

1st. That the Minister call on the Parent or other Sponsors in their absence, to present the candidate for Baptism.

Note. - Of course it is here presupposed that the Minister has previously instructed the parties in the nature of 

'together - Ah! the having the purpose mixed not a clear thing - not one thing - Ah! the Lord hath one thing at a time, each thing in its appointed season - Ah! the orders of the house, let them be kept distinct - let them be kept separate, each in its season, each in its time - Oh! the wants of the people let them be ministered unto, according to their wants - let there be no bondage - ye have set in order one sacrament - ye have set in order - the Lord hath set in order the sacrament of Marriage - it is a holy sacrament - the Lord hath set in order, and should ye not set in order the sacrament - the service of Baptism - that holy rite - that most holy rite - that life-giving rite, whereby (they)ye receive the life - let it be set in order - it is a holy sacrament - and let the service be set in order.'

And after the settling of the above order of service the following word was spoken -

'Oh! let there be the confession and the absolution - Oh! let there be the meat offering - Oh! the Laver and then the drink offering - let it be poured out - let the drink offering be poured out - let there be then the
Baptism — and on their solemn responsibility therein to consecrate to God the life freely given, and freely received from God. — And that he has further satisfied himself as to their intelligence and faith in the performance of this act; and that they do in faith seek of God to bestow the gift of regeneration in the administration of His ordinance; and for this end the Angel should look for simplicity of faith rather than for any deep knowledge in the parties.

2nd. The minister, after addressing the Church, if he desire it, on the import and solemnity of the Sacraments, and testifying before the congregation unto the faith of the parties, should then proceed to pray for the blessing and presence of God in His ordinance.

3rd. The minister, taking the candidate if an infant into his arms, and the congregation at the same time standing, should then proceed to baptize with water in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, giving a new name, blessing the baptized and declaring it to be admitted into the Church of God.

4th. The minister should return thanks.

5th. The minister should then charge the Baptized, and the parents, or sponsors, and bless them.

v. Service to conclude with Ps. xxxiv.8-12 or Psalms cxxviii. — The Gloria Patri, and the blessing.

It is necessary perhaps to add that these directions should not interfere with any case of imminent danger where the Parents desire to have their child baptized in their bedroom."13

12 (contd.)
'song of praise, the song to the Father the Song to the Son and the Song to the Holy Ghost ascribing praise — the blessing.'

Again — 'Tis sin that should be confessed — Oh! there is the unworthiness — the sin and the unworthiness should be confessed.'

13. This document, consisting of the Order for the Communion Service and the Order of Baptism, given above, is signed by the Chief of Pastors: J. Thompson.
In 1838, there was a setting up of altars in the churches, and the marking off as sacred of the place where the altar stood. This was done by the Elders who had leanings thereto, and was by no means universal at this stage. As late as 1841 many were complaining that the Churches were naked and bare.

In 1844, the Apostles returned for a further period to their Tribes, and a little later - in 1847 - the practice of the Apostles' laying-on of hands for the receipt of the Holy Ghost, which was called "sealing", was adopted, and which is referred to in their Catechism as a Sacrament or rite in which is bestowed the gift of the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, upon those who have been baptized and are come to full age." The reference is to the sealing of the 144,000 in Rev. vii. and xiv.

Contemporaneously with the introduction of the Liturgy, there was also the adoption of Vestments, such as Cope, Chasuble, and the like, and not merely the Surplice worn then in most of the Anglican Churches. Before 1832 this was totally unknown, and their ministers were simply dressed in the customary black gown.

15. Woodhouse, F.W., op. cit., p. 96.
17. Part III. p. 16.
The Liturgy received due attention, and it was developed in the first edition, 1842, the second edition, 1847, and the third, 1850. There have been several issues since then, all in the direction of fuller ritual. The second edition was accompanied by a book of Rubrics and considerable changes in the various offices. This year, 1847, also saw the introduction of the use of chrism, or consecrated oil, for anointing the sick, for healing, or for ordaining. The reservation of the Sacrament was adopted in 1850, in analogy to the Shewbread in the Tabernacle, which was always placed before the Lord. With the third edition of the Prayer Book in 1850 the duties of the fourfold ministers were now properly assigned in the services. In 1852, they adopted the system of Symbols and of Lights — "one Light to be continually burning before the Altar, so long as the Holy Sacrament is reserved on it, and two Lights to be lighted when the Holy Eucharist is consecrated on the Lord's Day." They also adopted, 1852, the use of incense which was to be offered up only at the time of intercession, not incensing the people, but offered symbolically only to God.

22. Ibid. p. 839.
25. Ibid. p. 136.
An interesting attempt was the founding of a college for training for the Ministry, the inaugural address being given by Dr. J. Thompson, April 22nd, 1850, and the place 52, Great Marlborough Street, London, removing later to Newman Street. Mr. H. M. Pryor states he attended these classes. The scheme was given up before very long.

The practice of Holy Water was introduced in 1868. This is an emblem of life and purification, and is placed in a vessel near the door. It is a symbol of the work of the Holy Spirit in effecting the sanctification of the baptized, and it was felt fitting that at the very entrance to God's House there should be this reminder, as also of the grace which in their baptism they received.

These are the main historical developments in the "Catholic Apostolic" Church in Great Britain, and the worship of the Church, as well as the organization, have been fixed in this way. The main exception has been the cessation of the use of Incense - which was a symbol of intercessory prayer - when the last Apostle passed away.

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26a. (Cardale, J.B.) A Discourse on Holy Water and on the Removal of the Sacrament on the Lord's Day. (1868)
The allocation of the Apostles to Tribes meant the taking in some way of the Message to the Tribes so set apart. Much of the work produced little result, and only small companies of people were got together. One important exception, however, is Germany, where the work has been almost as aggressive as in the Homeland. This is due to the work of the Apostle for North Germany, Thomas Carlyle. He was not only an Apostle, but a learned man, whose "collected works" merit careful attention. An important work in German is the translation of the Liturgy,¹ of which the author is the Marburg Privatdozent of Protestant theology, Ernst U. Rosssteuscher, and which possesses devotional value as well as a measure of independence in translation.²

More important is the work in North America, where the movement has had considerable strength. The continent is looked upon as a suburb of Christendom, and it is held that by an attack on the suburbs Satan will begin his onslaught. For all practicable purposes

¹. Due Liturgie sowie die anderen Gottesdienste der Kirche, Berlin. n.d.
². Private Information.
Many Canadians were now rather apt to accept whole-heartedly what Britain had to give, irrespective of its suitability to Canadian conditions.

Yet the years after 1812 marked a struggle among Canadians themselves for civil liberty, social and religious equality. Some elements making up the struggle were, first of all, the Act of 1791, which established an aristocratic rule, and imposed on the people the "Clergy Reserves" in support of the Church of England, and the influence of United States democracy, with its dictum that all men are born free and equal, from which source also was felt the effect of the French Revolution. At the same time, there was a self-consciousness on the part of Canadians, which did not allow them to be confused with the democracy across the Border. And so strong was the invasion from the South that many true patriots looked to Great Britain, and were disposed to accept everything British, because it was British, including the anachronisms of the Electoral system before 1832.

3. This is the theme of Aileen Dunham's "Political Unrest in Upper Canada" 1815-1837; until, that is to say, the rebellion under W. L. Mackenzie.
and the Church of England as a State religion.

Methodism came largely through the Camp Preachers and itinerant Evangelists of the South (and therefore had as yet the United States point of view) but in 1828 it was joined to the British Wesleyan Conference, and though there was an interruption of the connection for a little while it was finally united with the British Conference in 1848.

Canada was divided into Lower Canada and Upper Canada. Lower Canada, being Roman Catholic, does not enter into discussion, but Upper Canada, that is Ontario, is of great significance. The Archdeacon of Toronto, later Bishop John Strachan, was the unrelenting champion of the "Clergy Reserves." There was, however, at this time, a strong Methodist influence, largely under Egerton Ryerson, who with his brothers constitutes one of the great influences in Canadian history, and who in addition to his work against the "Clergy Reserves" is known as the founder of the Ontario Public School System. He started a weekly Journal, the "Christian Guardian" in 1829 to represent those varied interests. In the "Clergy Reserves" question Egerton Ryerson was adamant, and by
1854 the British Government saw that this was indeed the will of Canada, and devoted the "Clergy Reserves" to educational purposes.

It was in an agitation of this kind that the first Missionaries of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church came. Their coming left the Scottish Presbyterians practically immune, to work instead havoc amongst the Methodists. Baxter tells us that Caird and George Ryerson, (eldest brother of Egerton Ryerson) who is discussed in the next chapter, came out at the dictates of the Prophets in 1834. Their first visit was because of the coming of an American to London, who carried all before him, and received the utmost consideration in Irving's Church, and who stated that there were people in the United States who would welcome any Missionaries. The coming of these two soon proved this false, and meanwhile the man, who was an impostor, left Irving's Church precipitately. The second sending of Missionaries, in 1836, was more successful. They were Caird and Cuthbert. George Ryerson, who had gone to England again, returned also in 1836. There is a writer, calling himself "ABC", who writes to the Editor of the "Christian Guardian", December 3rd, 1834, "that Mr. Caird has made some converts during his last visit to

Canada is notorious; I am sorry to say that most of these converts are Methodists. I think it may be well to account for this. Mr. Caird came to Canada accompanied by an individual well-known with the Methodist societies, through whose influence he obtained access to the Methodist pulpits, and, as a natural result of his preaching in their pulpits, joined to his commanding eloquence and great Biblical knowledge, he acquired a commanding influence." Another says, "They were invited to preach in the Adelaide Street Church, and continued to occupy the pulpit for some time, and until they began to think they had a right there... When the Irvingites were invited to leave, several influential members of the Church left with them."

In the "Christian Guardian", Egerton Ryerson writes: "Many of our readers are aware that a Mr. Caird, by a special order of the Spirit in Mr. Irving's Church, as stated, came to this Province in May last, and preached several times in Kingston and Toronto. Being absent from the Province at the time we did not hear him, but we have been told that he was a man of superior talents and acquirements, great fluency in the Scriptures, and most prepossessing, and commanding

5. His eldest brother, George Ryerson.
powers of oratory, and of a truly Scottish industry and zeal in his new work. He instilled the minds of a number of persons in Kingston with his new doctrines, and had similar success with several individuals in this city. He was principally entertained by the Methodists, who had not been made acquainted with Mr. Irving's doctrines, a part of which Mr. Caird did not unfold to the last, but which we shall hereafter disclose. Such was the encouragement he received that parcels of pamphlets and tracts have been sent from Mr. Irving's Church for distribution, and Trustees of one of our Chapels, in which Mr. Caird was allowed to officiate, have been written to from the same quarter. Their efforts are not directed to convert the heathen, and only secondarily to convert the unconverted, but principally to gather the elect out of the mystical Egypt and Babylon (by which terms they designate the religious world), for they hold that a definite number has been given to the Father and the Son, and that this number can neither be increased nor diminished by all the Evangelicals or Infidels in the world. They therefore address themselves to the Children of God...

(Their converts are) 1. Unsuspecting persons of strong imagination and ardent temperament, especially when in

6. It should be noted that the "Elect" in the "Catholic Apostolic" Church are, in addition to their privileges, chosen not primarily for themselves but to serve the rest of Christendom.
a low state of religious enjoyment. Vivid descriptions of an Elysian Canaan and an earthly Heaven strike the imagination of such minds. 2. Persons whose generosity and happiness are consumed by religious and political animosity... (It) authorises its converts to predict divine judgment to all anti-Christian powers that be, and 'an establishment of a new system of both civil and ecclesiastical government in which they will be exalted to fill important positions.'

In 1837 there appeared a substantial pamphlet by one calling himself "Vero-Catholicus." It is an address to the female members of the Church of Christ in Toronto, clearly meaning the Methodists. The object of the work is to warn the sisters of that Church against giving way to "Irvingite" teachings. It is written by one who claims to have been away recently for a time, but, in addition, to know the work of Mr. Irving in England, particularly from the year 1830. It is probable that this is none other than the famous Egerton Ryerson.

The "Minutes of Conference" of those years speak largely of the loss endured by the Methodist Societies in Toronto and Kingston. That of 1837, in the Pastoral Address, speaks of conversions and some losses:

7. This volume has been found only in the Toronto Public Library.
"Among the causes may be mentioned the unholy efforts of schismatics and separatists to divide the Church; the obtainment, to some extent, on several circuits, of certain delusions as well as Irvingism and Mormonism; and an unusual number of removals." By the schedules of various circuits it appears that there have withdrawn to the party who have assumed the name Episcopal Methodists, 283; to the "Irvingites", 15; to the Mormons, 52; expelled and dropped, 830. It is more than likely that this last number will include several who have joined the "Irvingites," and, in any case, the 15 mentioned as having gone over is important enough, considering the sparseness of population in Ontario at the time.

There were two "Catholic Apostolic" Churches in Toronto at first, the present large one in Victoria and Gould Streets, which was formerly St. James' Presbyterian Church, and another on Richmond Street, West, adjoining Mr. Ryerson's domicile. This last was destroyed by fire and was not rebuilt, members generally going to Victoria Street. An old work, published in 1896, includes a visit to Victoria Street Church, "which it

8. A division in the body, some taking the name of the Methodists in the United States.
considers housed in a handsome and commodious building, having about 300 people connected with it." He tells of the reading of the Epistle, by the Rev. Joseph Elwell, formerly a clergyman of the Church of England, and he is also struck by the administration of Communion on the three festivals - Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost - to children. The Seat of Government was changed from Toronto to Kingston and accordingly many "Catholic Apostolic" brethren holding positions in the government were transferred. The Church was closed in consequence from 1840 until revived by Mr. George Ryerson in the autumn of 1848. During the closing of the Church the members were advised to seek pastoral oversight in the Church of England. The two persons whose withdrawal caused most distress were Mr. William Patrick and Mr. Thomas Vaux. It is said that Mr. Patrick, on leaving the Methodist Church, afterwards attended the English Church for a time, but finally embraced "Irvingite" doctrines, and gave land on which their temporary building was erected. In this faith Mr. Patrick spent the rest of his days, and died respected by all in the city of Kingston. It would appear that other members of the Patrick family joined the "Catholic Apostolic" Church. The other person was Mr. Vaux, but he did not continue long in his new
connection, but returned to Methodism. Both were persons held in great esteem - leaders of Temperance and Missionary Societies, and prominent in the affairs of the Conference, being at the same time local preachers.

The Angels in Toronto were: Captain Gambier of the British Navy, who came before there was an established Church; Mr. George Hyerson, who was succeeded by Mr. Joseph Elwell; he, in turn, by Mr. Charles MacMichael; then the Rev. Stephen Rintoul for a brief period, followed by Mr. A. J. W. MacMichael, who died in December, 1929. There is no Angel now, and the duties are done by the Elder, Mr. A. W. Castell. There is an Angel-Evangelist residing (1934) in Vancouver, B.C., Mr. H. Myddelton Wood. An Angel-Evangelist is the nearest approach to a Diocesan Bishop. His work is to travel over a certain area, and exercise supervision of the Churches in that area.

11. "Christian Guardian" June 12th, 1833; July 3rd, 1833,
CHAPTER XII

CANADIAN LEADERS.

(a). George Ryerson.

George Ryerson was born on the 8th March, 1792, near Fredericton, New Brunswick, the eldest son of Joseph Ryerson. He came in 1799 with his parents to settle at Fort Ryerse, Ontario, on Lake Erie. He served in the War of 1812 as Lieutenant, and took part in the capture of Detroit under General Brock. At the battle of Landy's Lane he was wounded severely, and left for dead on the field, and for several years he was unable to work. During convalescence he became converted, and evinced a great desire to enter the Ministry of the Church of England, of which he was a member, and to prepare himself for this work he studied at Union College, Schenectady. Egerton Ryerson says in 1873 - "My eldest brother George...succeeded my brother-in-law as Master of the London District Grammar School. His counsels...and even kindly assistance were a great encouragement, and of immense service to me. Although he and I have since differed in religious opinions, no

2. Ibid.
other than most affectionate brotherly feelings have ever existed to this day between us." George Ryerson returned to Canada from Union College expecting to be ordained, but the Bishop, Dr. Stewart, diverted his preliminary examination, because, in the first place his speech was impaired, and in the second place, an order had come from England to prescribe limits of admission, because many freed from the Peninsular War were seeking admission into the Anglican Communion. His speech was not impaired for a position which he was well qualified to fill, as is proved by his being in a number of Methodist circuits afterwards.

According to the "Minutes of Conference" he was a Probationer on trial in 1828 and 1829 at a place called Credit, and in 1830 till the Spring of 1831 at Grand River Mission. He did not return to the next Conference. Being only a Probationer his name was dropped from the Minutes of 1832, the reason for this being, no doubt, the adoption of "Irvingite" views. Probably he did not intend to return to the Ministry,

5. e.g. "The Ryerson Brothers" in Toronto Archives, by J. George Hodgins. Pamphlet of 7 pages, written after death of all four brothers.
6. United Empire Loyalist, p. 128
for he was referred to by his brother Egerton as George Ryerson, Esq. Nevertheless, even at this time he held a position of esteem in Methodism, and was particularly interested in the work for the Indians at his Mission Station.

Regarding his mission to England in 1831 Hodgins says⁹: "A central Committee at York, on behalf of the various Non-Episcopal Denominations deputed the Rev. George Ryerson to proceed to England to present petitions to the Imperial Parliament against the claims of the Church of England in this province (see Epochs of Methodism). The Rev. Wm. Ryerson was requested to write to his brother George Ryerson on the subject."

It is interesting to see how others viewed the subject. According to the "New York Albion": "The Rev. George Ryerson, on the part of the Methodists, has taken passage in the same vessel - the packet Birmingham - with a petition numerously signed, praying that the Established Church may be deprived of its lands, and that these may be divided among all classes of dissenters."¹⁰

⁸. Carroll, John: Case and his Co-temporaries, Toronto. Vol. III, p. 294, and passim. This is perhaps the best place to explain the use of the title "Reverend" among "Catholic Apostolic" people. Those who are ordained direct into the "Catholic Apostolic" Church are always designated "Mr." though they are clergy; those who were already Ministers elsewhere retain their title.

⁹. Hodgins, J. Geo.: The Ryerson Brothers, in Toronto Archives.

As yet he had not left Methodism, but, in keeping with his other brothers he took the lead in other good work, and we know that he was present at the formation in 1830 of the Toronto Temperance Society. 11

In England his path was not smooth, and jealousies appear. W. L. Mackenzie of Canada, and a Mr. Hume, M.P., by means of Mackenzie's Organ in Canada, "The Colonial Advocate", attacked George Ryerson, Nov. 6th, 1833, for having gone over to the Tories. Egerton Ryerson is spirited in his defence. He says that George Ryerson was most kind in an emergency which "was obtained from Mr. Spencer Perceval", who was, of course, one of the Apostles. Egerton Ryerson writes that far from being inactive in London his brother George did what he was sent to do. He never ceased for a single day for more than six months to advocate the object for which he went home to England until he succeeded in getting the dispatch sent out by Lord Goderich, authorising the Colonial Legislature "to vary or repeal the "Clergy Reserves" appropriation, which was all that the petitioners could desire or their Majesties give." 13

Mackenzie, however, continues to abuse George Ryerson:

"Brother George Ryerson began to preach Toryism in the unknown tongues. Elected Elder by Parson Irving, with Brother Spencer Perceval, who has £2,000 a year." 14 The "Christian Guardian" points out "in this single sentence is seen (his) deplorable propensity to destruction and falsehood; for he knows, in the first place, that neither Mr. Irving nor Mr. Perceval makes the least pretensions to the "gift of tongues", and that they no more preach Toryism than they do Radicalism or any other 'ism', than what may be called Irvingism... In addition Mr. Mackenzie adds in another place that Mr. Ryerson's connection with Mr. Irving is a very lucrative trade, when he knows that no person connected with Mr. Irving receives anything more than the supply of his present wants, and that Mr. Irving, himself, has declined a salary of £1,000."

This much may be said in defence of Mr. Mackenzie: that the Ryerson brothers were first and foremost interested in religion, and not in any political agitation, which perhaps did not suit Mackenzie; and, "in the second place, it is not unlikely that George Ryerson, on becoming an "Irvingite", did indeed support the Tories, as has been done generally by the "Catholic Apostolic"

15. Ibid.
George Ryerson wanted Egerton to know Edward Irving, and the latter on October 15th, 1834, writes: "Whilst in England during the spring and summer of 1833, we went several times to the Church of the Rev. Edward Irving; we heard him preach five or six times; we heard the tongues; we witnessed the Manifestations (so called); we heard what Mr. Irving immediately pronounced the Holy Ghost speaking through certain gifted females; and we saw several persons ordained to the offices of elder and deacon, by what was termed calling and ordaining in the spirit. An old acquaintance and dear friend (on whose case we can never reflect without pain) having become a convert to the peculiar doctrines of Mr. Irving... at length solicited the privilege of introducing us to Mr. Irving... After some weeks we consented. We found this singular phenomenon of modern days the very reverse in private conversation from what he appears to be in the pulpit and in his writings. His pulpit exercises made the most unfavourable impression upon our mind, in respect both to the man and to his doctrines. Self-sufficiency, dogmatism, most unfounded accusations

16. Their general position would naturally presuppose their Tory leanings. See also (Harrison, James) The Catholic Apostolic Church (Irvingism) pp. 70-72, "Political Aspect of the Question."

17. Meaning surely his brother, George Ryerson.
against what are called the Evangelical bodies, and the most terrible denunciation of judgment upon the nation, particularly the city of London and the religious world. In private, however, Mr. Irving is frank, affable and courteous, the most perfect gentleman, and most insinuating in his manners. Our admiration of the man in his private life removed the strong prejudice we had conceived against him from his preaching."

George Ryerson was appointed Angel of the Church in Toronto in 1837. Thus Toronto was the second Church 'set up'; Kingston, Ontario, being the first. The Church was closed for a while, but it was reopened by him in 1848. Since then there is little to report regarding him. He did not take part in public affairs, and soon gave up the Angelship, but continued his interest in the Church to the very end. He died on December 19th, 1882, in his ninety-first year, and there is a tablet erected to his memory in St. James Episcopal Cathedral, Toronto. He is known for quiet dignity and persevering service, and for being the eldest of one of the great families of Canada, of which the foremost is Egerton Ryerson. He was not in the
public eye, but kept to lowly walks. He represents the Methodist strain in the "Catholic Apostolic" Church, as the next man to be discussed represents High Church Episcopalianism.

18. George Ryerson was married three times:
1. Sarah Rolph (1821) of Charlottesville, previously of Thornbury, Glos., who died 10th July, 1829, leaving a son and a daughter.
2. Sophia Symes.
(b) Adam Hood Burwell.

One of the earliest converts to the new teaching was Adam Hood Burwell. He belonged to one of the important pioneer families in the history of Canada, the Burwells, originally from Bedford and Northampton, who migrated to Virginia in the 17th century. They were loyal to Charles II as later some of them were loyal to George III during the Revolutionary War.

The father, Adam Burwell, was born in New Jersey, and took the side of the British in the conflict, and his possessions, according to a family tradition were confiscated by the American Government. In 1787 he moved into Canada from New Jersey with his wife, Sarah, (daughter of Nathaniel Veal, also a United Empire Loyalist) his one son Mahlon and five daughters, and settled in the township of Bertie, Upper Canada.

There is in the Dominion Archives of Ottawa his petition for a grant of land for himself and wife. That he was unlettered is seen in his affixing his mark thereto instead of his signature. The Government granted to them 850 acres in 1797 at Fort Erin, Ontario. "I do certify" said a statement accompanying the application, "that Adam Burwell served last American

19. Endorsement of above, 110 No. 7. April 7th, 1797.
War under the British standard, in many capacities; and that which was the most dangerous was that of a Spy, in which he rendered the British Army many singular services, and several times made narrow escapes with his life. 20 He lived there the rest of his days, and died in 1828 at the age of 79.

Mahlon Burwell, the son, is an important figure in the history of Canada, but has been unfortunate in his biographer - Ermatinger 21 - who, it is conceded, deals with him "unfairly and unjustly" and stresses defects, failing to see the significance of the man. A fairer treatment is by Archibald Blue. 22 As to his traits, it is admitted he was an ambitious man and perhaps intolerant. Ermatinger says "he was very assiduous and ambitious of becoming a scholar. He was self-taught, but never very bright. 23 He was greatly desirous of founding a family, and to several sons he gave names of heroes or military leaders (commanders). 24 His "cool manner and apparent ...want of sympathy with the people lost him their confidence." 25 He was a professed member of the Church of

20. Public Archives, Ottawa. Certificate signed 6th April, 1797; also 1st April, 1797. Certificate that he took the Oath of Allegiance by affirming, and that he was accompanied by Sarah, his wife, and Elizabeth, Sureba, Margaret, Hanah, and Agnes, and his son Melon.
21. Ermatinger, Edward : Life of Colonel Talbot and the Talbot Settlement...St. Thomas, 1859.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
England and advanced its interests, even to the building of an Anglican Church at Port Burwell. He was a member of the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada, representing first Middlesex and Oxford, U.C., and later the London, U.C., constituency. He had studied Surveying, and it was through the influence of Colonel Talbot, of early Canadian fame, that he first got employment from the Government and was almost always employed in that capacity which included the surveying of Crown lands. He was in the War of 1812, and during a raid on the settlement by the United States he was captured and taken away prisoner for a while.

From this intensely Loyalist family, devoted to British institutions and name, came Adam Hood Burwell. He was born at Fort Erin, Ontario, June 4th, 1790. He did not have many advantages in his early days. "You know my origin", he writes; "I can live in as humble style as anyone." Even when approaching his twenty-eighth year he had not begun to acquire the rudiments of language. His early days were spent at his brother's in Port Talbot, seemingly on the land. About this time he decided to enter the Church. Already he had married at Albany, N.Y., in 1829. Conscious of his

27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid.
lack, and dissatisfied with his lot, his spirit looked beyond the fields where he worked, to some wider sphere where he could put to use the powers which he felt to be his. He must also have been a sufferer from some nervous weakness - he frequently refers to it in his extant letters - which may account for his irritability and habit of vituperation and intolerance of which his writings are only too full. A sense of inferiority must have made him defiant the more and indisposed to listen to the views of others. Archdeacon Strachan, 11th October, 1831, speaking of advice he had tendered, says - "But my advice did not appear to be well taken, and was never thought worthy of notice." There is a pathetic confession of Burwell's of an early dream of his while he was working at the settlement, the purport of which was that he was meant to fulfil some great purpose in the destiny of Canada, rendering some signal service.

A sense of frustration must have been with him all his days, and perhaps was responsible for those peculiarities of temper and language which otherwise, and naturally, would call for harsh judgment. These gloomy views which he adopted and the Jeremiads he uttered detract

31. Strachan, John, came to Canada from Scotland in 1799 at the age of 21, and till his death in 1867 revisited Scotland only three times. He was Archdeacon of York (Toronto) 1827-1847, then the first Bishop of Toronto.
from the marked progress he made from his early days on.

He entered the ministry of the Church of England, being admitted to Deacons Orders on March 11th, 1828; was stationed at Lennoxville having charge of Nicolet, P.Q.. On the recommendation of the Bishop of Quebec he was ordained to the priesthood, June 1st, 1828. The Bishop describes him to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel thus: "He is a responsible and deserving minister who, with the divine blessing, has surmounted many difficulties and disadvantages of early life in a manner highly creditable to his ability and perseverance."  

He was appointed to Hull and Bytown - later Ottawa - in 1832, where previously there was only a Church of England Mission. Actually he was the first incumbent at Bytown of Christ Church, which is now the Cathedral of Ottawa. Bytown was one of the hamlets along the Rideau Canal by which Colonel By went out in 1826 to survey and build, and which connects the Ottawa River with Lake Ontario. Its magnificent site marked it out for its future greatness, when, as Ottawa, it was selected in 1854 by Queen Victoria for the capital of Canada.

34. From Professor Young; Letter from Bishop C. J.  
35. Letter from the Bishop of Quebec (Stewart) 26th June, 1832. Professor Young submits a similar letter from Bishop Stewart in which is stated: "(Burwell) has by his diligence and application surmounted the difficulties resulting from the want of early and regular instruction." 1st June, 1828.
While in Bytown Burwell had much mission work to do "up and down the Ottawa River, attending particularly to the congregations at Hull, March, and Clarendon. The Christ Church edifice was begun in 1832. The history of the Church has been written in 1932 by Hamnett P. Hill, Esq., K.C., of Ottawa, and acknowledgment is made to this interesting and useful work for some information used in this chapter. Mr. Hill remarks that little is known of Burwell's activities, or what success the Church had during the four years of his pastorate. But certain significant changes in the incumbent himself call for notice. 1. The development of his literary gifts, though along lines already exemplified. His book, "A Voice of Warning, etc." according to Mr. Hill has probably the distinction of being the first book written in Bytown.

2. The definite adoption of the Irvingite position.

As early as 1830 it had come to be felt that there was need for a Church of England paper in Canada. There had been one for a little while, "The Christian Sentinel", which had become extinct. Now it came to be revived under the Bishop's patronage, with Burwell as its editor: a testimony to the progress he had made in letters within the period of but a few years. This outlet for his energies was welcome to him, parish work being a burden.

both on account of his physical weakness and because preaching was trying to him. The paper began its course in September, 1830, and came to an end in October, 1831. It had been steadily losing support, no doubt because of the editor's methods and violent views. Archdeacon Strachan gives an explanation of the suspension: "It has failed for want of variety and from the editor's inserting too many papers on the more difficult doctrines of theology. (He) lacks the faculty of compression, which betrays him into much looseness of expression and inconsistencies." He admits that Burwell is a person of more than common ability but "he has had little experience of the world." And there is a suggestion that the tone of the articles was calculated to alienate subscribers.

That Adam Hood Burwell was a man of sincerity and ability, notwithstanding his violent opinions and still more violent language, can be inferred from a letter by Bishop Stewart, for which we are indebted to Professor A. H. Young of Toronto. It bears the date 27th December, 1827: "At Lennoxville in the same neighbourhood, the Congregation, of whom but one or two previously belonged to us, voluntarily built a church, and they have

38. Toronto Archives: Letter from Archdeacon Strachan, 11th October, 1831.
40. For much relating to Strachan, Burwell, and the Church of England in Canada, grateful acknowledgment is made to Professor A. H. Young of Trinity College.
lately been placed under the Pastoral charge of the Revd. Mr. Burwell whom I ordained last March, and whose labours among them have been very acceptable." \(^{41}\)

But his general outlook upon life was already fixed, and, unfortunately, it showed itself with vehemence in the paper, and without intermission. Being fanatically attached to the Church of England as by law established to the connection of Church and State, and to the British Constitution, representing as it did the Divine Right of Monarchy and the principle of Aristocracy and an Established Church, his desire was to maintain the status quo, and have the Church of England the Established Church in Canada also; and in connection therewith to have what he called "a Constitutional Paper" in Canada, which he believed even Scotch Presbyterians there, seeing they were upholders of "Church and State", would support. His advocacy of Episcopacy took a form which must have seemed extreme even to that age. His language is discourteous. Throughout it is clear that his attitude is of an extreme High Churchman. He writes, "We profess to feel a decided aversion to low Churchmen, especially if they encumber the ministry. The Church is sometimes most grievously put to shame by them." \(^{42}\) "Unless episcopally ordained no man

\(^{41}\) Letter from Bishop Stewart to the Ven. A. Hamilton, Quebec, 13th December, 1827.
\(^{42}\) 'Christian Sentinel', 1st October, 1830.
is lawfully ordained."  "Church Government being a material part of the Gospel its reception is as necessary as any other part."  He is also in "horror of Low Church Calvinistic Evangelism."  He has no patience with Dissenters, either their work or theology: "I have spent three years in the townships among people who have no more idea that one man may have a better right to preach and baptize than another provide some strange internal impulse has been felt."  "Thus Dissent from Episcopacy is made the parent of revolution and desolation."

Hence, anything tending to unsettle the above equilibrium as it seems to him, is of Satan, whether it be called Democracy or Liberalism, while its agents, the Press and various "Societyships" are anathema. "Democracy is pure Atheism."  "Democracy hates a kingly rule because God is a king."  This "pure atheism" began its fell work with the Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and with Catholic Emancipation, thereby really exalting Satan. That every man may serve God according to the rights and dictates of his own conscience "is a clinging lie, twin sister to that other lie of Satan that

44. Letter File 00120. 12th October, 1831.
45. Letter File 00109. 13th August, 1831
46. See also Letter by A. H. Burwell, No. 00120, 12th October, 1831; 00109. 13th August, 1831.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
the people are the only true source of legislation and Government.\[51\]

Episcopacy is viewed as a means of preserving the harmony of religious and civil Society, because of its similitude to aristocracy, which is a divine institution and preserved throughout the Bible. "Ministerial parity puts it into the power of every minister to form a sect if he chooses, because he thinks he has the power of ordination, whereas, among us, that power being lodged among a very few, and all the rest knowing that they are not entrusted with it, they never think of forming sects untill they reject Episcopacy and turn ecclesiastical democrats."\[52\] "Religious Liberty doctrines make a liar and an impostor of the deity and tend to universal anarchy and destruction."\[53\] He declaims against the teaching that Religious Education may be independent of all the principles and doctrines which divide and distract the Christian world, i.e. either taking no account of denominational differences. Such, for instance, being the basis of the American Sunday School Union. He cannot tolerate Presbyterians and Methodists and others who talk about agreeing on first principles; nor the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Useful

53. Letter 00117. 30th September, 1831.
Knowledge Society, London University, Peace Societies, Foreign Missionary ones, and the people who believe in the Foreign Missionary enterprise. Jews and Mohammedans are not such infidels as the Evangelical party in England are: they have never limited so much the power of God as the Protestants and especially the Missionary Societies do.

On the Political Situation he has much to say. He hails the rumour of a party growing in the United States of America for a Limited Monarchy, drawn thereto by the horrors of democracy. The British Counsellors are all the enemies of God speaking of acting through the House of Commons. He rejoices at the reported defeat of the Reform Bill. He finds it significant that the time of the reappearance of the prophetic Spirit was remarkable: shortly after the Repeal of the Test Act which in reality "exalted Satan to an equality with the Holy Ghost in the arena of politics." In the Repeal of that and the Corporation Act he sees the destruction of the Protestant Constitution of the United Kingdom. He is strong on Absolute Monarchy. He has no use for Votes, human made Confederacies. The United States Constitution is all wrong, for it allows no 'family' or 'nobility', and makes the People the representative of God in the State.

54. Quoted from Irving on Prophecies, p. 12.
Something therefore must be done to maintain British Principles in the Canadas or they will not belong to the British Crown twenty years hence. The Church of England position on the Clergy Reserves must be contended for at all costs. "Supposing we are successful in regard to the Clergy Reserves, that his Lordship would see the necessity of affording the people of the country every means to undeceive them, expose the arts of the demagogues, lay before them truth and reason, and reconcile them to the decision of the Mother Country and the establishment of the Church in Canada."

He announces a Manuscript he had prepared, in which Universalism - all the sophisms of that accursed scheme of infidelity - are completely annihilated. Similarly he wrote against Mesmerism.

His outlook upon life is most despairing at this time. Of the world he has a poor opinion. Referring to the Peace movement of his day he calls it a project "for establishing Universal and Permanent Peace among this sinful, wild, rebellious, contentious, cruel, deceitful, treacherous, bloody-minded race, during this, its doleful and devil-possessed condition of essential enmity against God." The British Empire is in a bad

59. Letter File 00111. 31st August, 1831.
way: "It is to me very evident that the Church of England ought to modify her State prayers to suit the melancholy and gloomy state of Christendom, especially of the British Empire." 61

These sentiments and convictions appeared quite early in his professional career, only becoming intensified as the years went on, receiving more distinct utterance in the writings of 1835 and subsequently. But the "Sentinel", five years earlier, shows the same outlook. It also shows its dependence on the "Morning Watch" and the writings of Edward Irving, in language as well as ideas. The "Voice of Warning" 62 is in line with all this: hopelessness about the present state and trend of things, bitterness against the holders of views already mentioned. It seems as if despair at the non-success of the conflict against the evil forces of democracy, etc., turned him more to the expectation, perhaps the desire, for a divine interposition and judgment. He had lost patience perhaps even with the Church of England "which is sound as far as it goes." 63

It will be seen from that book that the author has accepted wholly the views of the Irvingites, viewing the Movement as the work of God. To this man here was a

62. This book is taken only as a specimen. The other works by the author are of like import.
divine message, congenial to his temperament and consistent with his philosophy of history. An enthusiasm corresponding to that of his hatred of the 'evils' mentioned he now gives to the Lord's Work as he understands it. In 1836 he left the Church of England and took service under Apostles. Kingston, Ontario, received him as its Angel. Mr. Hill quotes W.P. Lett in "Recollections of Bytown":

"Who next is ready for the urn?  
Adam Hood Burwell is the man,  
An English Churchman he began  
But ended a most shining light  
A mystic full-fledged Irvingite  
With pinions rustling for a sphere  
Of usefulness he found not here." 64

He continued in his new capacity till his death at Kingston, where he also is buried, November 2nd, 1849. What is particularly interesting is that one of the first two Catholic Apostolic ministers in Canada was an Anglican, and that his Bishop, knowing well his theological proclivities, did not consider it necessary to remove him for some years from the pastoral oversight of Christ Church, allowing him to belong both to the Church of England and "Catholic Apostolic" Church.

Of Mr. Burwell's literary works - His writings are exceedingly scarce. The main ones are:

1. "A Voice of Warning" and instruction concerning the

64. Hill, Hamnett P., op. cit., p. 18.
Signs of the Times and the Coming of The Son of Man to Judge the Nations, and restore all things. This is a work of 225 pages, and was his first writing of any extent. His understanding of the volume is explained by the announcement regarding the impending publication, which he inserted in the (Toronto) "Correspondent and Advocate," Jan. 8th, 1835: "A Comprehensive view of the work of the Holy Ghost with the power of his gifts. Being a plan drawn from and supported by Holy Writ, according to the system preached of old by the Apostles of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And in these latter days revived and promulgated by the Rev. Edward Irving in Britain, and by the Rev. Messrs. W.R. Caird and George Ryerson in this Province. By a Minister of the Gospel...Toronto, Dec. 10th, 1834."

2. "The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit; in its application to the wants and interests of corporate man under the providence and moral government of God. Stated and defended from Holy Writ and the practice of the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ; and in these days revived in Great Britain by the Rev. Edward Irving; exhibiting the sole means of National Reformation and preservation."  

3. "On the Philosophy of Human Perfection and Happiness" published in Montreal, 1849. This had already appeared in a periodical that year serially, in it the main positions of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church are set forth with somewhat greater restraint and command.

In addition he contributed literary articles, all consistent with "Catholic Apostolic" views. In the "Literary Garland and British North American Magazine" for January, 1849, is a poem in the style of Pope: "Nebuchadnezzar's Vision of a Tree; or Human Rule contrasted with the Rule of Christ." In April of that year, in the same magazine is: "Summer Evening Contemplations", a poem which was also separately printed. In the numbers for June and July we have: "Events and the End of Time: A Poem."

This last is Burwell's philosophy of history: After the Fall God sent his Church; that Church declined; so much so that now we see agitations for Rights of the People, and a refusal to recognize the Rights of Kings. Societies for Peace and other kinds are coming into being. Finally it all leads up to the Resurrection, to the end of Time, and to God's Rule.

67. Book discovered in the Parliamentary Library, Ottawa. Writer is indebted to the Chief Reference Clerk, who typed important parts of it.
In the same paper, May 1849, is an article on "Catholic Apostolic" Doctrines: "Ultimate Destination of the Earth; or what was it made for?" In September and October, "On the Doctrine of Social Unity", in which he makes much of the British Constitution, of King, Lords, Commons, Clergy; and derives analogies from it. Probably it was intended to continue the series, but in the midst of it the author was called to his rest. 68. 68a.

68a. The S.P.C.K., London, May 19th, 1835, writes:
"The Society's attention has been called to an advertisement which appeared in the Toronto Newspaper "The Correspondent and Advocate" of the 12th of March last, in which the Rev. A. F. Burrell (meaning Burwell) announces a work on the prophecies according to the principles revived in England by the Rev. E. Irving! The Society does not doubt that your Lordship has adverted to this affair, and it will be happy to hear that Mr. Burrell (sic) is not implicated in the extravagances put forward by Mr. Irving."
CHAPTER XIII.

THE UNITED STATES.

The "Catholic Apostolic" Movement had its counterpart in the United States, making its appeal to many able men and writers. Mr. W. W. Andrews' work on "The True Constitution of the Church" is in some respects the ablest exposition of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church. Further, they were men apt to mingle with other ministers, and their work commended itself to many giant minds, who could not however see eye to eye with them on the restoration of Apostles and their gifts. It is only since the period of silence was imposed upon them at the beginning of this century that they have withdrawn unto themselves, and it is difficult or impossible to obtain relevant information from them. But in their days of great activity they were equal to coping with some of the best men.

In forming an estimate of the teaching, one has to picture the situation as it was a hundred years ago. There was no science to speak of. Darwin's "Origin of Species" was not written till 1859. The creed of the Churches particularly except where Methodism and the Episcopal (Anglican) Church held sway, was Calvinism of the Old School, and even where there were differences
of opinion they were only in shades of Doctrine that were strongly Calvinistic, and that are as strongly repudiated to-day. This was the case particularly in the New England States, where Congregationalism, far different from what it is now, held sway. Add to all this, a Biblicism which accepted the Bible at its literal sense, which found proofs of Christianity in the remotest books of the Old Testament, which believed in a literal Garden of Eden, and Fall of Man.¹

Coming into an environment of this sort the new Creed, with its literal acceptance of the Word of Scripture, was not peculiar, but had as much in its favour as many of the old Creeds prevalent at the time.

That too was a time of religious revival in many parts of the country, and especially in 1830 and 1831 was it the case in Yale College, where Mr. Andrews was.

The Fulton Street Prayer Meeting in New York is an historical land-mark illustrating a new zeal for worship. The old "Haystack" Prayer Meeting, which issued in the formation of the American Board, 1810, and later the American Baptist Missionary Society, 1814, was only of recent date. The Anglo-Catholic or Tractarian Revival had come over in the thirties and had taken possession

¹ The reader may be referred to a valuable work - Geer, Curtis Manning: The History of the Hartford Theological Seminary, 1834 - 1934.
of the General Theological Seminary in New York. In other respects religion showed its comprehensiveness by forming Societies on Temperance or Anti-Slavery. The Presbyterian General Assembly and various Congregational Associations moved in the direction of Temperance in 1811, and the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance was formed in 1826.

On the other hand the Presbyterian Church was rent in two in 1837 by "the Old School" and "the New School" representing conservative and liberal tendencies respectively. A peculiar religious development was that of Joseph Smith, who, in 1827, claimed to have discovered the Book of Mormon, copied from certain gold plates. The Millerite excitement drew attention to the Second Advent, and from 1831 on he preached widely, holding that the Second Coming and the inauguration of the Millennial Kingdom would take place in 1843-1844. Thousands followed that delusion. Yet again, there was a restlessness regarding the older Calvinistic Creed as seen in the revolt on the part of Unitarianism toward the end of the 18th century, and Universalism, about the same time. The Arminian invasion had begun, and the capture of Connecticut and New England was well on the way.

2. Miller, W., 1782-1849.
There was no spirit of unrest as there was in Great Britain at the time, nor was there any agitation over such measures as Roman Catholic Emancipation, the Repeal of the Test Laws, or the introduction of the Reform Bill. It was a new country full of hope regarding the future, as well as of indifference regarding the historical past. It is well stated that with the Revolution of 1876 all ties with the Mother Country were severed, and the United States began its new career.4

It is reasonable to expect a peculiar development in the United States differing somewhat from other countries. As was to be expected New York soon claimed the attention of the Apostles. There had been preaching for several weeks in the hall in Seventh Avenue in the neighbourhood of Third Street, at first with good success, but later the congregation had fallen off. A "Catholic Apostolic" community was formed in 1851. The Apostle who went to the country at first was Mr. Woodhouse. Speaking in Toronto in August, 1857, he said that it was the seventh time he had visited the Continent. A pamphlet of 1851 says: "For the last three years there has been a congregation in New York, but their worship has been conducted in a private room at the University,"5 and it is only now that they have

5. i.e. New York University.
procured a Church building and commenced worshipping therein. Many of the Ministers in England, who act as Angels or Bishops or Priests of the gathered flocks there, are clergymen of the Episcopal Church, who have taken duty under, and by commission from, the Apostles; and in this city the services have been hitherto conducted by two of the clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The new building, which is continued until now, was in West 57th Street. In this they held full services, and the four-fold Ministry officiated. This is the oldest Church therefore in the country. In 1860, the care of the Churches was transferred to the Rev. N. Armstrong, who came to the country in August.

The "Catholic Apostolic" Church cut athwart the various denominations, almost all the leading ones among them having had cases of discipline to deal with, or schismatical conduct. In particular, the Episcopal Church suffered largely, and in the next place, perhaps, Congregationalism. Congregationalism was the religion of New England, coming over with the Puritan Fathers, but it had not shaken off the older Calvinism, nor was there any disposition to question the fundamental tenets of that Creed. The Thirties witnessed particularly the

7. Private Information.
Taylor and Tyler controversy, Taylor being a Professor in the newly founded Theological School at Yale, and Tyler being invited to head the School meant to be a protest against Yale's heresies - the Theological Institute of Connecticut, or Hartford Theological Seminary. In all this there was no question of the validity of the accepted position. Even Taylor, who was reputedly of the more liberal theological school accepted the old tenets. "He said that he naturally did not agree with all his brethren on all the minute points of polity, but with respect to what is properly called the Orthodox Calvinistic system, and including the great facts of Christianity, and, as opposed to, and distinguished from, the Unitarian, Pelagian, and Arminian systems, he believed himself to be in entire agreement with the Orthodox Ministry." The clergy, however, did not realise to the full their clerical privileges and status. Even as John Henry Newman worked upon the English clergy so there was room for someone to work upon these Congregational Brethren. Newman, it will be remembered, of the four notes of the Church stressed that of Apostolicity, and laboured to bring that to the notice of the English Clergy. Tract I. was well calculated to excite interest in the subject, and make the clergy ask themselves

if they believed in Apostolical Succession or not. The interest thus revived was further kindled by numerous other Tracts in the same series. 10

The Rev. William Watson Andrews, a leading Congregationalist himself, evidently felt that way, and he sought, though perhaps in vain, to make his fellow ministers realise that they were in direct Apostolical, though not Episcopal, succession. The Church, according to him, was of Divine origin. "The first elements in the government of the Church was not democratic but theocratic. It was of God and not of man. The Body of Christ was never a collection of atoms left to organise themselves, but it had an organic structure from the start." 11 He quotes with approval John Henry Newman as realising the Congregational theory of the Church, in the Appendix of Tract 90: "The Anglican view of the Church has ever been this, that its portions need not otherwise have been united together for that essential completeness, than as being descended from one original. They are like a number of colonies sent out from a mother country. Each church is independent of all the rest, and is to act on the principle of what may be called Episcopal independence, except indeed so

far as the civil power unites any number of them together. Each diocese is a perfect independent Church, sufficient for itself; and the communion of Christians one with another, and the unity of them altogether, lie, not in a mutual understanding, intercourse, and combination; not in what they do in common, but in what they are and have in common," &c.. Considering, adds Mr. Andrews, the extent of the original dioceses, this does not differ essentially from Independency. But he holds that "the exaggeration of the Episcopal Office lead the Puritans to deny it altogether as distinct from that of the Presbyter; although in some sense they affirmed it, in teaching that there should be a body of Elders in every congregation as Helps to the Pastor." 12 But the Ministers are more than the delegates of the people, nor are they merely preachers of the Word. Going back in history he finds, regarding all those who sought refuge in New England, that "within about twelve years, seventy-seven ordained ministers of the Church of England - many of them amongst the most learned, godly, and faithful in the kingdom - with more than four thousand of their flocks, fled from the insupportable tyranny of the mother who should have borne with them in her love and pity, and guided them in her wisdom; and planted

those institutions which God has used as instruments of blessing to us and our fathers for more than two centuries. They formed themselves at once into churches under pastors and teachers, ruling elders, and deacons, in which the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper were administered, the faith of the Church, as contained in her great creeds, and expounded by the Reformers, taught, and discipline rigidly exercised. From that time, there has been no interruption of an ordained ministry; but there has been an unbroken succession of pastors set apart to their work by prayer, and the imposition of the hands of the presbytery. The instances of lay ordination have been too few to invalidate the orders of the New-England clergy."13 He says "the late Dr. Alexander, in speaking, in his book on the Primitive Church Offices, of Presbyterian Ordination, says, 'The principal admixture of this Scottish element in our earliest Presbyterians, was with New-England Puritans; among whom only two examples of lay ordination are believed to have occurred, and whose ecclesiastical system was originally founded by regularly ordained priests of the Anglican Establishment.'"14 He especially refers to Cotton Mather (as against Dr. Leonard Bacon) "that setting aside a few plebeian ordinations in the

beginning of the world here among us, there have been rarely any ordinations managed in our churches but by the hands of presbyters. It matters little, for 'the ministers thus ordained by committees were men previously ordained by bishops in England, and their reordination here was similar to what we now call installation;' that is, the orderly and solemn setting of a minister over a flock. In point of fact, probably, no one has ever filled the pastoral office in the orthodox churches of New England, who had not been ordained by recognized ministers."15 In the same way he summons to his aid Dr. Thomas Goodwin, an Independent Divine of the time of Charles I. and Cromwell, and a member of the Westminster Assembly. From all of which he makes out a case for the ordination of the Congregational Clergy in New England, and it is interesting to know whether there would have been something like the Anglo-Catholic Movement among Congregationalists if there were anyone to take up the idea, or if they did not allow this to be diverted by what they considered the other extravagances of Mr. Andrews and the "Catholic Apostolic" Movement.

The City of Hartford is the Capital of the State, and has a merited reputation for literary and religious

works. It is not surprising, therefore, that it became the centre of the three foremost men in the Movement - W. W. Andrews, Samuel J. Andrews, and John Davenport. Mr. W. W. Andrews left Congregationalism in 1857. Mr. Samuel J. Andrews asked to be released from his Church in 1855, but clearly he continued for some years in it and the "Catholic Apostolic" movement at the same time. The Church in Hartford was small, and established much later than that of New York, and for many years services were held in the lower floor of the house, the two brothers conducting the same. Ultimately a Church building was put up in Broad Street, opposite the Hartford Theological Seminary, thus leading to frequent intercourse and friendliness, particularly with Samuel J. Andrews, who was the Minister there. The small Hall where services were held dates from 1868, but in 1896 a building was erected, which again has been supplanted by a modern and beautiful one. Of the three men who made Hartford their home John S. Davenport was in direct line from the founder of New Haven Colony in 1638, and a graduate of Yale College. He entered the Presbyterian Ministry, but some years later, owing to his advanced views of Church and Sacrament, he entered the Episcopal Communion, and in 1854 he became acquainted with the work of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church.
He gave his life to it, and more particularly in literary work, and like most literary work of the Body in the United States it is not anonymous. He died on February 17th, 1900, in his ninety-second year. It is worth noting, regarding certain incidents, that the Episcopal Church did not seem to be as tolerant as the Church of England, which had among her clergy Bishops and others who had received the Seal of the Apostles. In the Episcopal Church in America proceedings were begun in connection with John Canfield Sterling, David Morris Fackler, and Jubal Hodges, nor did Mr. Davenport have an agreeable time.

The Presbyterian Church had a famous trial of the Rev. Elijah Bailey Smith, who was a resident in Connecticut, and who was accused of nineteen points, all tending to erroneous doctrine or schismatical conduct, and from which he ably defended himself. 16

A Congregational Minister likewise received attention, though his nature was such as to eschew it. He was Samuel H. Allen, formerly Pastor of Windsor Locks near Hartford, and concerning whom a Church Council was held to consider his relation to the Congregational Church. The other person was David Haven Thayer, well-connected, and born in 1825. He was ordained

Pastor of Mount Carmel Congregational Church, East Windsor First, but in 1877 he left to take charge of a Church at Enfield near Hartford. He died in 1882, a man of fine ability and genial personality, educated at leading Institutions and Union College, Schenectady. He had, while he was at Mount Carmel, early leanings toward the "Catholic Apostolic" Church, and he was influenced thither by Samuel J. Andrews. An account of his life says, "that he was genuinely sincere, and while we regret, we have no right to reproach, for he is held in glad and grateful remembrance."¹⁷

The Church at Enfield, situated about 25 miles from Hartford in a great centre of Congregationalism, caused evidently a great deal of trouble. But the taking of a "Catholic Apostolic" Pastorate there while continuing in Congregationalism caused a great deal of disturbance, and finally they had to consider the whole situation. A meeting was held at Windsor Locks in 1880 to consider the situation, concerning which one of the surviving Deacons writes: "The writer called during the session of this conference and remained as a spectator for a short time. My recollections of the meeting after a period of fifty-four years may be somewhat hazy, but the impression left on my mind to-day is that the meeting was rather an exciting one with a good deal of emphasis placed on what seemed to be considered misconduct on the part of the members of the Congregational Church who had become identified with the Catholic Apostolic.

¹⁷ Dr. Sherrod Soule, MS. by - Secretary of the Connecticut Congregational Home Mission Society.
"The only member of the church as I recall it that was present at this meeting was the Reverend Samuel H. Alien, former pastor of the Congregational Church, and its pastor when this church was formed, and one who occupied the pulpit for many years....

"As a young man listening to the procedure my sympathy was wholly with Mr. Alien as he was so over­borne in numbers and was submitted to such violent cross-examinations. It seemed to me that the man had committed no misdemeanor which would warrant the cross-examination and evident criticism of the meeting.

"Mr. Alien defended himself as best he could against what seemed to me to be violent attacks. He finally answered, to a question put to him as to whether if he were placed in a position where he could decide upon attending a meeting of either a Congregational or Catholic Apostolic Church, which he would attend. His reply was that he would select the Catholic Apostolic Church. I was impressed that he was well within his rights in making this selection and that he had done nothing morally wrong."

The Council in its decision shows both the difficulty it had to face, and its appreciation of the character of the accused. Its decision is as follows:

"That while we entertain a sincere respect for the Christian character of those representatives of the so called Catholic Apostolic Church, whom we have known, and receive with satisfaction the testimony to the piety of those members of this church who have connected themselves with that body, yet we cannot but regard the adoption of the relations and responsibilities of that organization as almost necessarily of a devisive character and tending to scism, and therefore as justifying the church should it in the exercise of a kindly discretion deem it wise to do so, in withdrawing its watch and care, and feeling itself discharged of full responsibility of such members."

As this is a typical case in the history of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church in the United States the documents of the meeting are given in the Appendix.
Of Samuel J. Andrews nothing has been said as yet. "He was a rare, refined scholar. He just escaped being a recluse, a cloistered student. He was an author of marked note, but never a popular preacher... His portrait reveals a face that in itself was a benediction. He merited his degree of D.D., conferred upon him by Union College." He was born in 1817 and graduated from Williams College, 1839, and was admitted to the Bar in 1842; graduated from Lane Seminary in 1845, and turning his thoughts towards the ministry he was ordained at East Windsor, Conn., in 1848. He resigned that charge in 1855; in 1864 he was ordained in the "Catholic Apostolic" Church, having charge of congregations in Hartford, Waterbury, and Enfield. He was a writer of unusual depth and clarity. His "Life of Our Lord upon the Earth" (1863) is one of the classic Lives of Christ, and has been used as a standard authority on the chronology of that Life. The other work to be noted is: "William Watson Andrews, A Religious Biography" (1900). "His mental clarity and strength he maintained to the end of his nearly ninety years of life, and when he died an editorial

18. Soule, Dr. Sherrod: private MS. by
comment in a Hartford Daily Paper closed with the words: 'He was one of our most scholarly citizens and sweetest Christian character.' 

CHAPTER XIV.

WILLIAM WATSON ANDREWS.

The "Catholic Apostolic" Movement in the United States was fortunate in having as its leader and chief exponent a man of such outstanding character and ability as the Rev. W. W. Andrews. There was in him the unusual combination of administrator, pastor, preacher, and above all a saintly man in the deepest sense. To the non-Irvingite public in the United States he would appear as the one man truly apostolic, even as Irving was in the British mind. Yet neither of these rose to Apostolic office, not even to that of Coadjutor to the Apostles.

The literary significance of Mr. Andrews for the understanding and history of the Movement in North America cannot be overestimated. There is appended a list of his works excluding some newspaper articles and sundry communications. His "The True Constitution of the Church", to which is usually appended his "Statement of Reasons" for withdrawing from the Congregational Ministry, is perhaps the clearest and most logical

1. In the present chapter use has been made of the files of the "Hartford Times" and the "Hartford Courant", in addition to the writings of Mr. Andrews himself. For these, the reader is referred to the Bibliography, but, over and above, special indebtedness is acknowledged to Mr. Andrews' daughter - Miss Elizabeth P. Andrews - who placed at the writer's disposal valuable material, including a Journal of her father's, in her possession. The writer wishes to express his appreciation of this kindness, which, in the footnotes entitled "Private information", has reference to this source mainly.
presentation of the theological position of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church, and gives the best understanding of the general positions held by that body. Of great service too is his article on that Church to be found in Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom."

Partly owing to Mr. Andrews' open nature and aversion to secrecy we have abundant material for forming an estimate of his life, opinions, and character. His writings are plentiful, scholarly, dignified; never descending to irritation or personalities; rarely adopting the disguise of anonymity. Whether in writing pamphlets, holding lectures, or sending communications to the Press, his name was appended to the effort. His was an open, transparent Life - both as to the life itself and the opinions held dear. But above all, his brother, Samuel J. Andrews, wrote a biography of W. W. Andrews, so ably done that one surmises that it is only the peculiarity of beliefs therein contained that have prevented it from becoming a devotional classic.2

The Andrews family represents the best in American life, culture, and tradition. From the genealogical appendix in the Biography it appears that the ancestor, William Andrews, was one of the twelve founders in 1639 of the Church in New Haven, Conn., and therefore one of

the original colonists. The family have in the main been connected with the State of Connecticut.  

Mr. W. W. Andrews was a son of the manse, born February 26th, 1810, at Windham, Conn., his father being the Congregational Minister there. In 1828, when he was eighteen, he went to Yale College for the normal course of study, in due course graduating in Arts. During this period he found himself influenced by Wordsworth, and even more by Coleridge, through the "Aids to Reflection"; a development to be compared with the similar one in Irving's life, Irving acknowledging his indebtedness to Coleridge in no measured terms.  

He left Yale in 1831. It was about this time, and chiefly through a letter in Fraser's Magazine, that he heard of what was happening in Great Britain in connection with the new Movement. Writing on October 15th, 1884, he says, "In 1831 my attention was for the first time called to the restoration of spiritual gifts in Scotland by reading in a New York newspaper, the "New York Mercury", issued from the office of the Journal of Commerce, a letter written for Fraser's Magazine by Edward Irving. This was 53 years ago, and from that time I have never ceased to be most deeply interested in the subject, which has been the dominant idea that has shaped my whole life. I was

4. See page 29.
then 21 years old, and had just graduated at Yale College, and was looking forward to the ministry as my life work.\(^5\)

During 1832 and 1833 he was engaged in teaching in Virginia and Washington, D.C. On July 24th, 1833, he married Mary Ann Given of Fishkill, N.Y., and in September of that year he was licensed by the (Congregational) North Litchfield Consociation meeting at Norfolk, Conn., that year. For a while he was engaged in pastoral work at Cornwall, Conn., his father's parish. He then accepted a call to the Church at Kent, Conn., where he was pastor from May, 1834, to May, 1847. He was ordained in 1847.

The trend of his thought to "Irvingite" opinion may be detected in his refusal to become a member of the Pastoral Union of that State, and particularly in the reasons given for his refusal. This Union was a voluntary Association of Congregational Ministers, having for its purpose the safeguarding of the Evangelical faith as held by the majority of Congregationalists at the time, and in particular, antagonism to all that was believed to be the dangerous heretical tendencies of Yale under the

ii. The Memorial of the Semi-Centenary Celebration of the Founding of the Theological Institute of Connecticut, Hartford, Conn., 1884; and particularly - iii. Curtis Manning Geer: The History of the Hartford Theological Seminary, 1834-1934, Chap. III - The Formation of the Pastoral Union.
direction of its Professor - Nathaniel Taylor. One of the works of the Pastoral Union was the founding, in 1834, of a rival institution to Yale for the training of ministers, namely the "Theological Institute of Connecticut" at East Windsor Hill, Conn., known since 1872 as the Hartford Theological Seminary. When Mr. Andrews was invited to join the Pastoral Union it was felt that he would do so, seeing the position represented by the group coincided with his known loyalty to traditional Evangelical Christianity. "The ground of my hesitation" says a letter of his, "has been the doubt I have had as to the principle of such Unions. The Church is God's own institution, and was in the beginning provided with all the necessary means of defence. If the Church has fallen into weakness or danger, it becomes her ministers who discern the evil, to stand everyone in his place, bearing on their hearts the iniquities of God's people, making continual intercession on their behalf, and strengthening the things that remain and are ready to die. In this way, and not by means that are of man's invention and not of God's appointment can the evil be stayed....The Lord's way for the edifying of the Church is better than man's, and the time will doubtless come when all human inventions for its defence and blessing will be put aside, and his own goings be seen in His Sanctuary....But while I cannot for reason

7. Ibid.
become a member of the Pastoral Union, it is no doubt the
duty of those who belong to it to abide in it, seeking to
make it, and the Seminary under its control, a blessing
to the churches." 8

Meanwhile, there were contacts with leaders of the
"Catholic Apostolic" Movement as well as with the Oxford
Movement. There are several references in his Journal to
the latter, and there is considerable sympathy with many of
its features. There is no indication of when he first
became acquainted with it. It is possible his interest in
it was quickened through his assistant at Kent - Augustus
Hewit9 - then a student at the Seminary, but soon to change

It is worth noting that the sentiments here expressed are
largely those of the "Morning Watch". Similar sentiments
are found in the writings of Adam Hood Burwell.
9. Hewit, Augustus Francis (his real name being Nathaniel
Augustus Hewit) was the son of a Congregational Minister,
the Rev. Nathaniel Hewit, and was strictly educated in
Congregationalism, but developed a conversion to Calvin-
istic tenets, which prevented his joining the Church till
after graduation at Andover Phillips Academy and Amherst
College. He began to study at East Windsor Seminary
(Hartford Theological Seminary); scarcely had he finished
the prescribed course and been licensed to preach than he
became convinced of the divine origin of the Episcopal
Church, and he entered its Ministry with the understanding
that he would interpret the Thirty-nine Articles in the
sense of Tract 90. The conversion of Newman unsettled him
regarding Anglicanism. Soon after he entered the Roman
Church, 25th March, 1846, and was ordained Priest in 1847.
He was dispensed from his career of vows in 1858 under the
leadership of Father Isaac F. Hecker. He founded in New
York the Society of St. Paul the Apostle, with a rule re-
quiring obedience and poverty, but no further vows. He
also founded the Magazine still continuing, called the
"Catholic World." On the death of Hecker in 1888 he was
appointed Superior General of the Paulist Fathers Society,
in succession to him, a Society of great importance in the
United States.
for the Episcopal Church, and then the Roman Catholic, 25th March, 1846, in which he rose to great prominence. During his Episcopal period he was an ardent Tractarian, and received Deacons Orders with the express understanding that he might interpret the Thirty-nine Articles in the sense of Tract 90. He was assistant at Kent only for a few weeks, early in 1843.

It is possible Mr. Andrews had made a study of the Tractarian Movement on the occasion of his visit to England in 1842, but there is no record of his doing so, or whether he met any of the Tractarian leaders. In any case, he did not see in Tractarianism the promise he found in the parallel, or Irvingite Movement, in which he had already become interested; and was quick to perceive dangerous trends in the former, though in later life we find him more appreciative of it. It is the "Catholic Apostolic" that he considered the broader and more far-reaching movement.

His first personal intercourse with persons serving under Apostles was in 1838, when he met Adam Hood Burwell and George Ryerson. Two years later he went to Kingston, Ont., to study the "Catholic Apostolic" Church there. While on his first visit to England, in 1842, he accepted Henry Drummond's invitation to Albury where he met the

Apostles. There is no contemporary account of his impressions.

Soon after that he was brought into contact with the "Mercersburg Movement" within the German Reformed Church in America, with its liturgical and Eucharistic emphasis. About the same period (1845) his interest in the phenomena in Scotland was quickened through acquaintance with the Rev. John Lilley of the Presbytery of New York, a native of Scotland and graduate of Edinburgh, and himself interested in these happenings. His interest in Adventism, too, was by this time well known. In 1847 the Millennial Association of New York invited him to become a member, but he declined, as he did also the editorship of a proposed Premillennial Journal.

These years mark his personal contacts with some in New York, who later became the nucleus of a "Catholic Apostolic" Church. In 1847 he notes that one of the Apostles was in New York. This must have been either

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13. Born in Scotland in 1812, he transferred to the Theological Seminary at New Brunswick, N.J.; ordained in 1835 as a Dutch Reformed Minister; in 1855 he received the D.D. from the University of Edinburgh.
Thus his development from a rigid intellectual Congregationalism to the Catholic idea of the Church was predisposing him to the claims of the "Catholic Apostolic" communion, as did his Adventist position, and his literalist interpretation of the Scriptures. He was still, however, in Congregationalism.

But on October 23rd, 1848, occurred a sad personal event, which may have had a profound influence on his future course. This was the death of Mrs. Andrews, concerning whom the biography states: "She was wholly at one with her husband in his religious beliefs." Now, if there is any truth in the statement that if Newman was married he never would have left the Church of England, and if there is any hint from instances of persons who enter the Roman Church once they have become widowers, the surmise may be allowed, that, her sympathy notwithstanding, Mrs. Andrews was a restraining, conservative influence, against her husband's leaving Congregationalism. At any rate, soon after her death, he could bring himself to leave Kent and take service under Apostles.

In 1849 he asked the North Litchfield Consociation to relieve him from the pastorate. Before this group

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16. Mr. Armstrong suffered much from ill-health, and was not always able to undertake the journey, and it is possible that Mr. Woodhouse came in his place. Mr. Andrews had a particularly warm attachment to these two men.

He read the paper already referred to, setting forth his reasons for so withdrawing. His request was granted.

"In taking this step" says the Minute, "the Consociation feel bound to express their dissent from Mr. Andrews in the views embodied in the paper he had submitted to them, and they express their conviction that the promulgation of those views will not tend to the edification or purity of the Churches. At the same time the Consociation wish to add that the Rev. Mr. Andrews holds a high place in their esteem, and affectionate regard, on account of his many amiable and eminent personal qualities; that we feel a confidence in the honesty of his convictions and the reality of his Christian character; and wish also to express an earnest hope and prayer that he may be recovered from the errors into which we believe him to have fallen." Thus he was, at his own request, removed from the pastoral relationship, but not from the communion of the Congregational Churches.

But the final severance was inevitable. For soon, in 1849, he went to Potsdam, N.Y., to take charge of a little "Catholic Apostolic" congregation gathered there some years before, according to Samuel J. Andrews, "by the labors of an English Evangelist." As the obscure

18. Statement of reasons to the North Consociation of Litchfield County - "The true Constitution of the Church"; also in the Biography, p. 201.
town is in St. Lawrence County in the northern part of the State, not very far from Kingston, Ont., with which A. H. Burwell and W. R. Caird were connected, the latter may have been the evangelist in question. In this obscure spot, away from the prominence which was his due, he faithfully tended the flock until 1857.

Meanwhile, in 1854, his name was stricken off at length from the membership of the North Litchfield Consociation. Clearly his sympathies and point of view were now so far removed from those of Congregationalism that the action of the Consociation is not difficult to understand. Soon after he was made Bishop or Angel in the new Communion. His work was that of Angel-Evangelist, which may be viewed as a kind of Diocesan Episcopacy in that he had the supervision and visitation of Churches over a wide area, i.e. North America. In this office he continued to the end of his days.

In 1858 he married Elizabeth Byrne Williams of Wethersfield, Conn. This place, some six miles from Hartford, he made thenceforth his home. He died on October 17th, 1897. The funeral was held, not at the Hartford "Catholic Apostolic" Church, but at the Congregational Church in Wethersfield, and was conducted by the Rev. J.A.R. Rogers of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church in Hartford, addresses being given on that occasion by his
friends, Rev. Dr. Samuel Hart, an Episcopalian, and Rev. Dr. E. P. Parker, one of the leading Congregational Ministers in Hartford. 21

A careful record of his work is of value as bearing on the general methods, and on the manner of the growth, of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church in North America in the 19th Century. The account extant of his labours and journeys covering some of these years is fairly representative of the whole, and is an amazing record of incessant conscientious duty, faithfully performed. 22

In 1857 Mr. Andrews began the method of public lectures, by lecturing at Hartford and Bridgeport, Conn. The area was expanded so as to include Boston, N.Y., and the South. A hall would be hired in each case, and announcement would be made of the forthcoming meetings.

In 1866 he left for England, J. S. Davenport and his three daughters being fellow-passengers. There is a note 23 Sunday, June 3rd, that the Eucharist was administered in London by Armstrong who also preached the homily, and that Dalton was in charge of the afternoon service.

Mr. Andrews returned to the United States on August 15th in company with Armstrong, but the latter must have been in poor health during, or soon after, the trip, and returned to England soon. Fackler, who likewise had been

22. Private information.
to England, and returned that September, reported that "Armstrong has gone to Whitby and is somewhat better." 24

In September, 28th, Mr. Andrews set out on an extended visit to Canada. Beginning in Toronto, he made his home there with his friend, D. McMichael, a lawyer and leader of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church. At evening prayer he met a Mr. Holmes, formerly of Potsdam, N.Y., but at this time assisting as Priest in Toronto "Catholic Apostolic" Church. Mr. Andrews met the Ministers and discussed with them the possibilities of evangelism on a larger scale, and of organizing them to that end, as was done in New York. 25 But he had no definite plan to propose pending a consultation with Cuthbert, who was now in Canada and whose headquarters must have been Kingston, for, writes Mr. Andrews, when visiting that place "Cuthbert came for us with his wagon. He is much hindered in his labors by his farm." 26

During this visitation Mr. Andrews went to several outlying districts. He comments that the meetings, which had the approval of Cuthbert, were a success. There seems to have been quite a little cause at Ottawa and Hull. But difficulty in securing an adequate hall led him to give the idea of meetings in Ottawa. There

24. Journal, September 25, 1867
is an interesting note as showing the friendly attitude of other Churches, that at "Aylmer the meetings were held in the Presbyterian place of worship."

Mr. Andrews made a very brief stay in Montreal, and proceeded to Hartford, which he reached on November 5th, 1866. One wonders what precisely was the position of Cuthbert. His power cannot be that of quasi-Apostle because "Mr. Ryerson has broken up all Mr. Cuthbert's arrangements for conducting Evangelistic work in Toronto."\textsuperscript{27} The position is somewhat explained by a note of February 28th, 1868: "Since my return from England, August 1866, I have had oversight of the Evangelistic work in North America, Cuthbert and Davenport being the Angel-Evangelists who are my helpers."\textsuperscript{28}

Two interesting comments belong to this period: He came across Norton's tract "Agnus Dei" and finds fault with it because of false doctrine, though he does not state where, according to him, the error precisely lay. It appears that Ryerson agreed with Andrews's criticism of it.\textsuperscript{29} Then again he writes: "I have read several papers in a volume called 'The Church and the World' written by members of the so-called Catholic party in the English Church. Some of them are written with much ability and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{27} Journal, April 8, 1868.
\item \textsuperscript{28} Journal, February 26, 1868.
\item \textsuperscript{29} Journal, October 9, 1867.
\end{itemize}
many of them contain much truth, but there are grave errors taught in the volume, and the impression left on my mind is that the tendency of the Movement is decidedly Romeward. 30

At Hartford the work was still in the initial or evangelistic stage. The preaching was as yet in the tentative stage, no fully organized community having come into existence, nor the full ministry established or worship fully developed. For instance, in 1868, it appears that Mr. Andrews had not started making use of Vestments, but there were Liturgical beginnings in that forms of prayer were used with discretion: "we thought it best not to use the Absolution as yet, but the Confession and some Collects." 31

While Hartford was thus under the care of Mr. Andrews himself, as it were the Canterbury or Glastonbury of the Movement in America, the work in New York was making progress. Cuthbert, in 1868, had been in New York. Rintoul, of New York, said to Mr. Andrews as to the gatherings held, that "there had been no fruit of Cuthbert's preaching, but it had done good to the flock." 32 Fackler writes regarding Cuthbert's preaching there (New York) that "the manner and form were less

30. Journal, October 24, 1867.
31. Journal, April 19, 1868.
32. Journal, April 25, 1868.
offensive than formerly but the substance of it equally onecisional and sectarian." Whether the fault lay in Cuthbert or in Fackler is uncertain.

Nevertheless there was by this time quite a company in New York. Fackler was located there. Among assistants are named Wightman, Kennedy, Seely, Ludlow, Leathem. The last-named thinks an Angel-Evangelist should reside in New York and make it the centre of his Evangelistic labours. Whether this was jealousy on the part of the New Yorkers or discontent with Mr. Andrews' methods it is difficult to say. But it does prove that up to this time the leaders of the movement in America resided in Hartford. It may be also that the New York men were not satisfied with the quieter methods employed by Mr. Andrews. Certainly, on March, 1870, Mr. Andrews is planning to make use of young men in the Church of New York for evangelistic work in that city under his direction.

During this period we find Mr. Andrews still having some connection with his old denomination. He speaks of attending a meeting at Wethersfield of a Church Visiting Committee, of which he had been appointed a member (unless, according to New England usage, that was a Committee of the Ecclesiastical Society rather than of the Church.) Then, on March 18th, 1868, was the

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33. Journal, April 27, 1868.
34. i.e. of the Township attending to ecclesiastical affairs, and distinct from the Church.
installation of Mr. Adams the new minister at Wethersfield: "My brother was here as a delegate from Hartford and Park Church", which proves that the Rev. Samuel J. Andrews was still connected with Congregationalism.  

But by May 3rd of that year there are signs that Mr. W. W. Andrews does not feel quite at home in Congregational worship. Adams asked him to assist at Communion: "I did it with many misgivings, offering the prayer for the blessing of the bread."  

Nevertheless, consistently with the teachings of the "Catholic Apostolic" Church, he does not unchurch other Christians. He himself continued in the fellowship of the other ministers of Hartford as long as possible, and also would urge applicants from other churches to remain if possible in their own communions. There was a case of a Mr. Mines who had been deposed by the Protestant Episcopal Church and wanted to enter the "Catholic Apostolic" Church. He is advised to "wait quietly where he is and to recover if possible his lost ground in the Episcopal Church."  

Again this attitude is shown in his approval of Radcliffe Davenport "who is now assisting a friend in Staten Island (and) said that he had made up his mind to go quietly in his present

37. Journal, February 27, 1868.
course strengthening what was good in the Episcopal Church to the utmost of his power." 38

Mr. Andrews himself, as has been said, continued in the fellowship of his brother ministers. He drove his brother, Samuel J. Andrews, still a member of the Congregational Consociation, to its meetings held at Windsor, Conn., May 18th, 1868. Mr. W. W. Andrews preached publicly on that occasion, that is before the group and a general congregation. "It was listened to by about fifteen ministers and students (presumably in addition to the general public). Three young men from Hartford Seminary were examined, my brother, who presided, conducting the examination. It was satisfactory on most points according to the measure of Congregational doctrine, but was certainly deficient on the Sacraments respecting which they seem to have been taught nothing." 39

On that occasion Samuel J. Andrews read a paper on "The Kingdom of God" and "there was much discussion" about it; 40 which is not surprising considering the 'Irvingite' views the author had by this time adopted.

An institution of great value was the meeting of Ministers of all denominations, which was wont to be held at Hartford every Monday morning. The Andrews brothers

38. Journal, April 25, 1868.
40. Ibid.
and John S. Davenport attended these meetings regularly, took part in the discussions and occasionally read papers. It was a meeting where great minds assembled: such men as Dr. Bushnell, Dr. Parker, Dr. Nathaniel Burton. As was to be expected the point of view and beliefs of these men did not always commend themselves to the rest of the company. In November, 1889, Mr. W. W. Andrews spoke on Absolution, maintaining that God's way had always been to convey forgiveness through men and ordinances. "There was a lively discussion in which some sympathy was expressed by a few; but most were afraid of priesthood. Dr. Parker went furthest in approval." 41 But Samuel J. Andrews one day spoke to his brother "of an interesting conversation he had had with Dr. Burton^ 42 who had gently hinted, Samuel thought, that our presence at the Monday meeting was felt to be a disturbing element as the Ministers did not, and could not, understand us." 43

Another fraternal institution which greatly interested Mr. Andrews, and which he attended regularly except when absent on Evangelistic business, reading papers thereat and taking part in discussions, was the Liturgical Club, of Hartford. This was started in 1875. The first

41. Private Information.
42. Burton, Dr. N. J., a leading Congregationalist at Hartford.
mention he makes of it is under date February 28th, 1876. It continued until 1888. It is a distinct loss to Church History of Connecticut that no permanent record has been preserved of this organization and of the contributions laid before it. In the private papers to which there has been access there is reference, seemingly fairly or quite complete, to the subjects dealt with by the brethren. Those given by "Catholic Apostolic" ministers include the following: W. W. Andrews - Correspondence with a Roman Catholic Friend; Reading of Irving's account of how he came to give up reading Sermons; The Melchizedek Priesthood of Christ; The Relations of the Departed to the Worship of the Church; The Resurrection of Christ in its bearing on Worship; The Holy Ghost; Greek and Roman Worship; The Eucharist as Prophecy. By Samuel J. Andrews - Priesthood; Symbols in Worship; Corporate Worship; The Life of the World to Come; By John S. Davenport - Mysticism; Baptism; Natural and Spiritual Gifts; The Special Dangers of the Clergy; Heavenly Worship; Tripartite Nature of Man; Various Forms of Teaching and Preaching in the Church; The Genesis of Robert Elsmere (Relation of Sin to Unbelief). By Samuel H. Allen - Unwritten Liturgies; The Priesthood. The list shows the varied interests of the Hartford Ministers, Liturgical and other, of that day.
There must have been also an interesting Ministers' Meeting (held usually on Monday Mornings) on May 18th, 1868, at which the speaker, on "The Relation between the Evangelical Churches and Ministries and Non-Evangelical" thought the time will come when recognition will be given to the Unitarian and the Universalist. Samuel J. Andrews strongly opposed that view. W. W. Andrews, speaking of one of the prominent members, says that "he is on the lax side. He gave a curious definition of Evangelical - everyone was entitled to be so called who looks to God for righteousness, whether Jew or pagan." Professor Thompson of the Seminary sided with S. J. Andrews, 44

An outsider wonders how it is that W.W. Andrews, now Angel Evangelist, was so long before receiving adequate recognition from London. He returned to the United States in 1866, as has been noted, in company with Mr. Armstrong, who however had to return to England immediately on account of ill health. Armstrong proposed, in 1866, that Mr. Andrews should be on the Apostles' Council, and "attended that year, but was not summoned afterwards." 45 One wonders whether fundamentally this was not because W. W. Andrews' mind had greater breadth of view.

Finally, in June 1880, Coadjutor Caird writes that

44. Journal, May 18th, 1868.
45. Letter from Coadjutor Caird, June, 1880.
W. W. Andrews had been definitely attached to the Apostles' Staff and would therefore be summoned to attend the Council. John S. Davenport received the same notification. W. W. Andrews sailed in April for Scotland (1881) to the Council which met at Albury, June 2nd-22nd. There is record of his doing so again in 1882 and 1883.

Mr. Andrews entered into rest on October 17th, 1897, at the age of 87, full of years and full of peace. He did not live to see the coming of the Lord which he preached, and for which he lived and hoped. This was one of the many disappointments he must have had. He also lived to see the passing of nearly all the Apostles, and almost all the Coadjutors. His faith, however, never waxed dim, but was steadfast to the end. Of the eulogies spoken concerning him some are given in the

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46. In 1881 there were thirty-one members of the Council. The following is a list of those at the Apostles' Council, June, 1881; Russia, Germany, Denmark, and France were represented, as well as Great Britain and America:

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biography. But perhaps one of the best appeared in a review of the "Life", which appeared in the Hartford Seminary Record, which is not quoted in other works:

"If success is to be measured by material emoluments and popular applause, then William Watson Andrews failed signally of the goal. But if it is to be gauged by self sacrifice and ultimate saintliness of character then this guileless follower of the Lord has obtained a goodly heritage... He seems hardly to have deviated a hair's breadth from the straight and narrow path then marked out. Steadfastness, humility, sincerity, and godliness were the shining virtues of this simple hearted man of God... We would commend this book heartily to all who would come close to a pure-minded and noble hearted man and learn the secret of his life." 47

47. Hartford Seminary Record, August, 1900.
APPENDIX to CHAP. III.

The following letters were written by Mr. Irving to the Rev. D. Dow, of Summerhill (Dumfries):

"LONDON. April, 1835.

My dear Brother,

I sit down to record, for your praise and thanksgiving and that of your church, the doings of the Lord in the midst of us during these days past.

On the Lord's-day before the last, when as usual, during the forenoon service, I proceeded to receive into the church the child of one of the members, who had been baptized at home during sickness, and had desired the father to stand forth, the Lord by the mouth of His apostle arrested my hand, saying that we must tarry for a while. Though I wist not wherefore this was done, I obeyed, and desired the parent to postpone it. Then the Lord further signified it was His will we should know, and the whole church should feel, that we were without ordinances, to the end we might altogether feel our destitute condition, and cry to Him for the ordinances from Heaven. Then I discerned that He had indeed acknowledged the act of the fleshly church, taking away the fleshly thing; and that He was minded, in His grace, to take us under His own heavenly care, and constitute us into a church directly in the hands of the Great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, for He commanded us to rejoice, and confirmed our souls with words of prophecy, assuring us that He would build the house, saying unto Jerusalem, 'Thou shalt be built,' and to the Temple, 'Thy foundation shall be laid.' We did accordingly take heart and sing, 'When Israel out of Egypt went,' &c. (Ps.cxiv.)

The night before this, at our church meeting, the Lord, in the midst of many precious words spoken by the mouth of His apostle, had said, 'Sanctify yourselves; call a solemn assembly;' which words some of my brethren the elders thought did require the setting apart of a particular day; but it rather bore to me, that we were to abide in a sanctified state, washed and cleansed -- ourselves, our little ones, and our houses -- and to continue instant in prayer and supplication before the Lord, until He should fulfil all the words of grace and love which He had spoken over us. Accordingly, I took order, that, beside the meeting of the church for prayer every morning, there should be a meeting of as many of the flock as could assemble, that we might not cease praying to our God to restore His ordinances to us, and deal with us in all things according to His own mind; for I felt
that it was our part to inquire of Him for this, and leave everything in His own hand. He whom the Lord has most frequently used among us to bring words of authority, and whom He hath since ordained prophet by the laying on of hands, had been absent for some time at Albury; but the Lord, having a work to do by him, brought him back on the Wednesday, and he was in the church on the Thursday morning; when I asked him, after I had finished my part, to conduct the worship. After singing, he read the first chapter of Jeremiah, and being come to these words, 'I see a rod of an almond-tree,' he was made in the Spirit to speak much upon it, and to apply it to the spiritual ministry, which even now was beginning to bud; and in the midst of it he brought a message, or rather delivered a command, to the apostle, to ordain me Angel over the church on the morrow evening, and to charge me and the flock with such words as the Lord should then give him. For this holy action I sought to prepare myself and my flock with diligence; and being assembled on the Friday forenoon, which is a constant service in the church, after the service I spoke to them all very solemn words concerning the work which the Lord had set to be done in the evening. And the Lord opened the mouth of the Apostle to charge the people with words of the most severe holiness, and the most terrible majesty. The Lord had forbidden the profane from being assembled with the church, and that the church alone should be assembled, and I charged the deacons accordingly.

After the service of the Friday afternoon, the apostle, whose seat is behind mine, sought my liberty to go away the next day to Albury, being pressed in the spirit that he had something to do for the church there. But having learned through experience that it is through word the Lord confirmeth and determineth everything, I felt that I might not give my permission without word of the Lord, especially at a time so momentous to the church, when the Lord seemed to have a work to accomplish in the midst of us by his ordained prophet, and the two handmaidens whom the Lord hath chiefly used in bringing water of life to the people, into another place; and having told them, or being in the act of telling them wherefore, the Lord opened the mouth of His prophetical servant, and commanded the apostle to go; defining also the errand to be, to ordain the Elder of Albury Church, who has been named, and for the last three months been labouring at Brighton. This done, the Spirit of the Lord came upon one of the handmaidens of the Lord; and she was made to speak unto the prophet words most flesh-crucifying, exhorting him to be broken with Jesus, and to prove the blessedness thereof: upon which he knelt down to utter his heart's fulness to the Lord; and being ended, ere yet he was risen
from his knees, the spirit of the Lord came upon the
apostle, and he was made to go to him, and lay his right
hand upon him, and ordain him prophet of the Lord to
the Church, with a short charge to faithfulness, and to
require him to 'rise up, calling on the name of the
Lord.'

We assembled in the evening, and while reading the
Scriptures, as my custom is, for one quarter of an hour
before the service begins, that the people may come in
and sit down under the sound of the word, it came in
course to read the fiftieth chapter of Isaiah; and being
come to these words, 'The Lord God hath opened mine ear,'
the Spirit of the Lord spoke to me through the ordained
prophet words of great assurance, to the effect that the
Lord would give me the opened ear to bring instruction
to His own people; and His own eye, to discern in the
darkness as in the light; and he added words to the
flock, which were mostly in an unknown tongue, concluding
with these words: 'He giveth you the sign of unbelief,'
- namely, the unknown tongue. We humbled ourselves, and
gave thanks to the Lord, and then I finished the chapter,
when it was time for the service to begin.

We always began with prayer, coming to the Lord
through the Blood by confession of our sin and suppli-
cation for his mercy. This ended, the Spirit of the Lord,
by the apostle, said, 'Sing the fortieth Psalm;' to
which we addressed ourselves with strength of heart, for
it did relate our experience as a church. Being well
nigh ended, while we were singing the 11th verse, the
Spirit of the Lord spoke through the ordained prophet
words for the ordering of God's house, saying, that God
purposed giving us the mystery of the candlestick in the
holy place, with his shaft and his branches, his almonds,
his knops, and his flowers. Then he placed the elders
who from time to time had been named heretofore, but
none of them, save the two who had come out with me, had
been permitted to occupy the places of office, which are
three chairs upon the one side and three upon the other
side of my chair; which the architect, guided in this,
as in many other things, by the Lord (for he is a
Deacon of the church), had caused to be placed there.
He set His servant Horne upon my right hand; His servant
Mackenzie next; His servant Henderson, whom He now called
because he had seen him faithful, next; then His servant
Percival next, upon my left hand; and His servant Place
next to him; and to the third seat He promised to
appoint very soon. And withal He promised to add the
knops and the flowers.

There then followed, in the midst of unknown
tongues, a declaration that the Lord would have His table
spread with unleavened bread; that He would have his
curch wholly an unleavened lump; that he gave his
ornances new from heaven; that all should go forth who
were not cleansed in the blood; and that, if they tarried,
it would be the withering both of soul and body, and the
casting into hell. Then we took the seats accordingly,
and resumed the Psalm, singing it out with great joy to
see our brethren named and placed of the Lord. Then,
according to our usual order, we kneeled down to pray;
and having offered our worship to the Lord, and acknowl-
dged His great grace in the midst of us in the persons
of our brethren, we proceeded to put him in remembrance
of His promise to ordain an angel over us in the evening,
and to stir up our hearts with holy desires after the
accomplishment of His faithful promise. At this moment
the Lord broke silence by the mouth of his ordained
prophet, protesting His faithfulness and requiring me to
kneel at the altar (which is a simple square wooden
pedestal for supporting the Bible, and resting my hand
upon when I administer), and commanding the apostle to
lay hands upon me, and to ordain me, and to do and say
all the things the Lord would give him; and that the
Lord postposed the ordination of the elders until the
other, who was wanting, should have been named. This
done, I ceased praying, and, the people still kneeling,
there was an awful pause of two or three minutes (for
though I felt in my heart that the Lord would have me
conclude my prayer, I dared not proceed without the word
of the Lord, and abode kneeling); when the word of the
Lord came forth from the mouth of the apostle, saying
'Let the servant of the Lord go on with his supplication';
which also my heart longed to do; and having set forth
to the Lord how my heart longed and panted for communion
direct and immediate from Himself, I besought Him of His
loving kindness to accomplish His will with me and my
flock; and being ended, I continued kneeling, but the
church arose and was seated, waiting for the act of the
Lord. Then the apostle was made in the Spirit (for all
was done by the Spirit), to say, 'Let the elder read the
third and fourth chapters of the First Book of Samuel';
and, I understand, His hand rested upon Mr. Percival,
for his place is just behind the places of the elders
upon the bench. Mr. Horne, who is the senior elder,
was also looking to Mr. Percival, whom also I had employed
to read the Scriptures for me to the assembling congrega-
tion the Sunday night preceding. He took my place
behind the desk or altar; and as he read the Lord opened,
and applied it by the mouth of His servant the apostle,
shewing first that now that the Spirit had come by the
children, that the Spirit of the Father alone could
discern the voice, which the men of this generation
rejected; that the sons of Eli, the priests of these days, had committed adultery with the churches, and that the ancient discipline of the church had waxed feeble, and withstood them not; that the sin of the church should not be purged with sacrifice nor offering for ever; that they vainly thought the works of their fathers (the ark) would save them, when the spirit which was in their fathers was gone; and other words, demonstrative of the mind of the Lord to do to the church now the judgment which was then executed upon the house of Eli, and to work for His name's sake as He had wrought by the child Samuel.

These chapters having been read, Mr. Percival, the elder, left the place of testimony, and the apostle took it, and began to speak to the congregation, all in the Holy Ghost, That the church had rejected the voice of God, in order to give ear unto the wisdom of man: That at length the Lord, wearied out, had withdrawn His voice from the midst of her; that the thing which we had seen in these days was but the shewing forth of what had been done in the church of old; that we had been guilty as the rest in all these sins, and that it was not for any thing in us, but for his purpose, and for His name's sake; that he had returned unto us, and that we must know this, that He had judged the churches; His word was gone forth against them, but their entire destruction should not be seen till Solomon, the Man of Peace, should come. He then began to charge both me and the people, saying to me, that by faith I stood, faith in the work of the Lord; from which if I fell away, for as high as God had lifted me up, I should be cast down with sudden destruction:- that the sword of discipline belonged to me, to chase all evil-doers from the congregation of the Lord, and to keep away the unclean:- that the people must obey me, and give heed to my words, which if they failed to do, it would be visited of the Lord, for it should be different with us from times past; Then commanded he, with very awful words, all unclean and unbelieving persons to depart; yet the Lord would rather they would abide, being cleansed in the blood of Jesus, which he even then preached to them; Jesus their Redeemer, Jesus their Sanctifier; and all who know him as such besought he to take part in the solemn work which the Lord was doing. Then he came from the place of testimony on my right hand, and knelt beside me on my left hand, and prayed in the Holy Ghost over the flock and me, joining us together in the presence of our God; and then he arose, and, laying both his hands upon me he ordained me angel over the church, bidding me be filled with the Spirit of grace, and of wisdom, and understanding, and the fear of the Lord; to be filled with the gift of the Holy Ghost for the office wherein I was now set. This done he gave
out the cxxxii Psalm, and all the congregation arose to
sing it with one heart. When we were well nigh finished
with it, the Holy Ghost came upon him to say, 'And shall
not the Lord seal up His covenant with His servant in the
sacrament of His body and blood? Let the deacons go forth,
and let them bring in bread and wine; let them find
unleavened bread, bread without any leaven.' And the
deacons went forth accordingly.

He then said, 'The Lord would have read in your
hearing the epistles to the churches, and take you bound
in your angel to keep all His charge, the promises and
the threatenings therein contained: what is spoken to the
angel is spoken to the churches in the angel, and what is
spoken to the churches is spoken to the angels over the
churches; for these times are they written, for churches
having angels are they written.' And again he charges
the profane and the unbelieving to go forth from the
congregation. Therefore he again took place of testimony,
and read in the power of the Spirit the second and third
chapters of the Revelations, laying an emphasis on certain
parts which gave them a significance that I undertake not
to convey; only he said in plain language that Satan's
seat was in this city, and that Antipas is he who resist-
eth man's authority in the church.

Before he had finished this part of the action, the
deacons had returned, bringing wine in one of the silver
cups, and unleavened cake, which with their own hands
they had prepared, on one of the silver plates of the
church; and two of them were standing ready to minister
to him; but he bade them tarry, and gave out the 35th
Paraphrase. "Twas on that night when doomed to know";
which having sung with one accord, he asked me if I would
engage to keep these charges of Christ to the churches,
which I engaged in the hearing of all the people to do.
He then passed to the deacons, and took a piece of the
cake, and, lifting it up between his hands, he broke it,
and said, 'The body of Christ broken for you', and,
having required me to kneel, he gave it to me; so also
he took the cup, and having lifted it up, he said, 'The
blood of Christ shed for you', and gave it in like manner
to me; and then said, 'Do thou give it to the elders and
other officers of the church, and any of the congregation';
which also I did, giving it to him among the rest.

He then returned to his seat; and when the cup was
given him, he rose up to receive it, and partook standing.
Some sat, some knelt, and some stood while they received
it; and there was no word concerning this save in my own
case, which I understood to be a token of my receiving
the seal of the covenant from the hand of Christ in the
person of His apostle. While the cup was passing among
the brethren who received it, there came from the Holy Ghost these words: 'You refused to take bread and wine with His enemies; and now He giveth you the wine of the kingdom to drink;' and with this ended his part of the service: to which I added words to explain and improve unto my flock that which had been done amongst us of the Lord, as the same was brought to my own mind by the teaching of the Lord. Then I prayed, and we sang the Psalm, and parted, with the Doxology and Benediction, as usual. The whole service occupied a little more than three hours.

Such is the simple and true account of that great act of the Spirit through the apostle of the Lord.

I have sought much to enter into it since: and so far as I have been taught it amounts to this: 1st, a casting off, so far as London is concerned (for the Lord hath repeatedly said, that the burden of the whole city is laid on us) of the old ordinances, which they have polluted, and a giving of them anew from His own hand from heaven. 2ndly, a purging out of the old leaven of the flesh, and the requirement of a purely spiritual service, which we must grow up into from childhood into manhood, beginning from that day, by the forgetting of the former things, and the never bringing them into mind. 3dly, a constituting of the church in the angel, by the taking of him bound in all the words spoken by the Lord to the churches, that we might henceforth cease altogether from the canons and laws of men.

The next night, the Lord by the mouth of his prophet, in a glorious song, partly in tongues and partly in English, called out John Tudor, a man of much learning and wisdom, the Editor of the Morning Watch, who has for the last year been waiting on the Lord to be employed in the ministry: him he called to be an elder, which completed the number: and at the meeting of the session that morning, the Lord, by his apostle, had made choice of three of the deacons to be helps; so that there were now six elders and five helps named of the Lord, with the promise that He would speedily name another help. At the same meeting the Lord shut the mouths of all the members of the church who had heretofore gone forth into the streets, commanding that none should go but such as were sent. This shut me up to cry earnestly to the Lord for evangelists, especially on the afternoon of the Lord's day, which is not a meeting of the church, but for preaching the Gospel to all who come. This prayer for preaching the Gospel to all who come. This prayer the Lord heard; and at the evening service of the church, when the congregation was in the act of departing, the Spirit by the mouth of the prophet called John Francis,
a young gentleman who for more than a year has given himself to the Lord, enduring all things for His Name's sake in the streets with great quietness and charity. Him also the Holy Ghost charged before all the people to summon the people out of Babylon, and to carry them the glad tidings of salvation.- From all that has been spoken to the evangelists, it seems that it is not preaching the Gospel to the heathen, but preaching deliverance and life to the captives of Babylon.

Nothing further was done of the Lord till Thursday morning. When the apostle, being arrived, was in the meeting for prayer, and while I was speaking to him after the service, the Spirit of the Lord came upon him to go up to two of the brethren, one a help and the other a deacon, and name them for evangelists, the hands of the church for bringing in her children. They were by name Archibald Barclay and Charles Wallis, who had also abounded in labour and sufferings for the Gospel's sake in the streets. These, together with one who had been ordained some months ago to go and labour at Brighton with the elder there, made four, of whom three waited for ordination, and were commanded not to go forth without it. This made them cry much for ordination. Next night, which is an open meeting of the church, I felt constrained in spirit to rise, in order to call the church together next night, specially to inquire of the Lord concerning the ordination of the evangelists and elders; for as yet I had no clear light concerning the helps, what was their present standing, and whether they would be ordained or not. But while I was speaking, nor yet had delivered myself of the burden of what I had to say, the mouth of the prophet was opened to declare that on the morrow evening the Lord would ordain the evangelists by the laying on of the hands of the apostle, and on the Lord's day forenoon He would do likewise by the elders, after which the Lord's Supper would be administered to the flock; and that the flock only should assemble, and of them only such as had faith; for many of them had been defiled by coming without faith on the former day of my ordination.

Being assembled on Saturday night in faith of the Lord's word, after we had offered to Him our worship, we inquired of Him concerning the ordination of the evangelists by prayer. After which I gave out to sing part of the lxiii Psalm; during which, when we had come to the 18th verse, I found the Apostle standing at my hand, called in the Spirit to do his office; but previously, while I was reading the verses to be sung, the Holy Ghost by the prophet had called out His servants, whom the Lord had named evangelists, to come forth and kneel at the altar; and they did so at my bidding, and then kneeling
there, when the Apostle was brought to do his high calling: he began by pronouncing 'woe' many times, and judgments nigh at hand: he charged the flock, that they must go forth with the evangelists in faith and prayer continually; and the evangelists, that they must pronounce the judgments against Babylon, and the woes which were at hand: that their words must drop as the dew, and as the honey from the honey-comb, and pour forth the water of life; preach the Gospel of peace, and the love of God; and many precious words were spoken by the Holy Ghost. Then over each of them the Spirit spake according to His knowledge of their case, and laid hands on them. After which the evangelist already ordained was called to come forth and kneel beside the rest; and I was required to lay hands on them and send them forth. I stood ready to perform this; for the Lord had shewn me in the light of His truth, that while it was the prophet's part to call by name, and the apostle's to endow with the gift, it was mine, as the constituted angel of the church, and head of authority in this city, to give them of my authority to go forth within that bound, and fulfil the ministry which they had received of the Lord. I was also required to give them a charge, which I did, after one of the elders had read the xth chapter of Matthew, and the last chapter of Second Timothy. To my charge, the Lord added another by the mouth of His prophet, commanding them to go to the lost sheep of Israel; to heal the sick of Christ's flock, whom the pastors had afflicted by trampling down the pastures and fouling the waters; to raise the dead in trespasses and sins; to cleanse the lepers, which are the Infidels; to do these things in the spirit, and they should soon do them also in the letter. Having thus been graciously dealt with of the Lord, we departed, much rejoiced in heart for the great gift which He had bestowed on this city in these four evangelists.

Next morning the church assembled, as usual on the Lord's day, at ten o'clock, to receive from the Lord ordained elders, and afterwards to eat the Lord's Supper with unleavened bread. It was appointed of the Lord to be only the members of the church; and when one, at the meeting of the church on Saturday morning, asked of me concerning their servants who were not members, I was answering that they were covered by their masters, when the Lord interrupted me with strong confirmation, that the believing master sanctified his servants, the believing husband his wife and children. These I permitted to be present, but desired to sit apart, lest they should eat the Lord's Supper along with the flock, and so be defiled. And, indeed, the Lord hath shewed us that it is His mind the flock should sit apart, and that a bound should be set about them, for they have been sanctified
to Him by covenant. I had a discernment of this when we came to our present habitation, and even before; but the Lord hindered then, until it should have been separated by the act of the angel's ordination, and the covenant of Christ's statutes, and the sacrament of unleavened bread then given to us.

Being thus assembled on the forenoon of the Lord's day, after the exhortation and the confession, the Holy Ghost by the mouth of the prophet, in an utterance partly in tongues, partly in English, called 'His servant Gambier,' a captain in the navy, who has laboured much in His service, to be a help; thus filling the vacant place - six elders and six helps - and His servant Thomas Evill (he who wrote the 'Cry from the Desert' and other little works concerning the Advent) to be a deacon: whom having called forth before me in the sight of the people, and inquired of them their willingness to obey the work of the Lord and serve in these offices, I charged them with it till they should receive ordination, and required them to take their seats with the brethren. Then we proceeded with our offering of worship, which was the xxiii Psalm, in order; and having offered it first in prayer, reading it, and then sung it in praise, as our manner is, we knelt down to offer our morning prayer; and being ended, I recounted to them the Lord's goodness in having promised ordination to the elders this day, and called upon them to sing with a steady faith the cxxviith Psalm, after which, if the Lord permitted me, I proposed specially to inquire of Him, by prayer, for the accomplishment of His promise. But the act of faith by the people was enough; and when we had done singing the Psalm the Spirit of the Lord came upon the apostle, and he began to utter in a strain of grief over the church which had polluted the ordinances of the Lord, 'leavening the bread and mixing the wine with water;' therefore the Lord had rejected them, and gave us a 'new thing; and yet not a new thing, but the old thing which we had had from the beginning.' Then He charged upon the congregation its great sin in having restrained the work for the Lord, whereby souls were perishing through our unmeetness for the Lord's use; after which, in a most soul-searching prayer, which dissolved the whole flock in tears of contrition, he confessed our sins unto God, and in the end pronounced an absolution. Then he required the elders to kneel, and helps also - for the helps were elders; for none but elders, could be helps to the elders, yet in subjection to the elders, and under silence in their presence. Then went he in the power of the Holy Ghost from one to another; and, with words of surpassing grace and nicest appropriation, he laid his hands upon the elders after the order in which they had been named on
the night of my ordination; and then upon the helps, after an order in which the Spirit seemed to move him from one to another. Over some of them he uttered prophecies of a higher vocation, as also he did over some of the evangelists. Only the help called that morning ordained he not, but bade him serve for a while in the power of the word which had been spoken to him. This done, he returned to his own seat; and, the elders and the helps still kneeling, I was beginning to speak, and to take my part - for the Lord had shewed me His order in my own mind, and also by the word of prophesying, the Friday night before - when the Holy Ghost also, in the hearing of all the people, charged me to lay hands on the helping elders; which also I did, giving them power and authority to minister the word and sacraments within the bounds of the city, and sharing with them of the gift which the Lord had given to me. Then I called the helps one by one, and, with the elders we laid upon them the hands of the presbytery, and gave them the same power under our hands. Then I read the last chapter of John's Gospel and the last chapter of Peter's First Epistel, with words of charge and instruction to them, whereof the Holy Ghost sealed some by his own word; especially that they must be husbands to one wife, when I was charging them not to meddle with things or churches beyond our bounds, save in the communion of the saints: also not to remove them from their charge until the Lord should remove them. This done, we undertook to glorify God in singing certain verses of the xlvith Psalm; rejoicing in one another as husband and wife, and altogether in the Lord Jesus as our common Husband.

"Meanwhile I asked the deacons to go and bring in bread and wine, and set it before me; for it was shewn me in the message of the Lord that this pertained to the deacons, as having the charge of the goods of the house, until the elements became consecrated, after which they become the charge of the pastors or elders. The jealousy of the Lord over the order of His house was here very remarkably shewn. Our free-will precentor is one of the helps, who had been called from among the deacons; and, standing beside me, he asked me if he should go, and Charles Buchan take his place. Not remembering for a moment, I permitted it; but before we had sung a line, I remembered that he had been ordained a helping elder, and I immediately dispatched one of the helps to recall him; which seemed as if two helps had gone with the deacons, but they had both been deacons before. When they were done with singing the first verse, the Spirit of the Lord came upon the prophet, and he cried out with tongues that the helps must not be mingled with the
deacons; and added, that the Lord's order was to set seven deacons in His house. By this time the helps had both returned, according to my instructions; and here the Lord gave, in sight of all the people, a proof of the simultaneous oil whereby He putteth the same thing in the heart of the angel and the mouth of the prophet of the church. Surely this is the mystery of the angel to be the ruler and discerner of whatever is said and done in the flock by pastor, evangelist, prophet or apostle.

When we had sung the Psalm, I proceeded to administer the ordinance after our customary form, expounding the word of the institution, and fencing the table at the same time, confirmed at times by the Spirit; then singing some verses, to permit those who were consciously unclean to remove to the end of the gallery of the church. After I had given the bread to the elders and the helps one by one, and was proceeding to desire them to carry it to the people, the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of the prophet, directed me to give it also to the deacons: after which the elders and their helps carried it round to the people, and so also of the cup; and then was a wonderful presence of our God in the midst of us, which also He testified by many precious streams of living waters. Perceiving, from what had taken place at my own ordination, that it was the mind of the Lord that all the bread and wine should be consumed by the church, and there being not a little left, I desired it to be carried round; and the Lord confirmed it by His own word, saying it was the eating of the offering in the holy place, the leaving nothing of the sacrifice till the morning. I felt a special presence of the Lord with us in this part of the action, as it were breaking up the formality of one bite and one sip, and giving the true feeling of eating the Lord's Supper.

The Supper being ended, it was shewed me, in the light of God with me, that I ought to make one of the elders read the works of the covenant, in which I had become bound for the church—namely, the iid and iiiid chapters of the Apocalypse;—and having called Mr. Percival to do this, the Lord shewed His well-pleasedness, by requiring the people to stand; which also they did with great solemnity; then we offered our acknowledgments to the Lord in solemn prayer, and sung a Doxology, and I gave the Blessing; but the Lord suffered us not to depart without a glorious ascription of praise in a song from the Holy Ghost. It was a day much, much to be remembered, and ye may well praise the Lord with us.

In the afternoon it hath been my custom to preach to an indiscriminate assembly, but still to offer something...
like the worship of a church; but as the Lord has been
separating and defining His offices more clearly, I have
felt that it was sowing two kinds of seed in the same
field, and ploughing with an ox and an ass. Also,
since the Lord called me to be an angel of His church,
I have felt my gift of preacher or evangelist failing,
as it were, not for want of will, but for want of
warrant. At the meeting of the session of the day be­
fore, we were speaking of some things the Lord had
ordered at Albury, concerning the evangelist's not hold­
ing forth the word of life where the pastor fed the flock;
when the Lord said by His prophet, that He had put a
difference between me and His servants, there, for I was
set both as an evangelist and as an angel of His church.
Nevertheless, the Lord forbade me to go forth, like the
rest, but to abide where he had set me. I take this
as a very great grace of my God, that He hath put this
precious name upon me, and I shall indeed labour, with
His help, to fulfil it. It is two-fold: one, to ex­
plain to the people the Babylon wherein they are held
captive; the other, to proclaim sweet strains of Gospel,
preaching liberty to the captives. - Wrestle ye much
with our God, that when His church here hath been built
up sufficiently to do without my presence, He would
spare me to come to Scotland, in the full commission of
an evangelist; for His word hath passed upon me to that
effect, and I long much to serve Him there. This after­
noon I did therefore drop what is proper to the service
of the church, and addressed myself to the work of an
Evangelist, first out of the Prophets, then out of the
Gospels; with short prayers and singing appropriate there­
to, but chiefly discoursing.

In the evening it fell out that there should be two
baptisms, which could not well be overtaken in the
morning. My custom is, that one of the deacons should
hold the water and the towel, while I charge the parents
and instruct the people; but sometimes I had omitted it,
and the water was standing on the ground at our feet.
The Lord by His apostle noticed it, in the message of the
Lord to the elder who sits at my right hand, who came
and told me that it was the mind of the Lord that one of
the deacons should hold the water; and it was accordingly
done so, and so the custom was sanctioned. When speaking
of this, I may mention a thing which occurred some time
ago. After having baptised a child according to the
precise form used in the Church of Scotland, the father
had taken the child down the steps which lead up from the
body of the church to where the rulers of the church sit,
and, behind them, those who speak in the message of the
Lord. I had also knelt down and rendered thanks unto
the Lord; and we were risen up again, when the apostle,
who had been moved immediately after the baptism to do it, but had refrained out of fear and reverence, was constrained to call back the child; which the father brought upon my bidding him; and the apostle took it into his arms, and received it into the church, and blessed it. During the remainder of the service the Lord shewed me that this was done for my sake, to shew me the completeness of His ordinance; and that it pertained not to the apostle, but to me. As we walked home together (for at that time I lived away from the church), upon my asking him concerning the act, he said he felt while he did it that he should never have to do it again; and I said, 'I felt the Lord made you do it, that I might see what was lacking in the form of our service.' Ever since I have, after baptizing the little one in the arms of the father, received it into mine, or rather into Jesus's, and blessed it with its Father's blessing.

Besides what I have written, I remember nothing more, save one thing, which I ought not to omit. At one of the meetings of the church I presented a special note of thanksgiving for your brother being called to be an Angel, and for the permission you had received to partake of the Lord's Supper, and the comfort you had enjoyed therein. The Lord spake by the apostle concerning you, that, while the Lord had permitted it, it was not His order, for He would have His holy sacraments ministered by ordained pastors; that we might return thanks, but still He was grieved in it; that you had prayed for apostles, but not understood your prayer. I discerned from this, that if you sought the Lord, He would either raise up an apostle, or send him whom He hath here raised up, to give ordination in the Spirit, as He hath given us; as also I sorely rebuked myself of not having recalled this to my remembrance, when I met with you to inquire about your eating the Lord's Supper; but I had forgotten what concerned myself, and I was therefore not permitted to be profitable to you. Lay this to heart, my brother; for thou art a son whom the Father loveth, and will not spare to chastise; and so is your brother. You have been sons of consolation unto me."


"My dearly beloved Brother,
In my former letter having given you a narrative, according to the best of my remembrance, aided by my friends beside me, of God's way and work in respect of
the ordination of the angel of the church, the elders, the prophet, and the evangelists, I do now, by the grace of God, undertake to do the same in respect of the seven deacons, who are now set over the congregation. When we were cast out of our beautiful house into the streets, for adhering to the work of the Spirit, and refusing to suppress His voice in the great congregation, two of the deacons, by name James Henderson and David Ker, had grace given them to go out with us, and to cleave to the Lord. These, with the two elders, Archibald Horn and Duncan M'Kenzie, who also followed Naomi, were wont from time to time to convene with me in my own library, for taking counsel together concerning the church over which we were the overseers; and we saw it our duty, from the time of our casting out of Egypt, to require the attendance of those who spake by the Holy Ghost, both men and women, that we might neither counsel nor act in any thing but under the correction of the voice of the Spirit, for which we had been witnesses. The very first time we were thus assembled, we were led to consult for the filling up our numbers, which were originally seven elders and seven deacons; of whom one elder had been removed by death; another, being lifted up, had fallen into the condemnation of the devil; another, a deacon, being removed in the providence of God to a distant colony; and the rest - namely, three elders and four deacons - had remained behind in the house of bondage, for lack of spiritual discernment. While we five, the remnant of fifteen, were thus taking counsel in my library concerning adding to our numbers, we deemed it dutiful to Jesus, our great Head, to pray for the guidance of His better wisdom; and we were answered in the message of the Lord to cry for life, for living stones, which the great Builder Himself would place in His house. In obedience to this word, we resolved to meet weekly, and call upon the Lord. At one of these meetings being led again to this subject - for the flock was very numerous, not fewer than five or six hundred - the Lord answered, and said, Choose out men full of zeal for the house of God, and set them before the Lord, who are of a willing mind to serve the Lord. Which we forthwith addressed ourselves to obey; but had not finished our selection until the Lord checked us, with words expressive of His grief over the unpreparedness, the deadness, that there was among us; rebuking us also very sharply for the dishonour which we had brought upon His name, and again calling upon us to humble ourselves, and cry to Him for the quickening of life in the midst of the flock - insomuch that we desisted, and resolved to go no further without the express word of the Lord. I remember that I was greatly distressed in
spirit after this meeting, by the apparent encouragement and discouragement at one and the same time; but I soon came to see that this is the way of the Lord - to call us to a duty, and then to stay us until we have obtained from Him the charges for performing the duty. It is also worthy of remark, that every name which at that meeting was proposed amongst us, hath since been accepted of the Lord, without one single exception that I can think of; one for apostleship, one for the angel of another church, the others for elders or deacons; which shews that the Lord's rebuke proceeded not from our unfaithfulness in counsel, but from the Holy Ghost's office to reprove all men of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment to come; also because the times and seasons are in the Father's hand, and we must wait His pleasure, not presume to do His work in our own time, any more than in our own way. From this time forth I took no steps, save that I reported to the people these things, and asked such of them as desired to serve the Lord in these offices to mention it to me privately: one of the flock did so, and he hath been since chosen by the word of prophecy in the midst of the great congregation; another I was told was constrained in his private prayers to cry out that he might serve the Lord as a deacon, and he also hath been accepted of the Lord with words of singular grace. But, abiding by my purpose, we were content to watch over the church the best way we could; to commit it to the good Shepherd, and to cry to Him for living men, whom he might set in the charges of His house. Yet was I sore pressed in spirit by the insufficient oversight of the flock; and perceiving two men of the flock to be of a very excellent spirit, and disengaged from other duties, I ventured to propose them to my two elders as proper persons for helping them in their labours. All being agreed that they were worthy, and they also being willing, I required them to attend at our weekly meetings; and while I was propounding the matter in order, the Lord broke in with His word, and said that He set them as helps, and gave them a charge to feed the flock, in subjection to the elders. Until this moment I had never formed an idea of what the ministry of "Helps" did mean, which the Lord hath since constituted a standing order in His house; one of the three bowls in the branches of the candlestick. But the Lord would not suffer these helps to assist at the communion till after they had been ordained; and one day, when they were seated in the seats of office, to the exclusion of one of the deacons, the Lord by His own voice rebuked it, before all the people, saying, "Let not the unordained take the place of the ordained, but let them wait." And in many other ways did the Lord manifest
His jealousy concerning ordination, both preserving the things that remained, and encouraging us to look forward to better things about to be given. Also from time to time the Lord called one to be an elder; and another He called, ordained, and sent forth, as an evangelist; but nothing was said or done in the matter of deacons for seven or eight months: during which time the whole burden lay upon the shoulders of David Ker, whom the Lord hath since set to be the head of the deacons; for Mr. Henderson was in poor health, and barely able to wait on public worship. The way the Lord took to revive the matter of the deacons was very remarkable and instructive.

There was a society in the church of charitable and godly women, who yearly, about the setting in of the winter, were wont to combine their charity and their labour together, providing clothes and other comforts for the poor; and the time drew near for the re-commencement of their labours. I had always felt a doubt as to the propriety of this in a church; and felt that, so far as the poor of the flock went, it should be done by deacons, or deaconesses, as in the primitive church; and with respect to those without, I perceived their charity did little good, in proportion to the means expended. But yet I would not stop nor discountenance it, but left this, as every thing else, in the hand of the Lord.

At this time I was sore troubled in spirit for the poor of my flock, who came to me, and I was not able to visit or help them; insomuch that I was constrained as in an agony to cry out for deacons, and to engage myself to live on bread and water, and share all with the deacons, if the Lord would only grant me them for the poor of His house. A few days after this came the meeting of the ladies to provide the poor for the coming winter. They were to meet at the house of a lady who took a great charge of it, and my wife was to go to preside; but not being able, I asked a matron, to whom the Lord hath given the word of the Spirit, to take her place; and she waited, with another of the gifted sisters, in my parlour, while I went to my study to write a letter to the ladies. Moved by the Spirit, they came to me there, and the elder of them was made with sign of tongues to declare to me that the Lord loved not these confederacies; that He would not only bring forth the gift for His church; but also give persons to minister the gift. This comforted me very much; and when I was explaining what had been said in my letter, still intending to send it through their hands, the Lord shewed me farther, by his other handmaiden, that it belonged to me to minister His word, and added much encouragement; whence I gathered that it was His mind I should communicate to the ladies the words which He had spoke. So I postponed the meeting till I
could preside myself; and early brought it about that this way of administering charity should be given up amongst us; and we were again shut up to the necessity of crying for deacons and deaconesses; and meanwhile we made the best use we could of what had been prepared.

Shortly after this, at our weekly meeting of the session, the Lord spake by the mouth of His servant the apostle, saying, It is the pleasure of the Lord that ye choose deacons: the Lord Himself will name the elders, but it belongs to the elders to choose the deacons. When we had prayed for unity of mind with the Lord Jesus and with one another, we proceeded about the work whereunto we had been called by the Holy Ghost; and we speedily found ourselves to be of one mind in respect to eight men; whom having named over, one by one, the Lord said, 'It is the mind of the Lord that Mr. Trimer wait a while,' which we received as an acceptance of the other seven. I then recounted, in the hearing of the brethren, the custom of the church to present their names before the people, and require any who might object to them to lodge their objections before the elders; but the Lord signified with a strong hand, that it belonged to us to choose them; and I did accordingly set them next day before the people, as men chosen of us and accepted of the Lord, for they were all willing to use the office; and I asked the people to signify their acceptance of them by rising up, which they also very readily and thankfully did. Nevertheless I heard that the orders of the Lord in this matter were a stumbling-block to one of the flock, and it was not without certain trouble to myself, when I considered the order taken by the Apostles in the church of Jerusalem: but, having the fullest confidence in the word and wisdom of the Lord, and perceiving also that it was given into the hands of Titus to ordain elders, and much more deacons, in every city; and considering the changed circumstances of the church; I was contented, yea, and glad to obey the directions of the Lord, perceiving ever the holiness and goodness of His own mind in every word which He spoke. There were now nine deacons, and, as it appears in the sequel, there ought only to be seven; but the Lord had His own uses for the men, and opened His mind as we were able to bear it. As the time drew near for the ordinance of elders, I think it was the very morning after my ordination to be angel of the church, when we were assembled together, the Lord moved His servant the apostle to go up to one and another and another of the deacons, saying to them, The Lord calleth thee to be an help, which left but six deacons; indeed, there were but five, for one of them, Mr. Henderson, had been called
to the eldership on the night of my ordination. On the morning of the ordination of elders, before the service began, the Lord by prophecy called a help and a deacon from the midst of the congregation. But there still lacked one of the number which the Lord had taught us by express utterance was the proper number. So being assembled in session on Saturday the 20th of this month, after we had gone over the names of those who during the week had applied for communion, the Holy Ghost said, 'It is the mind of the Lord ye should choose a Deacon;' wherefore I gave forth the name of him whom the Lord had desired to wait; unto whom all the elders heartily consenting; and having with prayer presented him to the Lord, the Lord said that He accepted the service of His servant, who was also willing to serve his God. This was by the mouth of the apostle: then there came forth a word from the mouth of the prophet, that the Lord would have them ordained this night by the laying on of my hands and the hands of the six elders; after which I should give them a charge, and then bring them to the apostle, that they might receive his blessing. On a former occasion by the mouth of the apostle it had been said, The order of the Lord in the ordination of the elders is, that the hands of the apostle be laid upon them; then the hands of the angel of the church; then that the angel of the church with his elders do lay hands on the deacons, and bring them to the apostle that he may lay his hands on them. So far as my part and mine elders' in the action was concerned, it was precisely the same in both utterances; and whether the apostle's blessing would be conveyed by the imposition of hands I could not say, but left it with the Lord. When the evening was come, and the people assembled; after we had offered our usual worship, I began to open to them what had been done in the morning; and having called Mr. Trimer, and asked him of his willingness, and found him heartily assenting, proceeded to the ordination, by singing the xvth Psalm, then reading the lvth chapter of Nehemiah and the vth of Acts; during which I required the seven men to kneel on either hand of me, before the elders, at the top of the steps, in the face of all the people. Then, after solemn prayer for the presence and power of the great Head of the church, I called them, one by one, to kneel on the little elevated platform on which the desk or altar stands; around which stood the elders; and by the laying on of our hands we gave them power and authority to fill the office of a deacon, with charges and a benediction. Then they descended the steps and stood before me; and I charged them, from the words of Paul,
I Tim. iii. 14, opening each grace and duty in order.
And this done I called them one by one up the steps, to receive the blessing of the apostle, who stepped forth before the elders to receive them as they came. They stood in the same order in which they had been ordained, wherein I was guided chiefly by the period of their connection with the church. I felt, while I was taking this principle, that it was not the true one, and that I ought to have left myself in the hands of the Spirit; but of one thing I felt no doubt, that David Ker, who had served so laboriously, should have the first place. He did accordingly come up first to receive the benediction of the apostle, who, being in the act of giving it in the power of the Spirit, was carried out suddenly into greater power, and made to set him head over the deacons, and to give him a charge of his brethren.
Then, having named the next in order as they had been ordained and stood before me, the word of the Lord came, saying, 'It is the mind of the Lord that His servant Inglis come,' who was fifth in order. He was the same who had been constrained of the Spirit to pray that he might be set a deacon. As he came up the steps the Lord promised him that he should yet be called to a higher ministry, and blessed him with a great blessing.
Then He said, It is the mind of the Lord that His servant Wallis come next - (he is one of the evangelists, for I perceive that the evangelists are taken from the angel, the deacons, the helps, and the people indiscriminately) - who having received His abundant blessing, descended. And now there was a long pause, for He named no other; and I, seeing the Lord took His own order, dared not to meddle, until the apostle said to me, 'I have no more word;' whereupon I called the rest in the order in which they had been ordained. Mr. Stevenson, the architect of the house, who was indeed guided in his work of the Lord, after his blessing he was charged to be enlarged.
Then came John Carlyle, the cousin of Warrand, my brother-in-law, one who for ten years has been the most diligent unobtrusive lover and helper of the poor, stealing out at all hours, when his work is done, to visit them. The Lord did reward him openly, receiving him thus: the Lord loveth thee, the Lord delighteth in thee; and, dismissing him, Go in peace, thou blessed of the Lord; also promising that the Lord would advance him. Then came Thomas Svill, whom the Lord blessed and charged to be faithful; and, finally, Mr. Trimer, who had waited, and had helped Mr. Ker much: he had also gone out preaching in the streets, and stood a very patient and faithful witness for the love of God to all, against one
who was controversially given. Him the Lord received with great enlargement of love, promising to send him forth as an evangelist; in the mean time requiring him to use the office faithfully, and abide in his calling. These benedictions, like the benedictions, or rather the ordination words, of the elders, were very glorious, full of grace and love and goodness, reminding me of nothing so much as the words to the Angels of the church, so full of encouragement and blessing. It hath been observed to me since that the words to each of the elders were characteristic, not only of them as persons, but had in them a certain diversity of gift. To the first on my right, obedience, with rule; to the second, holiness, and an example to the flock; to the third, light; to the first on my left hand, power; to the second, love; to the third, wisdom. To the first of the helps the Lord said, that He had other work for him; to the third, that He had filled his heart with love. And so spake He words of His own most gracious heart to all the servants of His house, which I thus delight to record as they are brought to my remembrance. When the deacons had been ordained, charged, and blessed, and stood again at the foot of the steps, the apostle still standing at the head thereof, he was made in the Spirit to speak words of great light, touching the thing that had been done; declaring that they had not been ordained by the laying on of his hands, and that they were not filled with the heavenly gifts, because there was not yet a church filled with the Spirit to choose deacons; that this should yet be; that the whole church should be filled with the Spirit, and should choose deacons; and that the deacons should then be ordained, and be filled with all the gifts of the Spirit. Meanwhile the Lord's mind was to prepare the people for receiving the Spirit by the teaching of the elders whom He had ordained, and through whom He would surely minister His word unto them; that the deacons were, as it were, the hands of the congregation, to receive the word of God from the mouth of the eldership; and to convey it to the people in their goings out and in amongst them. The idea conveyed to my mind was as if the deacons were the vessels put forth from the congregation to receive the heavenly gifts conveyed by God through the eldership; as it were, the hands of the needy people stretched out to receive the treasures of goodness which the Lord, through the stewards of His mysteries, was minded to give the congregation. Into this matter I do not enter further than as it was expressed; which having ministered and applied unto the people, we praised the Lord, and gave Him thanks; and
having commended all the people to His keeping, we blessed them and parted.

And thus have you a true narrative of God's way of ordaining His house with an angel, elders, helps, deacons, prophet, and evangelists; all which may the Lord enable you to receive with faith and love and to render thanks for His wonderful doings in the midst of us.

Nevertheless we are a most unprofitable people, as I now go on to relate, in the removal of my dear babe Ebenezer, who now lies in the adjoining room laid out for his burial. Oh, he is such a monument of our unbelief! The Lord hath, indeed, shewn us the nakedness of the church, and brought us to the dust. We offered him to the Lord the very night we took possession of this church, into which we were brought by the word of prophecy; and we named him our Ebenezer, our stone of help; and the very night the elders first ministered to the people in their places, last Sabbath, they came up with one accord to pray for him, nor departed until the Lord had taken him, and refused to give him back to our prayers. He was a child filled with the beauty of God from his mother's womb: peace, patience, and joy, and boundless love, were in all his ways, until about the time I was cast out by the church; when he was smitten with a gradual fading away, and never smiled again. After I returned he never smiled; and before he never but smiled: and now he lieth in peace, like one whose spirit is in the arms of Jesus. And yet I can see the Lord's goodness to me and the elders, and the church - for we are one - in taking the child, rather than healing or returning him. We cannot bear it, brother. We must be humbled far lower yet, before we can receive power from on high. I would not have it otherwise; save that I might be exercised, and my flock, as the Lord would have us be. O, brother, pray for us, for we have a direful conflict before us. The humblest shall fare the best in the fiery fight."
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IX.

AMERICAN ANGELS' TESTIMONY.

"To all who profess the Faith of Christ, and have been Baptized into the Name of the Holy Trinity; and especially to those who are fulfilling offices of Ministry in all parts of the Church of Christ: -

BRETHREN:

The object of this address is to call the attention of all who have at heart the glory of God, and the honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, to a work which the Lord by His Spirit is now doing in the midst of His Church. God has promised (Is. 59:19) that "when the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against him." The time has come for this promise to be fulfilled, for a fearful crisis has plainly arrived in the moral and spiritual condition of all Christian nations, from which there can be no deliverance except by God's special interposition.

The ties which have formerly bound society together, are growing weak and breaking asunder, and confusion and perplexity increase on every side. The spirit of obedience is decaying; men are becoming more and more self-willed and defiant of restraint; and Government has well nigh ceased to be looked on as an ordinance of God, which is to be administered in His faith and fear, and submitted to for conscience' sake. Rulers are treated with contempt and derision, as if they were clothed with no Divine authority, but were the mere tools of a party; lawless mobs usurp the most sacred functions of justice; the holy order and peace which were once seen in Christian households, are passing away, and the words of the Prophet are fulfilled, "The child shall behave himself proudly against the ancient, and the base against the honourable."

Along with the prostration of authority, we see a general relaxation of morals, and a frightful increase of crime in the most unnatural forms. Juvenile offences are multiplying; the young growing up ungovernable, because unrestrained, are swept away by every evil influence, and give promise of a manhood ripe for all wickedness.

Marriage, the fundamental ordinance of Christian society, is losing its sanctity, and the licentious spirit of the age is breaking down, one by one, all
those restraints upon divorce which the Law of God requires, and the holy fear of former generations had provided.

The decay of integrity is seen in unfaithfulness to trusts, in the embezzlement of public funds - even those given to religious uses - in dishonest practices in trade, and in the gigantic frauds which accompany the extravagant and reckless speculations of the day; evils which are aggravated by the malignant warfare waged on every great social institution and interest, by men whose only strength is to destroy.

All attempts by legislation to put a curb upon the increasing lawlessness and demoralization, are either wholly fruitless, or have but a short-lived success; and the description of the world before the flood is becoming applicable to us in these last days of the Christian Dispensation: "The earth was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence." Corruption and violence; the decay of every sound principle, and the increase of cruel and lawless deeds, too surely characterize the present time.

And if we turn to the Church, in which, as the Divinely appointed teacher of men, there should be found a remedy for these evils, the prospect is equally dark and hopeless. It is incapable of fulfilling its work as the One Body of Christ, for it is rent asunder by innumerable schisms. While the Greek and Roman divisions still disown and excommunicate each other, as they have done for centuries past, the Protestant sects are constantly breaking in pieces through strifes about doctrines, or merely political and social questions, which they have no power to settle with the wisdom and authority of Christ.

The great mysteries of Christianity are also losing their hold upon the faith of the people, while the foundations of moral responsibility are sapped amongst the most intellectual classes, by the denial of conscience, of the reality of sin, and even of the existence of a living personal God. There is a fierce struggle to put away the humbling fact of Redemption through the death and resurrection of the Incarnate Son of God; and every flattering delusion which would wipe out the consciousness of guilt, and make man sufficient to himself, sweeps over Christendom like a pestilence. Spiritualism, which is no mere imposture, nor new discovery of natural laws, nor revelations by the spirits of departed men, but the work of Satan seeking to set the ordinances of Hell in the earth, is drawing into its
snares men of all ranks and professions, and preparing
the way for some new and fearful development of wicked-
ness.

With the decay of faith, the Church is sinking more
and more into a mere earthly institution. Whatever
partial reviving there may be here and there, Christian
ordinances are, by the masses of the baptized, ceasing
to be regarded as channels of supernatural life and
blessing, and the ministers of Christ are being stripped
of their spiritual authority, and degraded into mere
hirelings of the people. The hearts of faithful pastors
are burdened, and their labors made unprofitable, by the
growing restlessness and insubordination of their flocks;
while the few who would gladly receive guidance as from
God, know not where to find it. A drought is upon the
fountains, and the sheep, wandering to find pasture, fall
an easy prey to the seductions of wicked spirits.

In proof of this, we need only point to Mormonism,
a Satanic mockery of the Church, which has changed the
Christian faith and morals into doctrines of devils and
worse than pagan pollutions; and while gathering its
disciples from every quarter of the globe, has on this
continent been suffered to grow into an organized
political power - a part of the national polity - on the
ground that government has nothing to do with religion;
a sign that Jesus Christ is not acknowledged as the Prince
of the kings of the earth.

But dark as is the prospect to man's eye, God has
not forsaken His Church; and as in former ages He has
always been ready with His help when all human possibility
of deliverance had failed, so has it been now in this time
of perplexity and peril. The Spirit of the Lord is
lifting up the promised "standard," and restoring and
rebuilding His sanctuary according to His own unchange-
able purpose.

When the Church was first formed by the descent of
the Holy Ghost from the Head in the heavens, the Lord
Jesus Christ, He gave to it (Eph. iv: 11-13) "Apostles,
Prophets, Evangelists, and Pastors and Teachers," as the
necessary forms of ministry for the growth and perfecting
of the whole Body. Of these, Apostles and Prophets were
the first and most essential - the foundations of the
spiritual building - for it was by Apostolic wisdom and
authority that the Church was guided, and by Prophetic
revelations that it was filled with the light of God.

There was then One Body, with one Divine organization;
one Baptism, by which all who believed were engrafted into
Christ, and made partakers of His new life; one Faith, for all abode steadfastly in the doctrine of the Apostles; one Hope, the hope of the resurrection and of the glory of the Kingdom; one Lord, who ruled in His ministers, and thus bound all the faithful into visible unity; and one Spirit, who manifested Himself in manifold gifts.

Why it was that this Divine constitution was lost, we do not stop to inquire (only we may be sure that the sin lay at man's door); but our witness to you, dear Brethren, is that God is beginning to restore it by giving Apostles and Prophets again, according to His promise (Is. 1: 25-26): "I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy counsellors as at the beginning."

It was in the year 1830, that, in answer to the prayers of many who were sorrowing over the desolations of Zion, and longing for the special outpouring of the Holy Ghost, the gift of Prophecy was revived in Scotland. The mouths of some pious persons were opened in supernatural utterance, and these words of the Comforter were, as St. Paul described them to the Corinthians (I Cor. 14:3), "unto edification, and exhortation, and comfort;" full of light as to the mysteries of God contained in Holy Scripture, and of power to search the deepest recesses of the heart. The following year, there were similar manifestations of the Spirit in England, and thousands of devout persons who had been "waiting for the consolation of Israel," were filled with joy that the voice of the Holy Ghost was again heard in the Church.

The next step in this work of restoration was the calling of Apostles. As Paul was made an Apostle by the immediate act of Christ, after His ascension to Heaven, without the intervention of men, and pointed out as such to the Church by prophetic revelations (Acts 13: 1-3), so has it been now. The office of Apostle has been again committed to faithful men, as it was in the beginning, and as it could not be continued by any law of succession; for this distinguishes the Apostolic office from every other, that it is "not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father, who raised Him from the dead." (Gal. 1: 1.)

The Apostles thus called, and attested by the Holy Ghost speaking in the Church, have been fulfilling their ministry in different countries, and there are now Churches which have received their organization from them, and are under their care, in England, Scotland, and Ireland; in North Germany, France, and Switzerland; and in the United States, and in Canada.
We, Brethren, who now address you, are of those who have received them as the Apostles of the Lord Jesus Christ, and have been the subjects of their ministry; and we come to you to testify, in all faithfulness and brotherly love, of the fruits of this work of the Lord as we have proved it in our own experience. But we would first remind you that the Church is One, embracing all the Baptized, without distinction of names; for it is in Baptism that we are separated from the world, and made members of the Body of Christ. Nor has God ever cast it off, notwithstanding all its sins and corruptions, but has been with it in every age as He promised, and has preserved its priesthood, ministry, and sacraments from extinction. His work now is not the building of a new Church, but the rebuilding of that which has become ruined and desolate. And when those who receive His Apostles are gathered into separate congregations, it is not done in the spirit, nor on the principles, of schism, as denying the Christian standing of their brethren, or cutting them off from Christian fellowship, but because in no other way can the true order of the Lord's house be seen. Churches ordered by Apostles, and enriched by them with spiritual blessings, must be their letters of commendation.

We ask you, then, Brethren, to look at what the Lord has done by them, and, as wise men, judge them by their fruits; remembering that it is by spiritual tests that such a work is to be tried. To the carnal Jews, and to the sensual Heathen, God appealed by miraculous signs. To us who are regenerate in Christ, and have received the Holy Ghost, He speaks as to the spiritual, calling us to discern His truth and grace in the words and works of those whom He hath sent.

The Catholic Faith, "the faith once delivered to the saints," as the same is set forth in the three ancient Creeds of the Church, the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian, is taught in all its fulness and integrity; and especially has the great truth of the Incarnation - GOD MADE MAN - with its relations to all the promises, ordinances, and sacraments of the Gospel, been rescued from neglect, and made the centre of a living theology.

The true order and government of the Church according to its original constitution, has been restored. With Apostles, are associated Prophets, Evangelists, and Pastors, constituting the fourfold ministry for the universal Church, by which the Lord would bind into ONE, and carry on to perfection, all His Saints.
Each fully organized congregation has also its Angel (Bishop or chief Pastor), with Priests and Deacons under him; and as the fourfoldness of the ministry is not accidental, but essential, being based on natural and permanent diversities of character to which the gifts of the Spirit correspond, in every Church where the grace of God is sufficiently developed for it, and the number of communicants will allow, there are priests having respectively the place of the elder, the prophet, the evangelist, and the pastor.

The important distinction between Priesthood and Deaconship (almost obliterated elsewhere), has been fully brought out. The Priests, having been called by the Holy Ghost through Prophets, are ordained by Apostles to take the spiritual oversight of the flock. The Deacons, having been chosen by the congregation, are blessed by the Apostles to be the leaders of the people in righteousness, and wise counsellors to them in worldly matters, and also to distribute the goods of the Church, and to preach the Gospel to the poor.

The Holy Eucharist is celebrated every Lord's Day, and there is worship every morning and evening after the order typified by the Law of Moses, which was "a shadow of good things to come."

By the laying on of the Apostles' hands, the Lord is again fulfilling His office as the Baptizer with the Holy Ghost, and sealing His people with the Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance.

We have been taught the duty of paying tithes to Christ, as the Possessor of heaven and earth, the Priest after the order of Melchizedek, which He gives to His ministers, that they who wait at the Altar may be partakers of the Altar; and also that offerings be made, as God prospers us, for the maintenance of worship, the carrying forth of the Gospel, and the help of the needy.

The second and personal advent of the Lord, at which time the Saints departed shall be raised from the dead, and the living shall be changed, is held up as the ONE GREAT HOPE, towards which we are to press forward, and to plead with God for its speedy fulfilment.

And now if we are asked what spiritual blessings we have received from this Divine work, this is our answer:

The rule of Christ over His Church has become to us a reality, and the fruits of its exercise by Apostles, have been holy order and peace united with Christian liberty.

We have been delivered from sectarian prejudices, and have learned to seek the blessing of all the Baptized
as one with us in the Body of Christ. Gathered from
almost every division of Protestants, and also from the
Church of Rome (in which some of us were not only reared,
but admitted to the priesthood), we have found the rule
of Apostles effectual to bind us into one, and their
doctrine to embrace and reconcile all fragments of truth.

We have been made to realize, as we never did before,
the presence of the Holy Ghost in the Church as a Person,
and not a mere Divine influence. Our hearts have been
searched and comforted, and our spirits quickened, by
His voice; and the psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs
which have been poured forth by His inspiration, have
brought to us holy refreshment and joy.

We have been taught that worship is the highest act
of the creature, which Christ Himself, as our great High
Priest, now fulfils in heaven. For the Church is a
"holy priesthood," whose duty it is to offer "spiritual
sacrifices" upon the earth, as the Son of Man does at the
golden altar before the throne. We have learned from
Apostles to worship in the beauty of holiness, with
reverence and sobriety and joy, through the power of the
Holy Ghost, and in the order which the Lord Himself has
prescribed.

By the revival of the hope of the Lord's coming,
which illumines all teaching and enlivens all worship,
we have been made to look up, and lift up our heads, in
the midst of the increasing agitations and troubles of
society, because our redemption draweth nigh.

God is thus delivering His people from the perplexities
in which they are involved, and solving the problems which
have so long vexed the Church.

Here the highest spiritual authority is united with
the fullest recognition of the rights of the Christian
people.

Apostolic rule has been found an effectual safeguard
against fanaticism; and the hope of the Lord's coming,
and the supernatural manifestations of the Holy Ghost,
are seen in connection with sobriety of spirit and
godliness of life.

Faith in the reality of sacraments, as channels of
Divine grace, goes hand in hand with the fullest preach-
ing of the Gospel, and the freest workings of spiritual
life.

Here is unity, not by the usurpations of the Papacy,
nor by human compromises and alliances, but by the
manifestation of the Headship of Christ over His Church
in living Apostles, with both the power and the wisdom
to rule.

Here is worship, purely Scriptural in its order and
spirit, while combining the substance of all that is
good in all the Rituals of the Church, Greek, Roman,
and Protestant.

And here the ministers of Christ are supported
without making merchandise of the house of God, or
resorting to crafty devices to entice those who would
not give with a pure conscience.

Such, dear Brethren, is a brief statement of the
work which God is now doing by His Apostles, for the
consolation and guidance of the whole Christian Church.
They have been restored to minister the grace of our
Lord Jesus Christ to all that will receive it; to
cherish, uphold, and strengthen whatever remains of His
life and ordinances; to detect and remove the evil that
has come in; to re-unite the divided members of His
Body; and to build them up in truth and holiness, and
enrich them with all spiritual gifts, in preparation
for His Coming.

There is no mark of a Divine work which this does
not possess - sound doctrine, the fruits of godliness,
Catholicity, and also power; for though all the mighty
signs and wonders of the beginning are not yet seen,
because of the weak and diseased condition out of which
the Church is slowly rising, there has been no lack of
supernatural manifestations, attesting the presence of
the living God. The voice of the Holy Ghost in tongues
and prophesyings, the healing of the sick - sometimes
immediate and miraculous - and deliverances from the
possession of evil spirits, show the arm of the Lord
awaking, and are the pledges of the full restoration of
all spiritual gifts and endowments.

All things indicate that the end of this Dispen-
sation is now nigh at hand. On every side we see the
tokens of the breaking up of all social, political, and
ecclesiastical institutions. The long-suffering of
God with the nations of the Baptized, the people of the
Christian Covenant, is well nigh wearied out, and He is
arising to shake terribly the earth. Already we do
see the beginning of sorrows. The signs foretold by
our Lord (Luke 21: 26-27) are manifest to the eyes of
all; "the perplexity and distress of nations, the sea
and the waves roaring, men's hearts failing them for
fear, and for looking after those things which are coming
on the earth." The day of the Lord which was to be
"upon every high thing," is even now dawning; and He is
humbling the lofty looks of men, and making the haughti-
ness of men to be bowed down. He is laying His hand in
swift succession upon every idol which they have set up,
and bringing it low into the dust. All around the horizon, there are sure forebodings of a storm that shall wrap the whole world in darkness.

And there is to be, in the time of the end, a manifestation of wickedness beyond all that has been seen hitherto. The "mystery of iniquity" which has been working from the beginning, is yet to be revealed in that "wicked (lawless) one, whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders," and who shall exalt himself above all that is called God, and point himself out as God (2 Thes. 2).

The sin of past ages has been the corruption, not the rejection, of the truth. A deeper gulf of wickedness is now yawning in the path of the nations of Christendom. Lawlessness shall have its consummation in the rejection of God and His Anointed Son; and then shall be "the hour of temptation which is to come upon all the world to try them that dwell upon the earth."

From this fiery trial the Lord would exempt His Church, by making her ready for the revelation of His Son from heaven, that when He cometh, we may be caught away to meet Him, and be hidden with Him until the indignation be overpast" (Is. 26:20-21). And He restores His Apostles, that the Holy Ghost may again be given, and His servants be sealed with the seal of the living God as the first fruits of the harvest, while the angels are holding back the winds of judgment (Rev. 7,14).

As the building of the Ark was the appointed means of salvation from the flood, and as the ministry of John the Baptist prepared a people for the Lord at His first Coming, so now that God is about to send His Son the second time into the world, to establish His kingdom in righteousness, He is giving again His ancient ordinances, that there may be a refuge from the storm.

Fathers and Brethren, Ministers and members of the Church of Christ in all its divisions, rejoice with us in this work of deliverance which God is doing for your blessing; for the blessing of all His flock throughout the earth. Count not our testimony unworthy of regard, because we speak of what has been long forgotten - the supernatural manifestations of the Holy Ghost; but be willing to believe that the Lord is "bringing the blind by a way that they knew not, and leading them in paths that they had not known" (Is. 42:16). We know the sorrow and heaviness of heart, which many of you feel at the prostration of Divine authority; your weariness of the increasing confusion of the Churches, and of the strifes amongst brethren; and your longing for the reviving of spiritual life; and we tell you with the
confidence of those who have proved His work, that He has remembered His people in the day of their distress. He has come to the help of His whole Church, and has laid again the one foundation of Apostles and Prophets, "that all the building fitly framed together," and thus brought into closest communion with the living Corner Stone, may in Him "grow into a holy temple in the Lord." The fulness of the Holy Ghost cannot be given, so long as the order of Christ's house is broken down. No Revival of Religion can adequately meet the necessities of the Church, which does not restore her ordinances and ministries to their true place and efficiency. It is only in the Body of Christ, rightly knit together in all its parts by Divine joints and bands, that the Spirit of Christ can do His mightiest works.

Be not satisfied with any partial and transient religious awakening, but long for all spiritual blessings from Him who is the Head, "in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." Through the Holy Ghost, ministered by the laying-on of the hands of His Apostles, He would enrich you with every spiritual gift, and clothe you with His perfect armor. By their guidance and rule, He would defend you from the snares which are now fast gathering around the Church; and in their doctrine, He would give you the fullest discernment and assurance of the truth, and enable you to "prove what is that good and acceptable, and perfect will of God."

They seek not to separate pastors from their flocks, nor flocks from their pastors, for God "hateth putting away:" but they are sent on the eve of the great and dreadful day of the Lord, to "turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers" (Mal. 4:5-6), teaching all how to fulfil every natural and spiritual relationship unto the glory of the Father and His Son Jesus Christ. In receiving them, you will receive Him who sent them, the Apostle and High Priest of our profession; and He will prepare you for the revelation of His kingdom, and make you of the company of the first fruits unto God and the Lamb.

FROM THE CHURCHES GATHERED UNDER APOSTLES IN THE UNITED STATES AND IN CANADA.

April, 1858.
APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIII.

THE CASE OF SAMUEL H. ALLEN.

"Record of the Meeting of the Council, 17th March, 1880. Page 357, Church Record Book.

"Pursuant to letters missive a Congregational Council convened at the house of worship of the Congregational Church of Windsor Locks on the 17th day of March, 1880, at 10 o'clock a.m. to advise that church -

1st, As to their Ecclesiastical relations to the Catholic Apostolic Church, or the separate bodies of the same.

2nd, As to the position of such members of this Church as may have united with that body without separating themselves from this communion.

3rd, As to any incidental questions directly or indirectly arising from the above points.

Council was organized by the choice of Rev. A. E. P. Perkins, as Moderator, and Rev. J. C. Wilson, Scribe.

Prayer was offered by the Moderator.

(The following Churches were represented by their Ministers and in most cases a Deacon:

1st Congregational Church, Hartford
South Congregational Church, Springfield, Mass.
East Congregational Church, Ware, Mass.
The Congregational Church, Longmeadow, Mass.
2nd Congregational Church, Waterbury, Conn.
The Congregational Church, Greenwich, Mass.
The Congregational Church, Bloomfield, Conn.
" " " Poquonock, Conn.
" " " Windsor, Conn.)

The letter missive was read and by request of the Moderator, Rev. J.H. Goodell, as representative of the church more fully stated the questions on which they desired advice.

Motion was made and passed:

That any members of the Catholic Apostolic Church who are present be invited to make any statement to the Council which will tend to the purposes of information upon the subject brought before them for consideration. Rev. S. H. Allen being called upon to respond to this request declined because of the implication made that he was a member of the Catholic Apostolic Church any more than any other member of this church.

It was then voted, That any member of this church be invited to make any statement in regard to the
Catholic Apostolic Church.

Rev. S. H. Allen being called upon under this invitation responded by making such statements as he chose, and also answering questions from different members of the body...

It was voted, That any one who has any knowledge of the practical bearings of the matter under consideration be invited to communicate it.

Remarks were made under this invitation by different brethren present. And Rev. Mr. Allen answered other questions which were put to him by members of the Council. After which about 2 o'clock the Council voted to be by themselves.

After lengthy discussion the following Result of Council was adopted by unanimous vote:

The Council in view of the case presented before it, feel that an answer to the second question in the Letter Missive, is all that is practically necessary to the premises, and to this it would reply as follows:

That while we entertain a sincere respect for the Christian character of those representatives of the so-called Catholic Apostolic Church, whom we have known, and receive with satisfaction the testimony to the piety of those members of this church who have connected themselves with that body, yet we cannot but regard the adoption of the relations and responsibilities of that organization as almost necessarily of a divisive character and tending to scism, and therefore as justifying the church should it in the exercise of a kindly discretion deem it wise to do so, in withdrawing its watch and care, and feeling itself discharged of full responsibility of such members.

We would, however, earnestly recommend that previous to any such action, faithful efforts to convince of error, and to reclaim to full allegiance be made with such persons.
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The Unknown Tongues discovered to be English, Spanish, and Latin; and The Rev. Edward Irving proved to be erroneous in attributing their utterance to the influence of The Holy Spirit. Also a Private Arrangement in his Closet, Previous to a Prayer Meeting and Consultation in the Vestry, to which the Writer was invited by Mr. Irving, because he believed him to be in "The Spirit", and prayed that he might receive the Gift of Interpretation. Various 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. "Holimoth holif awthaw" - GIFTED SISTER. Third Edition. (New Coll.Ed.) 36pp. London... (1831)

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By the Rev. John Simons, B.LL. Rector of Paul's Cray.
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BY John Simpson, For nearly thirty years Minister in the Methodist Connection. Printed from the edition of 1871.
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94pp. London... Liverpool... 1855.

(Tarbet, William)
The Signs of Apostleship. (A Sermon)
8pp. n. pl. n.d.

(Tarbet, William)
Remarks on Mr. Baxter's Narrative of Facts, characterising the Supernatural Manifestations in members of Mr. Irving's Congregation, and other individuals in England and Scotland, And formerly in the writer himself. In a Letter to a Friend. With an Appendix containing extracts of Letters from Individuals who are subjects of the Manifestations. (at New Coll. Edinburgh)
60pp. Liverpool... 1833

(Tarbet, William)
Catholicism. 15pp. London.. 1851.
(Tarbet, William)
Homilies on 'Spiritual Agency' 'Priesthood' 'Communion'
'The Dead in Christ'
27pp. London... 1851

(Tarbet, William)
The Mystery of the Woman, and of the Beast That
Carrieth her.
20pp. London... 1851.

(Tarbet, William)
Truth in Symbols. 6pp. Is evidently a homily on
I John 5:6. Concludes "Catholic Apostolic Church,
Canning Street, Liverpool." n.d.

(Tarbet, W. )
On Confession. 6pp. n. pl. (1851)

(Tarbet, W. )
Signs of Apostleship. 22pp. London.. 1852.

(Tarbet, W. )
Spirit Rapping and Spiritual Manifestations.
11pp. London... Liverpool... n.d.
(Signed "A Member of the Catholic Apostolic Church").

(Tarbet, W. )
Spiritualism, a Sign and Prelude of the Coming Judgment.
8pp. London and Liverpool... n.d.
(Concludes with signature "A Member of the Catholic
Apostolic Church.")

(Tarbet, W. )
Address to Prophetical Students in The Church of Rome;
on the Revelation of the Man of Sin, and the Coming
of the Lord. 36pp. London... 1856.

(Tarbet, W. )
Mesmerism and Spiritual Agency.
32pp. London... 1852.

Testimony, The Great
To the Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and Others in
Places of Chief Rule over the Church of Christ Through­
out the Earth and to the Emperors, Kings, Sovereign
Princes, and Chief Governors over the Nation of the
Baptized. (Found as Appendix I in Miller's 'Irvingism')
pp. 347-436.)

Testimony Address - To His Grace the Archbishop of
Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan;
and the Other Archbishops and Bishops of the United
(over)
Church of England and Ireland. 84pp.  
(On fly leaf it says, "Delivered January 1836")

Thayer, D.H.  
(It is dated: Emfield, Conn. Oct. 1, 1878, at Hartford State Library.)

Thayer, David Haven  

(Thiersch, H.W.J.)  
The Order of Deaconship in the Christian Church: its Place and Duties. Translated from the German. Second Edition. 48pp. London... 1884

Thompson, J.  
The First Form of Prayer Issued to The Angels of the Churches by the Apostles. February 17th, 1838. (This is a copy of the original. Is a typewritten MS. of 4pp.)

Thoughts on the Great Duty of Prayer for the Outpouring of the Holy Spirit... (at New Coll. Edinburgh) 53pp. Calcutta.... 1859. (relates to views and happenings in India)

(Tudor, John)  

Vero-Catholicus, (pseud.)  
Address to the Female Members of the Church of Christ, in Toronto. 23pp. Toronto. 1837 (at Toronto Public Library)

(Waddell)  
The Obligation of the Church's Morning and Evening Service. 12pp. Dumfries... 1889.
Warfield, Benjamin B.

Counterfeit Miracles. New York. 1918
pp. 125-154 "Irvingite Gifts"; pp. 287-300 Appendix of Notes and Bibliography.

Warning to Christendom.
Summary of an Address upon the Second Coming of Our Lord, and the Impending Judgments; delivered in this place or neighbourhood, by an Evangelist serving under the Lord's Restored Apostles.
8pp. n. pl. 1895.

Whalley, A.C.
The Right Constitution of the Church, Sermon on.
Printed by Request.
20pp. Bath... 1869

Wilks, Washington
Edward Irving: An Ecclesiastical and Literary Biography.
287pp. London... 1854.

(Willis)
The Fourfold Ministry and the Fourfold Constitution of Man. (At top of left-hand corner of title page it has: Notes on the Liturgy.)
31pp. Glasgow... 1902.

(Willis)
Morning and Evening Prayer as set in order by the Apostles. Second Edition. (Consists of Chart and a 16p. pamphlet of 'Notes on Chart 2') n. pl. n.d.

(Willis)
The Prayer of Dedication and the Interpretation of the Burnt Offering. (At top left-hand corner it has: Notes on the Liturgy.)
22pp. n. pl. n.d.

(Woodhouse, F.V.)
143pp. n. pl. (1885) (Book extremely scarce)
(Woodhouse, F.V.)
Socialism and Temperance Societies... With some additional Remarks on the So-called "Salvation Army."
16pp. London... 1883.

(Woodhouse, F.V.)
The Census and The Catholic Apostolic Church.
16pp. London... 1854.

Woodhouse, F.V.
of considerable importance, as will be seen when we consider the crisis that came about. There was the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at Albury every Lord's Day, while in the London Churches it was to be a monthly celebration, the last of which took place in June, 1836.

IV. The Rest of the Apostles.

A description may here be given of the rest of the men who were called to be Apostles together with the territories, or, as they were called, 'tribes', of which they had the oversight, in accordance with the plan accepted in 1836. (see p.17)

1. Spencer Perceval, the eldest son of the Premier, who was shot in the House of Commons. He had been a member of the Albury Conferences, and it was a governess in his home - Miss Hall - who was one of the early gifted speakers, and who also admitted to feigning utterances. He had been in Parliament himself before becoming an Apostle, but, unlike Drummond, he did not seek re-election. His 'tribe' was Italy, though little result came thence, and the 'sealing' was far short of the required 12,000. It was he who had prepared and delivered the Testimony to King William IV., and by him, as well as another Apostle, Drummond, it had been given to each of the Privy Councillors. The Testimony of 1838
Emperor of Austria, his area or 'tribe' being Austria and South Germany (Reuben). Austria, however, was an unfruitful field, and Woodhouse was mainly the assistant of Cardale in the United States and Canada. He paid visits in 1839 (Narrative, 81) 1844 (Chronicle, 34) 1846 (Chronicle, 35) and subsequently he met with some success as is shewn in the "Life of W. W. Andrews."

His chief work is a "Narrative of Events, affecting the position and prospects of the whole Christian Church," with a second part down to 1885. It is for private circulation, and therefore many things which a historian might otherwise demand are not there given. He was the longest lived of the Apostles, and when Mr. Cardale died in 1877 he was the only Apostle, as Mr. Armstrong was incapacitated, and he exercised his office by means of coadjutors, Mr. Caird being the one for America. He held broader views than are customary to-day in that Church regarding the Lord's Supper. He laid down the principle that "every baptized person has a right to the Lord's Supper, and if he desires to receive it and is neither a heretic nor of ungodly life, we have no right to exclude him... And not only is there no principle on which we can exclude any man or woman, but it is our privilege and duty to seek to partake of the communion with our fellow Christians." 22

Prayer of Oblation after Consecration.
Incense Anthem (not used now)
Commemoration of the Living
Prayer for the Angels of the Churches, and the Rest of the Ministry
Prayer for the Bishop of the Catholic Church, and then Clergy, and all in any Holy Office.
Especially for the Bishop and Clergy of this Diocese
Sundry Prayers
Commemoration of the Departed (note Roman Catholic influence)
Patriarchs: John the Baptist
Virgin Mary
Angels
Apostles, Prophets and the Rest of the Clergy
Those who have received the Truth these last Times.
Prayer: Hasten, oh God, the Time.

Christ our Passover
"We do not presume to"
Agnus Dei
"Lord Jesus Christ" Prayer (Greek influence)
O Holy Ghost
Sancta Sanctio (Greek) - "Holy things to Holy Persons"
The Peace

Communion
Anthem (Post Communion) "The Lord hath chosen Zion"
Post Communion Prayers
Te Deum 10
Benediction.

The Sacrament is reserved during the week, until a new consecration takes place. It is the Lord's will that the Holy Symbols should be used not only in Communion but at all times of prayer and intercession.11 The Sacrament ought always to be upon the altar before the

10. No/Commandments as in the Church of England Prayer Book.
Lord in the case of all services anti-typical to those used in the law, as the "Shewbread" was in the Tabernacle. It will be noticed that this is practically the Eastern "Mass of the Presanctified." In the Roman Church and Churches in sympathy with it, the reservation is for adoration and for exposition of the sacrament. In the "Catholic Apostolic" Church there is no worship given to the Sacrament, and it is rather for "proposition" before the Lord. The Sacrifice can be consecrated only on the altar in the midst of the congregation, and solemnly and publicly is offered by people and priest in their presence. From this same Sacrament which was offered on the one altar the sick have a right to partake, seeing they are partakers of the one bread.

The danger of idolatry was early perceived, but is guarded against by explicit words to that effect. At the Forenoon Service, 10 a.m. this reservation and "proposition" is concluded, because there is a new consecration. The removal of the old from the Tabernacle on the Altar is accompanied by the following prayer:

"Lord, we draw near to thy Presence to remove from thine altar these holy symbols, the sacrament of thy body and blood, the memorial of thy one sacrifice for sin. Thou hast vouchsafed to us here in thy presence, and nourished us with spiritual food. Under the veil of
Canada and the United States were used as one, and were part of Mr. Cardale's Tribe (Judah) though it was visited and cared for by Messrs. Woodhouse and Armstrong. It was through Canada that the movement came into the Continent, and it did so at a time of bitter political animosity. Its history is bound with Canadian unrest, with the work of the Church of England, and with the fortunes of the Methodists.

After 1791, when provision was made by the British Government in the Act of that year, it was assumed that the country would cause no difficulty. In that Act, however, one-seventh of the Crown Lands was set aside for the use of the Church of England; but they were surprised to find that from the first the Colonists disapproved of the principle of an Established Church. This was not sufficiently realised at the time. After 1783, when peace was established with the American Republic, there was a great influx of Americans into Canada. The complexion of the population was not fixed, and many of their ideas were derived, not from the Mother Country, but from the neighbour in the South. Then came the War of 1812, which had as one of its effects the ending of the connection with the United States, and it was the beginning of that Canadian Nationhood, which is distinct from American and even