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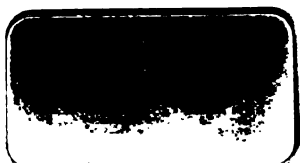
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48. 1401.













A QUESTION,

BY

M. A.



1

**ARE NOT THE CLERGY**

**ARRAYING THEMSELVES AGAINST**

**CHURCH AND QUEEN?**

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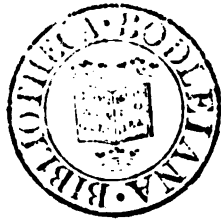
**A QUESTION, BY M. A.**

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**“ A blunder is worse than a crime.”—(Political maxims.)**

**SECOND EDITION.**

**LONDON:**  
**JAMES RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.**  
**1848.**



# ARE NOT THE CLERGY

ARRAYING THEMSELVES AGAINST

## CHURCH AND QUEEN?

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*London, December 6th, 1847.*

THE question that I have prefixed to these few pages, is one that I have asked myself so often during the last week, and have found the answer so serious and startling, that I cannot refrain from setting it before others at the present moment, in the hope that there may be some, into whose hands these pages may fall, who may be led at least to reflect, and consider—and pause.

An appointment has just been made by



the Crown to the See of Hereford. I at once grant much to those who disapprove it. I grant them, that it is to be regretted ; and that it must lead all Churchmen to wish that the First Minister of the Crown would always, in such matters, consult the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the time being. I grant them that it proves how needful it is that Convocation should at least *recommend* to the Crown those, from among whom the choice shall be finally made, so that at least every *candidate* for the office of Bishop, may be unexceptionable. All this I grant at once. But I cannot stop there. I must look a little further. The appointment *has* been made ; deliberately ; advisedly ; and how *can* it be set aside ? Those who are responsible for it, have considered that orthodoxy during ten years of public authority, have outweighed the errors

of an earlier date: that it is unfair to throw those errors now in the face of one who would *else* be an obvious candidate for a Bishopric: and that the University that once censured the ancient errors, has now tacitly withdrawn that censure by not repeating it.

Such is the state of things under which large bodies of Clergy, in various parts of the country, come forward to fetter the choice and authority of the Crown. Let me beg them to look a little further. What *can* the end of it all be? If it all fails, then surely they have done nothing more than show up to a censorious world, the spectacle of a Church divided against itself. But, say they, we shall succeed. How? Can the Minister of a great country openly declare that he makes his appointments so carelessly, that he can afford to un-make them? Impossible.

Lord John Russell must stand by his appointment, or resign his own situation. Is *that*, then, what they wish? It is absurd to suppose the present proceeding a mere indirect attack upon a Government. Well, then, what is to happen? Are protesting Bishops to go to the Tower? or to die on the floor of the House of Lords? Really, it is difficult to see how it is to end.

But, to take a more serious tone, it is *not* difficult to see, that the matter *may* come practically to a struggle between the Crown and the Clergy; and at this moment what *could* be more disastrous, whether the Clergy gain the day, or the Crown determine to disregard the voice of the Clergy? What can the issue be, but a fresh disunion between Church and State?—another link broken, of that chain so rashly, so blindly despised by some; and of which we lost *one* link already,

when we consented to an English Bishop shorn of his place in the House of Peers!

Why, then, this breathless Clergy zeal in a cause where, if the immediate object *were* gained, it were ill purchased by the concomitant revival of a persecution till now happily gone by? Persecution is an awful weapon for man to wield, at any time; but in the hands of many, *whose own present position in the English Church is one of sufferance only*, truly startling.

Will these hot-headed gentlemen believe that things *might* be worse? Will they condescend to learn that, during the last ten years, nothing has fallen from Dr. Hampden\*

\* I verily believe that St. Paul's own writings would not *bear* the process, which has been applied to Dr. Hampden's.—He, poor man, as he sits in his uneasy chair, how often must he wish himself,

“Some village-Hampden, that, with dauntless breast,  
“The *little* tyrant of his fields withstood.”

on which they can lay their finger? And may it not *possibly* happen that his teaching, as Bishop of Hereford, may be exactly what it has been ever since he became Regius Professor of Divinity? If so, they are raising a great commotion, and making many people very uncomfortable, to very little purpose.

*But alas! they are doing more.* They are disgusting a reasonable Laity, that neither agrees nor sympathizes with them. They are laying bare all the weak places of a distracted Church, that pants for healing and for peace. They are forcing a collision between the Crown and her Bishops. And they are lacerating the private feelings, and diminishing the public usefulness of a learned and amiable man. And all this! for an end that they *cannot* gain, and of which, I hope, they do not themselves see *the full sad consequences.*

Is *this* a course suitable in its temper and spirit to the present Advent season? Is it not rather enough to leave us, with *hearts failing us for fear?*

I trust there are some who may *yet pause.*

THE END.

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NORMAN AND SEEN, PRINTERS, MAIDEN LANE, COVENT GARDEN.



2

THE PRINCIPLES  
OF THE  
**ENGLISH CONSTITUTION**

IN  
**CHURCH AND STATE,**

TOUCHING  
THE ROYAL SUPREMACY, THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF CONVOCATION,  
AND THE PREROGATIVE OF THE CROWN  
REALLY TO APPOINT TO VACANT BISHOPRICKS, WITH THE AID AND  
ADVICE OF THE SPIRITUAL RULERS OF THE CHURCH;

COMPRISED IN THE FORM OF

**An Address to the Queen,**

WITH

**AN APPENDIX OF NOTES AND AUTHORITIES,**

IN WHICH IS CONTAINED

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE MODE OF APPOINTING BISHOPS BY THE  
SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND,  
FROM THE EARLIEST TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

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BY A  
LAY-MEMBER OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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LONDON:  
FRANCIS & JOHN RIVINGTON,  
ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD, AND WATERLOO PLACE.

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1848.



**LONDON:**  
**GILBERT & RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,**  
**ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.**



## PREFACE.

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THESE pages are offered to the public with the hope and intent that they may encourage the preparation of Addresses to the Throne, at the present crisis, from all parts of the kingdom, embracing both or either of the objects mentioned in the Form following, which is not meant to be actually adopted, being capable of considerable compression (particularly by referring to, instead of quoting Acts of Parliament), but to furnish materials from which others of a similar character may be composed.

All Addresses should be presented through Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department.

21st January, 1848.



## FORM OF ADDRESS.

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TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY, VICTORIA,  
BY THE GRACE OF GOD OF THE UNITED KINGDOM  
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND QUEEN, DE-  
FENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.

The humble Address of

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

WE your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the

of beg leave  
to approach your Majesty with the expression of our un-  
alterable attachment to your sacred Person (1)<sup>1</sup> and Office,  
recognizing therein the Representative (2) and Deputy (3) of  
the Majesty of the Most High, who "ruleth over all the  
kingdoms of the world, and disposeth of them according to  
His good pleasure (4)." In token of which Similitude and  
Vicegerency, the laws and constitution of this realm have  
bestowed on your Majesty great privileges, powers, and pre-  
rogatives, the chiefest whereof is that of being Supreme (5)  
Governor within your dominions over all persons, in all causes,  
as well ecclesiastical as temporal. Which supremacy the laws  
ecclesiastical, in the 37th of the Articles of Religion, con-

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix.

firmed (5<sup>a</sup>) by authority of Parliament, declare to be "such as hath been given always to all godly princes in Holy Scripture by God Himself;" and in the 2nd of the Canons (6) of 1603, to be "that which the godly kings had among the Jews (7), and Christian emperors (8) of the Primitive Church."

But as (in the language of the admirable writer on Ecclesiastical Polity) "God is a law unto Himself, and to all other things besides (9);" so according to the ancient maxims of this realm, "the king is under God and the law, for the law makes the king, and the king must therefore render unto the law what the law renders unto him, namely, domination and command (10)."

Trusting in these great and immutable principles, we most humbly venture to entreat your Majesty's gracious and serious consideration to some of the most eminent statutes made by your royal predecessors, and which have ever been held to be essential and fundamental parts of our glorious constitution.

The first statute of Magna Charta, confirmed by numerous acts in successive reigns, in which a curse (11) is denounced on them that break it, contains the following stipulation (12):—"First, we have granted to God, and by this our present Charter have confirmed for us and our heirs for ever, that the Church of England shall be free and shall have all her whole rights and liberties inviolable (13)." At a later period, when the ancient jurisdiction of the Crown over the State Ecclesiastical was restored, the Act passed in the 24th year of the reign of King Henry VIII. recites as follows: "Where by divers sundry old authentick histories and chronicles, it is manifestly declared and expressed, that this realm of England is an empire, and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and king, having the dignity and royal estate of the imperial crown of the same; unto whom a body politick, compact of all sorts and degrees of people, divided in terms, and by names of spirituality and temporality, been bounden and owen to bear, next to God, a natural and humble obedience; he being also institute and furnished, by the good-

ness and sufferance of Almighty God, with plenary, whole, and entire power, pre-eminence, authority, prerogative, and jurisdiction, to render and yield justice, and final determination to all manner of folk, residents or subjects within this his realm, in all causes, matters, debates, and contentions, happening to occur, insurge, or begin within the limits thereof, without restraint or provocation to any foreign princes or potentates of the world; the body spiritual whereof having power, when any cause of the law divine happened to come in question, or of spiritual learning, then it was declared, interpreted, and shewed by that part of the said body politick, called the spirituality, now being usually called the English Church, which always hath been reputed, and also found of that sort, that both for knowledge, integrity, and sufficiency of number, it hath been always thought, and is also at this hour, sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, to declare and determine all such doubts, and to administer all such offices and duties, as to their rooms spiritual doth appertain, for the due administration whereof, and to keep them from corruption and sinister affection, the king's most noble progenitors, and the antecedors of the nobles of this realm, have sufficiently endowed the said Church, both with honour and possessions; and the laws temporal, for trial of property of lands and goods, and for the conservation of the people of this realm in unity and peace, without rapine or spoil, was and yet is administered, adjudged, and executed by sundry judges and ministers of the other part of the said body politick, called the temporality; and both their authorities and jurisdictions do conjoin together in the due administration of justice the one to help the other (14)."

The first statute of the first year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and which by judicial (15) authority has been declared to be not a statute introductory of a new law, but declaratory of the old, after reciting that in the time of the reign of King Henry VIII. divers good laws and statutes were made, as well for the utter extinguishment and putting away of all

usurped and foreign powers and authorities out of this realm, as also for the restoring and uniting to the imperial crown of this realm the ancient jurisdictions, authorities, superiorities, and pre-eminences to the same of right belonging, revived the former statutes of King Henry VIII. which had been repealed by an Act of King Philip and Queen Mary, and abolishing all usurped foreign powers and authorities, restored and united all jurisdictions, privileges, superiorities and pre-eminences, spiritual and ecclesiastical, to the imperial crown of this realm.

After the dangers which had again threatened our Church in the reign of King James II., the Coronation Oath, of which the maintenance and protection of the rights of the ecclesiastical order had already (16) been a part, was altered to its present form by the first Act of the first year of the reign of King William and Queen Mary, whereby the king or queen is to swear, "That he will, to the utmost of his power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion established by law, and will preserve unto the Bishops and Clergy of this realm and the Churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do or shall appertain unto them."

And, lastly, by the Act of Union passed in the fifth year of the reign of Queen Anne, whereby the succession of the monarchy of the United Kingdom is limited to your Majesty's Illustrious House, a former statute of the same session is confirmed, by which the royal successors of Queen Anne are "to take and subscribe an oath to maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof as by law established."

Since the passing of the last of the above Acts, two changes in the administration of the affairs of the Church have taken place, deeply affecting her liberties and welfare, as guaranteed and protected by kings and parliaments, namely, the virtual (17) extinction of her ancient (18) Legislature (19) and Council (20), the Convocation of the Clergy, and the placing in

the hands of the Ministers of State the privilege of selecting her bishops, instead of their being, as formerly (21), really chosen by the Crown, under the advice and recommendation of the spiritual rulers of the Church.

To us it appears that the suppression of the Church's voice in Convocation, where it is constitutionally (22) required for the assistance of our legislators in matters of spiritual concern (they also being no longer necessarily members of our Church), is in direct derogation of the above-mentioned statute of King Henry VIII., which declares "That the spirituality always hath been reputed and found of that sort, that both for knowledge, integrity, and sufficiency of number, it hath been always thought, and is also at this hour, sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons, to declare and determine all such doubts, and to administer all such offices and duties as to their room spiritual doth appertain," and incompatible also with the aforesaid statute passed by Queen Elizabeth, which forbids "any matter or cause to be adjudged heresy, but such as (among others) thereafter should be judged or determined to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament of this realm with the assent of the clergy in their Convocation." Consistently with which spirit, in the reign of King William III., a Bill being brought into the House of Lords for the comprehension of Dissenters in the Church, the Commons threw it out, and addressed the king, requesting him to leave the subject to the Convocation (23) "to be advised with in ecclesiastical matters."

But however great may be the departure from the principles of our constitution in the virtual extinction of Convocation, no change either in its nature or consequences appears to us so calamitous and degrading to the Church, as that of her vacant bishoprics having become places of patronage for the Ministers of State, whereby the Crown is spoiled of one of its most precious prerogatives, and the power which was committed to it as a sacred trust for the Church's welfare, is



diverted for the personal or political interests of a Cabinet Minister.

The result (23<sup>a</sup>) of a careful investigation has shown, that, from the earliest ages of Christianity in England, down to the period of the papal usurpation, as well as since the time of the Reformation, until towards the middle of the last century, the king really as well as nominally appointed to ecclesiastical preferment, and that in the discharge of this sacred trust, the spiritual heads of the Church were habitually consulted on all important appointments. More particularly would we desire to bring before your Majesty's consideration the course adopted by your predecessor King William III., called in like manner as your Majesty's illustrious House to the throne of this nation, for the security of the rights and liberties of the Church of England; who, during the joint reign of himself and Queen Mary, having left the matters of the Church wholly in her hands, which she managed with strict and religious prudence, consulting chiefly (as History (24) informs us) with the Archbishop of Canterbury; after her death, by royal (25) commission reciting as follows:—"We being sensible that nothing can conduce more to the glory of God, our own honour, and the welfare of the Church, than our promoting to preferment therein the most worthy and deserving men according to their merits, and conceiving you Thomas, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, John, Lord Archbishop of York, Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum, William, Lord Bishop of Worcester, Simon, Lord Bishop of Ely, and John, Lord Bishop of Norwich, to be proper and competent judges in such cases," did appoint them commissioners to consider of persons proper to be recommended to him to succeed to any bishopric or any other ecclesiastical preferments in England above the value of 20*l.* in the king's books, which were in his Majesty's gift or disposal, and to signify under their hands the recommendation of such persons as they in their wisdoms should think most fit to be appointed by his said Majesty to succeed to any such vacant preferments. Which commission pro-

ceeds further in these words:—"And further, we do hereby declare our pleasure to be, that neither of our principal Secretaries of State do at any time, either when we shall be resident in England, or in parts beyond the seas, move us in behalf of any person whatsoever, for any place or preferment which we have hereby left to the recommendation or disposal of our said commissioners as aforesaid, without having first communicated both the person and the thing by him desired, to you our said commissioners, or so many of you as are hereby empowered to act; and without having your opinion and recommendation in such manner as hereinbefore is directed. And if at any time we be moved in like manner by any other person whatsoever, our pleasure is, and we do hereby declare, that neither of our principal Secretaries of State shall present any warrant to us for our royal signature in such a case, until you, our said commissioners, or so many of you as are hereby empowered to act, have been acquainted therewith, and have given your opinion and recommendation as aforesaid."

It is the more remarkable that the duty of recommending to vacant bishoprics in the reign of King William III. was lodged in so decided and formal a manner in the hands of our Spiritual Rulers rather than of the Ministers of State, because in the political troubles of those times, strong inducements would have existed for strengthening the party in power by means of exercising this important privilege in the manner in which of late years it has been accustomed to be done.

We, therefore, seriously lamenting the present and long distracted state of the Church of England, occasioned, as we fear, in a great degree by the changes above referred to, do most humbly and earnestly intreat your Majesty, as the Defender of the Faith, the Supreme Governor and Protector of the Church, and having the eternal (26) as well as temporal interests of your people committed to your charge, to exercise your Royal Authority in our behalf; and as some of your most illustrious ancestors, at a time when the rights and liberties of the Church were encroached upon by a foreign ecclesiastical

power, called to mind their coronation (27) oath, and by strong and vigorous measures checked and ultimately abolished it; so now that evils no less perilous have arisen from domestic secular control over her affairs, that you will be graciously pleased to revive the constitutional functions of the ancient legislature and council of the Church of England, the Convocation of the Clergy; and to recover to the Crown the most sacred prerogative entrusted to it, of really choosing, with the aid and advice of the spiritual rulers of the Church, such persons as may be considered most fit, for purity of life and doctrine, and other necessary endowments, to succeed to vacant bishoprics, and such other ecclesiastical preferments as are in your Majesty's gift and disposal.

And we will, as in duty bound, ever pray, &c.

## APPENDIX.

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(1) *Reges sacro oleo uncti sunt spiritualis jurisdictionis capaces.*  
5 Coke's Reports, Caudrey's Case.

Our kings, when they take possession of the room they are called unto, have it painted out before their eyes even by the very solemnities and rights of their inauguration, to what affairs by the said law their supreme power and authority reacheth. Crowned we see they are, and enthronized and anointed; the crown a sign of military, the throne of sedentary or judicial, the oil of religious or sacred power. Hooker's Eccl. Pol. book viii. ch. ii. 13.

*Rex est persona sacra et mixta cum sacerdote.* Year Book, 10 Hen. VII. 18a. Hertford v. Leech. W. Jon. 327. Branch's Principia, 196.

The king is *persona sacra*, and therefore may constitute and restrain ecclesiastical jurisdiction, dispense with the ecclesiastical laws, inflict ecclesiastical censures, &c., for he is supreme ordinary. Comyn's Digest. Eccl. Persons, A.

The quotations contained above, and in other parts of these notes, on the extent of the regal power, must be understood with the same caution as was thought necessary to be expressed in the 37th Article, for this power does not in any respect prejudice, or come in collision with that purely spiritual authority delegated to the Church by commission from its Divine Founder, and called *the power of the keys*, which was lawfully exercised during the first three centuries before the emperors became Christian, not only without their grant or favour, but often against their express commands. Spiritual power is divided by writers on this subject, into that of *Ordinis* and *Jurisdictionis*. That of *Ordinis* appears chiefly in the administration of the Sacraments. That of *Jurisdictionis* is held to be double: first, internal, where the Minister of God, by demonstrations, persuasions, instructions, and the like, so convinces the inward conscience of a man, as it presently resigns and yields obedience to that which is proposed, as did those three thousand souls who were converted at the preaching of St.

Peter ; secondly, external, when Christians in *foro exteriori* are compelled to their duty and obedience. That power of order and of jurisdiction internal our kings or queens never claimed, but of jurisdiction external and what belongs to the outward polity of the Church, they have ever looked upon it as their duty and honour to become "Nursing Fathers and Mothers."

(2) The king is the head of the commonwealth immediate under God. And therefore carrying God's stamp and mark among men, and being as one may say a god upon earth, as God is a King in heaven, hath a shadow of the excellencies that are in God in a similitudinary sort given him. God's excellencies and honour standeth partly in things incommunicable unto other, partly in such as after a sort He maketh his creatures partakers of both ; which the king is said to have, some in truth, other by fiction, all by similitude from the Divine perfection.—The excellencies which God bestoweth upon his creatures (for I will touch no more but those that the books of our law do speak of, and such as are leading rules to the cases that you shall find there argued and debated) are, first, majesty, sovereignty, power, perpetuity, and then the noble complement of justice and truth. Finch's Law, book ii. ch. i.

(3) In a national convention or parliament held by William the Conqueror, it is declared "*Rex, quia vicarius Summi Regis est, ad hoc constitutus est, ut regnum et populum Domini, et, super omnia, sanctam, ecclesiam regat et defendat,*" which parliamentary declaration is nearly a transcript from a similar avowal of Edward the Confessor. Laws of King Edward the Confessor, cap. 17, fo. 142. Spel. Con. vol. i. p. 68. 5 Coke's Reports, Caudrey's Case. Jewel's Defence of his Apol. part ii. c. ii. div. 1.

*Rex ex jurisdictione suâ sicut Dei minister et vicarius tribuat unicuique quod suum fuerit. . . . Omnis quidem sub eo et ipse sub nullo nisi tantum sub Deo. . . . Et quidem sub lege esse debeat, cum sit Dei vicarius, evidenter apparet ad similitudinem Jesu Christi cujus vices gerit in terris. . . . Ad hoc autem creatus est . . . ut in eo Dominus sedeat et per ipsum sua judicia discernat. . . . Separare autem debet rex (cum sit Dei vicarius in terrâ) jus ab injuriâ, æquum ab iniquo, ut omnes sibi subjecti honeste vivant. . . . Nihil enim potest rex in terris, cum sit Dei minister et vicarius, nisi id solum quod de jure potest. Bracton de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ, lib. i. c. viii. ; lib. ii. c. 24 ; lib. iii. c. 9.*

Of what kind soever the means be whereby governors are lawfully advanced into their seats, we by the law of God stand bound meekly to acknowledge them for God's lieutenants, and to confess their power His. Hooker's Eccl. Pol. book viii. ch. ii. 6.

The reason why we are bound in conscience to be subject unto all such power is, because all "powers are of God." They are of God either

instituting or permitting them. Power is then of Divine institution, when either God himself doth deliver, or men by light of nature find out the kind thereof. So that the power of parents over children, and of husbands over their wives, the power of all sorts of superiors, made by consent of commonwealths within themselves, or grown from agreement amongst nations, such power is of God's own institution in respect of the kind thereof. Again, if respect be had unto those particular persons to whom the same is derived, if they either receive it immediately from God, as Moses and Aaron did; or from nature, as parents do; or from men by a natural and orderly course, as every governor appointed in any commonwealth, by the order thereof, doth: then is not the kind of their power only of God's instituting, but the derivation thereof also into their persons, is from Him. He hath placed them in their rooms, and doth term them his ministers; subjection therefore is due unto all such powers, inasmuch as they are of God's own institution, even then when they are of man's creation, omni humanæ creaturæ: which things the heathens themselves do acknowledge.

Σχηματοῦχος βασιλεὺς, ψῆς Ζεὺς κύδος ἰδωκεν<sup>1</sup>.

As for them that exercise power altogether against order, although the kind of power which they have may be of God, yet is their exercise thereof against God, and therefore not of God, otherwise than by permission, as all injustice is. Ibid. book viii. Appendix.

The natural body of the king being thus invested with his politic and royal capacity, we behold him as the representative and lieutenant of God Almighty, who is King of kings. All power is from God, and Imperium non nisi Divino Fato datur. Essay on the Supremacy of the King of England, by Thomas Staveley, Esq., of the Inner Temple, 1769, annexed to "The Romish Horseleech," p. 228.

(4) Collect in the Inauguration Service.

(5) On the subject of the royal supremacy, see the whole of the 8th book of "The Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity," by the incomparable Hooker, "whom most political writers, though differing in opinion among themselves, respectfully look up to and eagerly cite in support of their several persuasions." Wooddeason's Elements of Jurisprudence.

The greatest security of the Church is the supremacy of the Crown, whereby as a body spiritual it is united to the king as head, who is thereby its protector and defender. Answer to a pamphlet, entitled An Examination of the Scheme of Church Power, laid down in the Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani, &c., 1735.

(5<sup>a</sup>) 13 Eliz. c. 12.

<sup>1</sup> Hom. II. lib. A. ver. 279.

(6) The Canon is in these words, "Whoso shall hereafter affirm, that the king's majesty hath not the same authority in causes ecclesiastical that the godly kings had amongst the Jews, and Christian emperors in the Primitive Church, or impeach in any part his regal supremacy in the said causes restored to the crown, and by the laws of this realm therein established, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored but only by the archbishop, after his repentance and publick revocation of those his wicked errours."

The first of the same Canons requires, that "all ecclesiastical persons having cure of souls, and all other preachers and readers of divinity lectures shall to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely and sincerely (without any colour of dissimulation), teach, manifest, open and declare, four times every year (at the least) in their sermons and other collations and lectures," what is there expressed respecting the supremacy. The 27th Canon forbids the administration of the holy communion "to any that have spoken against, and depraved his majesty's sovereign authority in causes ecclesiastical;" and by the 55th Canon, "before all sermons, lectures, and homilies," the form of prayer setting forth the king's titles and ecclesiastical prerogatives is prescribed to be used. See also the Canon of 1640, "Concerning the regal power," and the Directions of King George I. to the bishops in 1714; that they require the clergy in their prayer before sermon, to keep strictly to the form in the 55th Canon contained, or to the full effect thereof; and providing that "nothing in the said direction shall be understood to discharge any person from preaching in defence of the regal supremacy established by law, as often and in such manner as the first Canon of this Church doth require."

(7) Hooker's Eccl. Pol. book viii. ch. i. 1; ch. iii.

(8) "Ego Constantini, vos Petri Gladium habetis in manibus." King Edgar's Speech to his Clergy. Ailred. Rival. Coll. 361. 16.

(9) Hooker's Eccl. Pol. book i. ch. ii. 8.

(10) *Ipse autem rex non debet esse sub homine, sed sub Deo, et sub lege, quia lex facit regem. Attribuat igitur rex legi quod lex attribuit ei, videlicet dominationem et potestatem, non est enim rex ubi dominatur voluntas et non lex.* Bracton de Leg. Angl. lib. i. c. 8. 4 Co. ad Lect. Branch's Principia, p. 195, 196.

Happier that people whose law is their king in the greatest things, than that whose king is himself their law. Where the king doth guide the state, and the law the king, that commonwealth is like a harp or melodious instrument, the strings whereof are tuned and handled all by one, following as laws the rules and canons of musical science. Hooker's Eccl. Pol. book 8. c. ii. 12.

For the received laws and liberty of the Church the king hath supreme authority and power, but against them, none. *Ibid.* book 8. c. ii. 17.

(11) *Sentencia lata super cartas, &c.* Statutes at Large, 21 Hen. III.

(12) The famous statute of Magna Charta, both at its making and confirmation, more resembles a federative treaty than an act of the legislature. Wooddesson's Lectures on the Law of England, vol. i. p. 13.

(13) *In primis concessimus Deo et hac præsentì carta nostra confirmavimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris imperpetuam quod ecclesia Anglicana libera sit et habeat omnia jura sua integra et libertates suas illæsas.* Statutes at Large, 9 Hen. III.

(14) A true idea of this part of our constitution is given by Sir Henry Spelman, in his treatise on "the Ancient Government of England," who compares it to an arch, and says, "That the common law is but the half arch of the government, tending on to the temporal part thereof, and not unto the ecclesiastical. That he cannot well present the one without the other, and must therefore take a project of the whole arch, that so the strength and uniformity in both parts may the better be conceived. As, therefore, each side of an arch descendeth alike from the cone or top point, so both the parts of that their government was alike deduced from the king." Part 2. p. 49.

(15) *Caudrey's case.* 5 Coke's Reports, p. viii.

(16) Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. ch. 6. p. 235 n., where the form of oath in the reign of Edward IV. is transcribed.

(17) In the year 1717 the lower house of convocation drew up a hostile representation respecting Bishop Hoadley's "Preservative against the Non-jurors," and "Sermon on the Kingdom of Christ" written in defence of the existing government, and shielded by their public approbation, but it had not yet been laid before the Bishops, when the king's government sent down a writ of prorogation, being warned by the great scandal of some former controversies, and determined to protect a prelate who was the earnest advocate of their own opinions. From that day the convocation appears to have been doomed to a perpetual silence. Preface to Cardwell's Synodalia, p. xviii.

(18) The first of these ecclesiastical synods recorded to be holden in Britain was in the year 429, for stopping the progress of the Pelagian heresy. Bede's Ecclesiastical History, b. 1. c. 17. See also the account of the synod held by Augustine and the British Bishops, b. 2. ch. 2.



(19) In the case of Bird and Smith (Moore, p. 783) the Lord Chancellor called to his assistance Popham, Chief Justice ; Coke, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Flemming, Chief Baron, and they all agreed,—  
 3. “ That the canons of the Church made by the convocation and the king without the parliament were binding in all matters ecclesiastical, as well as an act of parliament. For they say that by common law every bishop in his diocese, archbishop in his province, and the convocation in the nation, may make canons to bind within their limits : for that the convocation of the clergy was once a member of the parliament of this realm, and after severed for ease, and carry their peculiar function with them into the house of convocation ;—whereby when the convocation makes canons of things appertaining to them, and the king confirms them, they will bind the whole realm.”

(20) It is so obvious to every one's understanding, so suitable to common sense and reason, that it will require but little argument to prove, that as they are most conversant with spiritual persons, and in spiritual things, they must certainly best know, and are best able to give their advice in relation thereto ; and as his Majesty has an undoubted right to consult and advise with whom he pleases, so his own wisdom will direct in the choice of his counsellors to those whom he thinks most capable ; and he has a right to the obedience and advice of his subjects when he is pleased to require it. The prelacy was therefore founded and endowed with honours and possessions by the kings and nobles of this realm, that he might have persons of distinction to assist him in all spiritual matters, who might likewise, by their station, be the best judges of all spiritual persons.

Agreeable to this design of their institution has been the uniform practice of our princes and parliaments ever since the Reformation.

Is there any order of men in the kingdom that is better acquainted with spiritual persons and spiritual things, than the bishops and clergy ; or any that have the prosperity of religion, or the good of the Church, as by law established, more at heart ? Why does the prince, in matters relating to the army, advise with his generals ; in matters relating to the navy, with his admirals ; in the revenue, with the managers of his treasury ? but that these, by the experience they have acquired, and the application they give to the business in their several stations, are presumed to be most capable of giving right advice. And although at some times and in some instances it should happen that the advice they give is not right, this does not affect the general rule ; nor does it discourage princes from continuing to use the assistance of any of those, who are best qualified by their stations to give them true accounts of persons and things. . . . .

It is true, that in some cases the steps taken in ecclesiastical matters may also affect the civil state ; but when that happens, the prince has his state counsellors at hand, to give him timely warning of any advice which churchmen give, that may be prejudicial to his other affairs : and it must

be remembered that the thing pleaded for is, only *advice* and *assistance*, as proper to be received from churchmen in Church matters. . . . .

If in these matters they are not allowed to be advised with, in what are they? In the army? No. Theirs is the doctrine of peace. In the navy? No. In the treasury? 'Tis none of their province. In the common law? There is a general prohibition; 'tis mere temporal matter. Wherein are they to advise, wherein to assist, if not in spiritual things, and in relation to spiritual persons? But it is, *all* affairs, that concern spiritual persons or spiritual things. . . . .

Were those bishops, who have been appointed by the Crown, under a clerical administration in Church affairs less zealous for the support of the revolution, for settling and defending the Protestant succession, less careful of the rights and just prerogatives of the Crown, or less solicitous for the good of the Church and kingdom? No. Answer to a late pamphlet, entitled *An Examination of the Scheme of Church Power*, laid down in the *Codex Juris Ecclesiastici Anglicani*, &c., 1735.

(21) See Note (23<sup>a</sup>), post.

(22) Our legislators, however, that their acts, in matters of spiritual concern, may conform to and be influenced by the law divinely revealed, ought, constitutionally, to consult with the sacred interpreters of that law, especially when assembled in convocation. Wooddeason's *Lectures on the Law of England*, vol. i. Lect. 13.

The parliament of England, together with the convocation annexed thereunto, is that whereupon the very essence of all government within this kingdom doth depend; it is even the body of the whole realm; it consisteth of the king, and of all that within the land are subject unto him; for they all are there present, either in person, or by such as they voluntarily have derived their very personal right unto. Hooker's *Ecl. Pol.* book viii. ch. vi. 11.

What regard is due to convocation for their acts in former times may be known from these, among other of their proceedings. In the year 1536, the motion for translating the Bible into English came from the convocation, as appears from the petition of the bishops, abbots, and priors to the king: and at the same time it made the Scriptures, with the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, the standard of faith, and removed the worship of saints and images. In 1547 it was first determined there, that the eucharist ought to be received by all Christians in both kinds. In 1562, articles of religion were agreed upon in convocation: and in 1661, our present inestimable Book of Common Prayer was reviewed, altered, and enlarged in convocation, before it was recommended by the king to be confirmed by parliament.

(23) *Parl. Hist.* 212. 216.

(23<sup>a</sup>) At the institution of parishes by Theodore, Archbishop of Can-

terbury, A.D. 664, the patronage of churches was annexed to the endowment by the same common right, which made kings patrons of the cathedrals, sees, and monasteries of their own foundation; a right which all our Saxon princes enjoyed in these times, and exercised without dispute. Thus the West Saxon kings<sup>1</sup> put Birinus and Agilbert into the see of Dorchester; Wini and Leutherius into that of Winchester; the former of which two last being afterwards expelled, was, by a simoniacal contract with King Wulfhere, promoted to the see of London. Thus Sigebert, King of the East Angles<sup>2</sup>, made Felix Bishop of Dunwich, and Fursæus Abbot of Cnobbersburg; so the same Wulfhere made Chadd Bishop of Lichfield, and Sexulf<sup>3</sup> Abbot of Peterborough: and 'Aidan, Finan, Colman, Wilfrid, and Cuthbert, were all put into their sees by the Northumbrian princes. This royal nomination was in those days conceived to be so necessary, that, when any prelates were thus appointed in conquered countries, they imagined they lost their bishoprics, when the countries which composed their dioceses were lost by the prince that named them, and came to be repossessed by the rightful owners. Thus Trumwin quitted his see of Abercorn<sup>4</sup>, when the part of Scotland which had formed his diocese whilst in the possession of the Northumbrians, was recovered by the Picts; as<sup>5</sup> Eadhed did his of Sidnacester, when Lindsey was reconquered by the Mercians. The person so named to fill a see, *was indeed to be approved by the bishops of the province*, because it was their business to consecrate him: and this act was to be performed publicly in the greatest city of the diocese, that the people might give their attestation to his life and conversation; on which account it was deemed irregular, unless in a case of necessity, to take one from any other diocese than that which he was appointed to govern. Kings, indeed, were soon prevailed upon to allow some monasteries the privilege of electing their own abbot from among themselves, which put others upon soliciting the same favour: but some ages passed before they granted any such indulgence with regard to bishops; of which, however, Bede in his letter to Egbert, Archbishop of York, suggests an occasion. After representing the evil consequences of the neglect of the pastoral duties, which was unavoidable in so large a diocese as York, he presses the archbishop to use his credit with King Ceolulph, to engage him to reform the ecclesiastical state of his country, and to erect so many new bishoprics that there might be twelve in his province. But as the exorbitant grants of that prince's predecessors had made it difficult to find a vacant place for a new see, and sufficient endowments for new bishops and their clergy, he proposes that a great council should be called, and by a resolution or ordinance of that body, with the consent of the king and the prelates, some monasteries should be pitched upon to be the seats of new bishops. As the abbot and monks of

<sup>1</sup> Bede, l. iii. c. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Chron. Sax. A.D. 655.

<sup>5</sup> Bede, l. iv. c. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. l. ii. c. 15; l. iii. c. 19; l. iv. c. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Bede, l. iii. c. 13. 28. Vita Cuthberti, c. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Ib. c. 12.

such a convent might probably do all in their power to oppose an ordinance of this nature, he thought it would not be a bad expedient for engaging them to acquiesce in it, to give them a licence or privilege (termed in later days a *congé d'élire*), for choosing out of their own body the person who was to be ordained, and who was at once to preside over the monastery and his adjacent diocese ; or in case there should be none among them fit for the episcopal office, they should still have the canonical examination and approbation of the person nominated out of some other part of the diocese. The kings of England did afterwards, on some occasions, take this method of endowing sees ; and it is no wonder, that in such cases they allowed the privilege proposed to the monasteries, whose abbatial manse, or the revenue of the abbot, was annexed to the bishopric. Carte's History of England, vol. i. p. 245.

After the Conquest the same custom of consulting the bishops on the occasion of filling up the appointments to vacant sees, at least the important ones, appears to have continued. Thus we read of Henry I. *consulting the bishops* and temporal nobility at Windsor to consult about the choice of an Archbishop of Canterbury, when the king designed to promote Faricius, Abbot of Abingdon, but perceiving the *prelates were unanimous* for Ralph, Bishop of Rochester, he complied. Collier's Eccl. History of Great Britain, vol. i. p. 303. On Ralph's death, the king, about the Candlemas following, called a council of his prelates and nobility at Gloucester to consider of a proper person to succeed him ; some of the monks at Canterbury were likewise summoned thither either to elect or admit and receive the successor. When the council met, *the king desired the bishops to agree on a fit man to fill that dignity, and he would approve whomever they recommended* ; and William of Corboil was, at the instance of the bishops, elected by the monks, confirmed by the king, and accepted by all the bishops for their primate. Carte's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 512.

And here we may mention by the way, that in the reign of Stephen, a question of the same nature as that which is now being agitated as to the validity of an election of a bishop by a majority of canons, without the consent of the dean and others of the canons, was sent on appeal to the pope. It was the case of the election of Anselm, nephew of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the see of London, by the majority of the canons of St. Paul's. The dean and his party made their appeal to Rome, and at last got the election voided. The pope's sentence for annulling the election went on this ground, *viz., because it was made without the dean's knowledge and consent, who, according to right, ought to give his vote first in the choice of a bishop.* Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. i. p. 328.

In the reign of Henry II. the see of Canterbury being vacant, the king, who was in Normandy, dispatched Chancellor Becket into England, under colour of managing some business relating to the state, but with a design to prefer him to the archbishopric. Soon after his arrival, the Bishops of Chichester, Exeter, and Rochester, came to the convent of Canterbury with an order from the king, that the prior, with some of the monks,

should repair to London, and meet the bishops and clergy there, in order to the election of an archbishop. Wibert the prior obeyed the order, and found the prelates convened at London. And here, after some dispute, Thomas, the Chancellor of England, was elected. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. i. p. 348.

During the disputes which afterwards arose between the king and archbishop, at a great council of the prelates and nobility of England assembled at Clarendon, A.D. 1164, Becket was prevailed on to engage upon oath, and "on the word of a priest, faithfully to observe *the laws of the kingdom, and the royal customs used in the time of the king's grandfather*, without any prevarication whatever;" all the bishops swearing after his example, in the same form and to the same effect. These ancient royal customs had not yet been committed to writing, being known only by common practice and usage immemorial; and it was thought proper to specify some of them, to prevent any future dispute on the subject. A committee of the most ancient and knowing persons among the prelates and nobility was appointed to draw them up in writing; and this being done in sixteen articles, they were read in the great council, approved, and ordered to be observed throughout the kingdom. These articles, commonly called *The Constitutions of Clarendon*, were all expressly recognized as the rights of the Crown by both the archbishops and twelve bishops, who all swore to observe them in the same terms as before; and on January 30th, in the presence of a great number of the nobility, whose names are recited, put their seals to the instrument, of which there were three indented copies made; one lodged among the records of the crown, and the others delivered to the two archbishops.

The 12th of these constitutions provides that, "when any archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, or priory of royal foundation or patronage, becomes vacant, the king shall enter upon it, and receive all the issues and profits thereof, as of his own demesne lands; and when he shall think fit to provide for such church, he shall send for the most considerable persons of the chapter or convent, and the election is to be made in the Chapel Royal with the king's consent, and *by the advice of such dignitaries of the realm as the king shall call together for that purpose*"; and the person elected shall there, before his consecration, do homage and fealty to the king as his liege lord, of life, limb, and terrene honour, saving his order." Carte's Hist. of England, vol. i. pp. 585. 587.

After the death of Becket, the king being in Normandy, the monks of Canterbury were sent for to proceed to an election; delegates were sent from the convent to an assembly of the bishops and clergy convened in London, but nothing was done by reason of the refractoriness of the monks, who insisted on having the sole (so they called a free) election, exclusive of the bishops of the province. This (says the historian) *was so*

<sup>7</sup> In Lingard's History of England, vol. ii. p. 217, the words are translated, "and with the advice of such *prelates* as the king may call to his assistance."

contrary to the practice of the whole Christian Church in the first ages of the Gospel, and to the custom of the Church of England in particular, that the monks, reflecting more coolly on their proceedings, began to be apprehensive of falling into some inconveniences by their obstinacy, and at last pitched upon three unexceptionable persons whom they recommended to Richard de Lucy, Guardian of the realm, in order to the admission of some one of them *by the bishops' and king's approbation*. Richard convened the English bishops at London, and the prior attending with some of the monks, Roger, Abbot of Bee, was chosen on March 2nd, *with the approbation of the bishops*, and confirmed by the royal assent. Carte's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 654. In 1184 the see of Canterbury again became vacant, *and the bishops and monks of Canterbury were summoned to London*, when the Bishop of London, proposing Baldwin, Bishop of Worcester, all the prelates concurred in his election, and the monks went away without giving their assent. The bishops, presenting their elect to the king, Baldwin was approved; but Henry was forced to go himself to Canterbury to persuade the monks to acquiesce; which they consented to upon being allowed the formality of an election. Ibid. vol. i. p. 709.

We will now proceed to trace the mode by which the papal power compelled the kings of England to relinquish their right of appointing to vacant bishoprics, under the advice and assistance of the prelates and dignitaries of the realm, as declared by the Constitutions of Clarendon.

On the death of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of King John, a double election was made by two parties of the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, who claimed the right to choose the metropolitan under a disputed grant from King Henry I., one of which parties had elected the person recommended by the king, John, Bishop of Norwich.

The question being referred to Pope Innocent III., he annulled both the elections, recommended Stephen Langton, a cardinal priest, to the proxies of both parties, and frightened the monks, under a threat of excommunication, into compliance, who accordingly elected Langton at Viterbo, and he was consecrated by the pope. This greatly incensed the king, who charged the monks with treason, and sent down a military force, which drove them out of the kingdom, and seized their effects for the king's use. He then sent a reprimanding letter to the pope, that he would maintain the honour of his crown at the utmost hazard, and that he was unalterably determined never to consent to the setting aside of the Bishop of Norwich. The pope then wrote to all the bishops of the province to own Stephen for their metropolitan, and desired three of them to go to the king, and entreat him to receive him as Archbishop of Canterbury. The three bishops waited on the king accordingly, and intimated that unless he gave satisfaction, his kingdom would be put under an interdict. Upon this, the king broke out into a great rage, and swore that if either themselves or any other person were so hardy as to interdict his dominions, he would immediately seize the estates of the Church, and expel the bishops and clergy. He likewise ordered the bishops to go out of his presence immediately,

for fear of carrying some mark of infamy along with them. These prelates finding no impression could be made on the king, ventured to execute the pope's commission in Lent following, and upon the Monday in Passion week put the whole kingdom under an interdict. Thus there was an intermission of divine service, and all the offices of the priesthood, except the baptizing of children, taking confessions, and giving the communion to dying persons, and the people brought their dead and buried them in ditches and highways without any funeral service. As for the three bishops, as soon as they had executed the pope's order and given the blow, they went privately beyond sea, and so did some of the others.

The king, enraged at the interdict, commanded the prelates, and those that abetted their proceedings, to depart the kingdom, and ordered his sheriffs and lay officers to take the bishoprics and abbeys into their custody, and to seize the revenues of the Church. And now the pope was resolved to exert himself further, and play more of his thunder, for he proceeded to excommunicate the king, and publish the sentence throughout the country, so that he might be avoided by every body. Some time afterwards, the pope's nuncios, Pandulphus and Durandus, had an audience of the king, being sent for by him, to adjust differences. Part of their terms being that Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other prelates beyond seas, and all their friends and dependants, might have liberty to return and live peaceably in England, the king told them in reply, that he was willing to return what he had seized, "but as for that Stephen," said he, "he can never be so secured by a safe conduct, but that I'll hang him as soon as he sets foot upon my dominions." In support of his rights, the king urged that his predecessors had bestowed archbishoprics, bishoprics, and abbeys, in their bedchamber: for instance, King Edward the Confessor gave the bishopric of Worcester to Wulstan, and when William the Conqueror attempted to deprive him of his see because he did not understand French, Wulstan refused to return him the pastoral staff, because he had not received it from him, but carried it to King Edward's tomb, where it stuck so fast that nobody could pull it away but that holy bishop. To this he added, that within his own memory his father, King Henry, had given the archbishopric of Canterbury to St. Thomas.

The king at length offered that, on condition Langton would resign his archbishopric, the pope might dispose of that preferment, and that he would accept of any person of his holiness's nomination, and that possibly after that he might at the pope's request bestow a bishopric on Langton. "'Tis not the custom of Holy Church," replied Pandulphus, "to degrade an archbishop without sufficient grounds; but when princes prove refractory and disobedient, 'tis her method to take them lower and throw them out of their seat." The nuncio then proceeded to tell him, that from that day he excommunicated all those who should communicate with him, that he absolved all his subjects from their homage and allegiance, that he gave liberty to his earls and barons to make war upon him, and further, that his holiness designed shortly to send an army into England to maintain the rights of the Church, and that on the arrival of those forces, he commanded

all to repair to the pope's standard, and submit to the orders of his general. "Have you any thing more to menace?" said the king. "Yes," said Pandulphus, "we tell you in the name of God, that from this day forward neither you nor any of your heirs can wear the crown." The king then gave the nuncio to understand with an oath, that had he come into the kingdom without being sent for by him, he should have disposed the nuncio to a post he would not have liked, and made this his last mischief.

Upon this the king ordered the sheriffs and other officers of justice to bring forth their prisoners. Some of these the king ordered to be hanged; some to have their eyes pulled out; and some had their feet and hands chopped off, imagining the sight of these executions might strike a terror into Pandulphus, and work him to his purpose.

The pope thought it was now high time to exert himself to the utmost, and give the last stroke; and therefore, by the advice of the conclave, he pronounces King John deposed. The difficulty was to get the sentence executed. He conceived Philip, King of France, most proper for this purpose. He wrote to him, therefore, to undertake the service; and to encourage the expedition, he promised him a plenary indulgence, and the fee simple of the crown of England for his pains.

In January, 1213, Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, William, Bishop of London, and Eustachius, Bishop of Ely, came from Rome into France, and published the pope's sentence against King John. Philip, King of France, was glad of the opportunity, and prepared to make a descent upon England; commanding all his barons to attend him with their tenants at Roan, under the penalty of forfeiting their estates.

The King of England was not negligent in his defence, but raised the posse of the kingdom, and drew down his troops to the coast towns, where he suspected the French might land.

While things were thus drawing towards a decision in the field, two Knights Templars landed at Dover, and acquainted the king that Pandulphus desired to come over; and that he had proposals to make him in order to an accommodation. The king agreed to the motion, and sent Pandulphus an invitation. This nuncio, at his first audience, made a frightful representation of the juncture; he told his highness that the King of France lay at the mouth of the Seine with a formidable fleet and army; that he had an authority from the pope to seize his dominions; and that his holiness had conveyed the sovereignty of the English crown to that prince and his successors—that King Philip had given out, that most of the English nobility had sent him an invitation, and declared themselves his subjects under hand and seal—that notwithstanding the blackness of the prospect, it was in his highness's power to dispel the cloud, and retrieve his affairs; and that in case he was willing to make satisfaction for the injuries he had done, and stand to the decision of the Church, his holiness would recover him his crown.

By this discourse of the nuncio, the king perceived himself surprisngly distressed, and that things were brought to the last extremity. The



motives which determined him to a compliance were these :—First, he considered he had been five years under an excommunication ; this thought lay uneasy upon his conscience, and made him think himself unsafe as to the other world. Secondly, the King of France lay ready to invade him with a numerous army ; and in case he came to try his fortune in the field, he was afraid the English would desert ; and that which was thought to affect him more than all the rest was, the nearness of Ascension-day ; at which term, according to the prophecy of one Peter, a hermit, he was to lose his kingdom. These reasons made him despair of maintaining his ground against the pope ; he was forced therefore to consent to the nuncio's proposals, and took a solemn oath to stand to the award of the Church ; and sixteen of the principal earls and barons of the kingdom were guarantees for the performance ; and that if the king should happen to fail in the articles, they obliged themselves to do their utmost to force him to keep his word.

Upon the thirteenth of May, the Monday before Ascension, the king and Pandulphus with a numerous appearance of earls and barons met at Dover, and agreed the articles of accommodation. They were drawn up in the form of letters patents, and sealed with the king's seal. And here the king swears to be concluded by the pope's instructions to his nuncio in all points relating to his excommunication, to permit Stephen, Archbishop of Canterbury, the other English prelates beyond sea and their adherents, to return home, and enjoy their property, privilege, and jurisdiction without any impeachment or disturbance. At another meeting held two days after, the king, according to the conditions prescribed at Rome, resigned his crowns of England and Ireland to the pope, and engaged to hold them of him, and pay a thousand marks yearly in acknowledgment of his sovereignty ; and, which was a particular mortification, the king was forced to say, he was willing to submit to all this hardship—that he resigned his kingdoms by the suggestion of the Holy Spirit, and that he was not driven to this compliance by the terror of the interdict, or out of any motive of fear ; but that he was governed in this affair purely by his own free will and inclination.

The king delivered the instrument of resignation to Pandulphus to be transmitted to Rome, and immediately after took the oath of homage publicly to the pope and his successors : the oath runs in the usual form sworn by a homager to a sovereign prince. Collier's Eccl. Hist. vol. i. p. 412—420.

Langton arrived in England full of rancour against the king, resolved to distress his government, and to embroil the kingdom ; though it does not appear that John had given him any personal provocation : and it is very certain, he had made no encroachment upon the rights of the Church, being, since he was subdued by the pope, the tamest and most submissive animal in nature, granting his *congé d'être* immediately upon the vacancy of prelaacies, and leaving the chapters and convents to a free election, without offering to interpose, by the recommendation of any particular person.

In the disputes with his barons some time afterwards, seeing the difficulties of his situation, and the danger of the whole kingdom's declaring against him, and knowing very well the mighty influence which the Clergy had in the nation, and to curry favour with them, John on January 15, A. D. 1215, by the common assent of his barons, and with a saving of the custody of vacant prelacies to himself and his heirs, granted a charter establishing for ever the right of free elections in all churches, monasteries, cathedrals, and conventual societies, obliging himself and successors neither to deny or delay a *congé d'élire* (if he did, they were allowed to proceed to a choice without any), nor to hinder the elected person's taking possession of his dignity; nor yet to deny the royal assent to such elections, without a reasonable objection. In the same year, by the Great Charter signed at Runnimede, the entire freedom of elections to bishoprics, abbeys, deaneries, and other ecclesiastical dignities, without the recommendation or nomination of any person by the Crown, in a letter missive (as granted by John's late charter of January 15) was expressly confirmed. Carte's History of England, vol. i. pp. 824. 829. 832.

How far the popes had advanced in their encroachments in the reign of King Edward III., may be known from the complaint made in the famous statute of premunire passed in the twenty-fifth year of his reign: "That now or late, the Bishop of Rome, by procurement of clerks and otherwise, hath reserved, and doth daily reserve to his collation, generally and especially, as well archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, and priories, as all other dignities and other benefices of England, which be of the advowry of people of Holy Church, and give the same as well to aliens as to denizens."

At length, after many struggles by former monarchs, King Henry VIII. passed an act in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, that no person thereafter should be presented, nominated, or commended to the pope for the dignity or office of any archbishop or bishop of this realm; but that on every avoidance of every such archbishopric or bishopric, the king might grant to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church where the see should happen to be void, a licence under the great seal, as of old time had been accustomed, to proceed to the election of an archbishop or bishop, with a letter missive containing the name of the person which they should elect and choose; by virtue of which licence, the said dean and chapter should with all speed, in due form, elect the same person named in the said letters missive, to the dignity and office of the archbishopric or bishopric so being void, and none other; such election to be afterwards certified to the king, who, by letters patent, should signify it to the archbishop, requiring him to confirm the said election, and to invest and consecrate the person so elected, without any suing, procuring, or obtaining any bulls, letters, or other things from the see of Rome, for the same in any behalf. The act then declares, that if the dean and chapter proceed not to election, and signify the same within twenty days; or if any archbishop or bishop refuse to confirm, invest, and consecrate every such person so elected, or any other person do any other act to the let of due execution of the said statute, he should incur the penalties of the statute of premunire. The

act also contains a power to the king to nominate by letters patent in default of election by the dean and chapter.

This statute was repealed by an act of the first year of King Philip and Queen Mary, but revived by an act passed in the first year of Queen Elizabeth.

On "The Disposal of Higher Church Preferment," since the period of the Reformation, the numbers of the "British Magazine" from February, 1837, to September, 1844, furnish a series of valuable papers said to be from the pen of a learned archdeacon of our Church, and drawn from records and other authentic sources; the last of which numbers, comprising a brief summary of the whole, contains the following observations:—

"The main facts which it was the object of these extracts to prove, were thus stated in the first number of the series, adopting, in fact, a statement which had then recently appeared in one of the leading public journals—that the nomination to ecclesiastical offices by the minister of the day, was 'an usurpation on the part of ministers, and that of comparatively recent growth;' that 'from the period of the Reformation until towards the middle of the last century, the king really, as well as nominally, appointed to ecclesiastical preferment;' and that, in the discharge of this sacred trust, 'the spiritual heads of the Church were habitually consulted on all important appointments.' Abundant evidence, it is hoped, has been supplied in proof of these statements; and the exceptions which have been found at different periods of the history, are such as tend strongly to show how salutary was the general rule, and how mischievous in its effects was any departure from it. We may refer in particular to the records of the Duke of Buckingham's administration in the reign of James I.; of the 'Cabal' ministry under Charles II.; the ill-fated reign of James II., and the tyranny of cabinets over the sovereign at the middle of the last century.

"The recognition of the ecclesiastical office of the Crown in regard to the Church, and consequently of its sacred prerogative in appointments to spiritual offices, as claiming to be exercised irrespectively of state politicians, and by the advice rather of its chief spiritual counsellors, is clearly marked in the annals of the earliest days of our Reformed Church.

"How entirely in those days such appointments were recognized as being with the king, not with his ministers, is evident from the way in which those who were most intimate with the king's confidential servants expressed themselves when writing to them. Thus, when in the year 1552, 'in the month of November, Grindal was nominated for a bishopric in the north,' 'of this, his designed preferment,' says Strype, 'Bishop Ridley was very glad, giving God hearty thanks, as he said in his letter to certain of his friends at court, viz. Sir John Gate, Vice-Chamberlain, and Sir William Cecil, Secretary, that it had pleased him to *move the heart of the king's majesty to choose* such a man, of such godly qualities, into such a room.' Those who could thus speak in their private correspondence with the king's confidential servants, implied and took for granted as what was perfectly understood and felt on all hands, that the appointment to Church

offices rested in the breast of the king himself, under God's supreme guidance of His chosen servant, His minister herein for the good of His Church.

"But it was in the latter half of Queen Elizabeth's reign, under the primacy of Archbishop Whitgift, that the theory of the ecclesiastical functions of the Crown was still more fully and uniformly realized. Whitgift's own appointment to the episcopal office was the queen's special act; 'she knowing well (says Strype) his great deserts towards this Church, and excellent abilities in learning and government, which were things now-a-days specially regarded in appointing bishops over the Churches.' Isaak Walton, in his 'Life of Hooker,' has religiously and wisely marked the special providence which, at so critical a period, placed such a man at the helm of the Church; and has given also a beautiful picture of the mutual relation which the queen and the metropolitan bore to each other. He has been tracing the progress of the nonconformists, and how, 'when the Church's lands were in danger of alienation, her power, at least, neglected, and her peace torn to pieces by several schisms, and such heresies as do usually attend that sin, for heresies do usually outlive their chief authors; when the common people seemed ambitious of doing those very things that were forbidden, and attended with most dangers, that thereby they might be punished, and then applauded and pitied; when they called the spirit of opposition a tender conscience, and complained of persecution, because they wanted power to persecute others; when the giddy multitude raged, and became restless to find out misery for themselves and others, and the rabble would herd themselves together, and endeavour to govern and act in spite of authority; in this extremity of fear, and danger of the Church and State, when, to suppress the growing evils of both, they needed a man of prudence and piety, and of a high and fearless fortitude, they were blest in all by John Whitgift, his being made Archbishop of Canterbury; . . . and, not long after, the queen made him of her privy council, and *trusted him to manage all her ecclesiastical affairs and preferments.*' 'She saw,' we are told, 'so visible and blessed a sincerity shine in all his cares and endeavours, for the Church's and for her good, that she was supposed to trust him with the very secrets of her soul, and to make him her confessor; of which she gave many fair testimonies . . . and would often say, she pitied him because she trusted him, and had thereby eased herself, *by laying the burden of all her clergy-cares upon his shoulders*, which he managed with prudence and piety. And that he made her's and the Church's good the chiefest of his cares, and that she also thought so, there were such daily testimonies given, as begat betwixt them so mutual a joy and confidence, that they seemed born to believe and to do good to each other; she not doubting his piety to be more than all his opposers, which were many, nor doubting his prudence to be equal to the chiefest of her council, who were then as remarkable for active wisdom as those dangerous times did require, or this nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued twenty years, in which time he saw some flowings, but many more ebbings of her favour towards all men that had

opposed him, especially the Earl of Leicester ; so that God still seemed to keep him in her favour, that he might preserve the remaining Church lands and immunities from sacrilegious alienations. And this good man deserved all the honour and power with which she gratified and trusted him ; for he was a pious man, and naturally of noble and grateful principles ; *he eased her of all her Church-cares by his wise manage of them* ; he gave her faithful and prudent counsels in all the extremities and dangers of her temporal affairs, which were very many ; he lived to be the chief comfort of her declining age, and to be then most frequently with her, and her assistant at her private devotions ; he lived to be the greatest comfort of her soul upon her death-bed, to be present at the expiration of her last breath, and to behold the closing of those eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection <sup>2</sup>.

“ The picture which Izaak Walton thus draws of the relation which the queen and the metropolitan sustained towards each other in ecclesiastical matters, is recalled to mind in the annals of later times, under the reigns of the two royal sisters, Mary and Anne, and the consultations which they religiously held with the chief pastors of the Church, to enable them the better to discharge the sacred trust which, with the crown, was committed to them, and which they felt to be a heavy responsibility. It is not necessary here to do more than allude to the account which has been given, in extracts from the Life of Archbishop Sharp, of the manner in which he was called to serve his royal mistress as ‘her principal and guide,’ ‘in things relating to the Church ;’ a description which revives the recollection of that which Isaak Walton had given of earlier times, under the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It will be sufficient here, in briefly summing up the history through which we have gone in detail, to recall to mind how it was the peculiar happiness of him whom Walton thus eulogized, that he was so ‘highly esteemed for his wisdom, learning, and piety by both his sovereigns, Queen Elizabeth and King James,’ that they ‘both consulted with him in all matters of the Church, and in making laws and orders for the well governing of it, and likewise *in taking always his advice for proper men to be placed in the chief preferments thereof*’<sup>3</sup> ; and that he who had his confidence while he lived, and on his death by the special choice of his sovereign, succeeded to his office<sup>1</sup>, exercised, himself, or through others, the like power ; and in like manner his successor, after him ; and that then again, when, through the influence of a favourite<sup>2</sup>, corruption and evil policy had crept in, in the disposal of Church patronage, it was again, with the best results, placed in episcopal hands, and confirmed in them by the religious feeling of Charles I. ; and again, that it was this mode of procedure which gave us such an episcopate as adorned the restoration of our Church and monarchy under Charles II. ; and that, even in the worst times of that monarch’s reign, evidences of

<sup>2</sup> Walton’s Life of Hooker, Works, ed. Keble, vol. i. pp. 45—49.

<sup>3</sup> Strype’s Life of Whitgift, p. 579.

<sup>1</sup> Abp. Bancroft.

<sup>2</sup> Villiers, Duke of Buckingham.

the better system are found ; and again, in the first days of the reign even of his misguided brother, until, taking other counsellors, he made appointments which seemed to have for their direct object the degradation and betrayal of the Church. We saw again how the religious principle quickly asserted its rightful superiority over all political claims in the era of the Revolution ; and the patronage of the Church, committed into Mary's hands, was faithfully and anxiously dispensed under the advice of the chief prelates ; and so also in Queen Anne's reign, though with too frequent interference from political parties and ministers of state, Archbishop Sharp being ' her majesty's principal and guide,' in regard, especially, to ' ecclesiastical promotions.' We saw, finally, that the same system was acted upon in the first days of the Hanoverian succession ; and that, even under Walpole's administration, there was ' an ecclesiastical ministry ' fully recognized and acted upon, to the incalculable benefit to the Church, exposed as it then was to so great peril from corrupting and secularizing influences.

" More than this rapid outline of the chief points in the history which has been traced out fully in detail, cannot be required here. The records which have been given, carefully considered, will clearly show what was the original theory of our ecclesiastical establishment in this important particular ; and that, in exact proportion to the faithfulness with which it has been adhered to, has been the welfare of the Church, and of the State, whose welfare is so closely bound up with it ; and that in whatever degree it has been violated or departed from, the most sacred interests of the Church and of religion have proportionably suffered." *British Magazine* for Sept. 1844, pp. 270—282.

(24) Burnet's *History of his Own Times*, vol. iii. pp. 129, 130.

(25) Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, vol. ii. p. 353.

(26) It is incumbent on the Sovereign to make religion, which includes the most valuable interests of mankind, the principal object of his care and application. He ought to promote the eternal as well as the present and temporal happiness of his subjects. This is therefore a point properly subject to his jurisdiction. Professor Burlamaqui's *Principles of Natural and Politic Law*, vol. ii. part 3. c. 3.

A gross error it is to think that regal power ought to serve for the good of the body, and not of the soul ; for men's temporal peace, and not for their eternal safety ; as if God had ordained kings for no other end and purpose but only to fat up men like hogs, and to see that they have their mast. Hooker's *Eccl. Pol.* book viii. ch. iii. 2.

Blessed Lord, who hast called Christian princes to the defence of thy faith, and hast made it their duty to promote the spiritual welfare, together with the temporal interest of their people, &c. Prayer for the king as supreme governor of this Church, in the inauguration service.

(27) Our lord the king, seeing the mischiefs and damages before men

tioned, and having regard to the said statute made in the time of his said grandfather, *and by so much as he is bounden by his oath to cause the same to be kept as the law of the realm*, though that by sufferance and negligence it hath been sithence attempted to the contrary, also having regard to the grievous complaints made to him by his people in divers his parliaments holden heretofore, willing to ordain remedy for the great damages and mischiefs which have happened and daily do happen to the Church of England by the said cause, by the assent of all the great men and the commonalty of the said realm to the honour of God and profit of the said Church of England and of all his realm, hath ordered and established that the free elections of archbishops, bishops, and all other dignities and benefices elective in England shall hold from henceforth in the manner as they were granted by the king's progenitors and the ancestors of other lords, founders of the said dignities and other benefices. Statute of Provisors, 25 Ed. III. stat. 6.

Our sovereign lord the king, at his Parliament holden at Westminster, in the Utas of St. Hillario, the thirty-eighth year of his reign, having a regard to the quietness of his people, which he chiefly desireth to sustain in tranquillity and peace, to govern according to the laws, usages, and franchises of his land, *as he is bound by his oath made at his coronation*, following the ways of his progenitors, which for their time, made certain good ordinances and provisions against the said grievances and perils. Stat. 38 Ed. III. c. 1.

“For they that consult Magna Charta shall find, that as all your predecessors were at their coronation, so you also were sworn before all the nobility and bishops then present, and in the presence of God, and in his stead to him that anointed you, ‘to maintain the Church lands, and the rights belonging to it;’ and this you yourself have testified openly to God at the holy altar, by laying your hands on the Bible then lying upon it. And not only Magna Charta, but many modern statutes have denounced a curse upon those that break Magna Charta; a curse like the leprosy that was entailed on the Jews; for as that, so these curses have and will cleave to the very stones of those buildings that have been consecrated to God; and the father's sin of sacrilege hath and will prove to be entailed on his son and family. And now, Madam, what account can be given for the breach of this oath at the last great day, either by your Majesty, or by me, if it be wilfully, or but negligently violated, I know not.” Archbishop Whitgift's Address to Queen Elizabeth on the intended sale of Church lands. Walton's Life of Hooker, prefixed to his works, vol. i. page 54. ed. Keble.

THE END.

AN

# APPEAL

ADDRESSED TO THE LAY MEMBERS

OF

## THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

POINTING OUT THE IMMINENT DANGERS TO WHICH THE CHURCH IS EXPOSED

FROM THE

## TRACTARIAN MOVEMENT;

FROM TESTIMONIES DERIVED FROM

## THE BISHOPS AND CLERGY;

WITH A PROPOSITION FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF

## A SCRIPTURE READERS' SOCIETY.

ACCOMPANIED BY A LETTER

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD ASHLEY, M.P.

BY G. ATKINSON, ESQ., R.N.,

TORQUAY.

"It seems impossible to read the works of the Oxford Divines, and especially to follow them chronologically, without discovering a daily approach to our holy Church, both in doctrine and affectionate feeling."—  
Dr. WHELAN.

LONDON:

W. H. DALTON, COCKSPUR STREET.

1848.





LONDON :

PRINTED BY G. J. PALMER, SAVOY STREET STRAND.

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD ASHLEY, M.P.

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MY LORD,

I AM not at all aware that your Lordship will deem any apology necessary for my thus addressing you on the present occasion. If I were called upon to explain the grounds for my doing so, I would at once say, that your Lordship's own stirring appeals, at various times, have had no small share in urging me to the step I am taking—I mean, that of calling the attention of the lay members of the Church of England to the great and imminent dangers to which we are exposed from the Tractarian movement, and the consequent duty devolving upon us, if we would save the Church from impending and irretrievable ruin, to adopt such remedial measures as, with God's blessing, may be likely to stem the torrent which is now bearing down upon us.—Your Lordship's own addresses upon this subject, to which I have already alluded, might be quoted, in addition to

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those I have brought forward in my Appeal, to strengthen the testimonies therein adduced, as to the dangers which encompass us on every side. This is, however, unnecessary. I had intended to do so, but it would have unduly extended the length of the letter.

My Lord, had I observed any proposition emanating from yourself, or from any other quarter, calculated to meet the evils which in common we deplore, I should readily have fallen in with it; but, as year after year has rolled on, and every succeeding year has but tended to increase our danger, without any remedy being proposed, I do feel that I shall stand acquitted of the charge of precipitancy, in again bringing before the public the consideration of this important subject. I would remind your Lordship, that *no society exists in the Church which can reach the evil*. The Church Pastoral Aid Society, as also the Scripture Readers' Association, are both precluded, by their restricted regulations, from entering upon such an undertaking. In short, nothing but *an unfettered and an aggressive movement can possibly meet the case*. We may continue to protest against the errors, as we have done for years past, but without the least effect. *Agreeing then, as I do, with the Bishop of Calcutta, that the dangers which beset the Church are imminent, I feel persuaded that, if the laity, as a body, much longer remain unmoved*

*upon this great and momentous question, the time is not far distant when, too late, they may have to lament their apathy.*

Let it not be supposed that I am unfriendly to order—far from it; I have been an attached, and an active friend of the Church Pastoral Aid Society from its commencement; and, what is rather a singular coincidence, I was, I believe, its very first subscriber. But this Society cannot undertake the work,—it does not profess to do so; nay, it would violate its own principles to attempt it. If the Church indeed were in a healthy state, the two Societies I have named would be the best adapted to meet the wants of the whole population; but, diseased as she is by the prevailing heresy, they can offer no remedy; and I will again add, that no other society in the Church is competent to the task. What a spectacle must the Church of England be in the eyes of all Christendom, when it is known that, for the last ten or twelve years, she has had a pernicious heresy destroying her very vitals, and yet that no movement, on the part of the clergy or laity, has been made to arrest its progress!!!

My Lord, I know what the Continental Christians think of our position. I recently had an opportunity of conversing with one of their most celebrated professors upon this very question, and I felt that it was quite impossible for me to give

any satisfactory solution of the anomalous state of things in our Church. I think I hear some one exclaiming, "*But you cannot adopt any plan that does not infringe upon the Order of the Church.*"

Without dwelling, at present, upon the fearful disorders which already prevail in *Tractarian parishes*,—witness the late proceedings in that of Leigh, in Essex,—I will meet this objection by a quotation which, some time ago, I obtained from a friend: it is ascribed to the Bishop of Cashel, from his work, "On the Church." His Lordship remarks, "I find in our Church two things for which I love her, *scriptural truth* and *scriptural order*; I love her for both. But when I find these two separated, and I shall be obliged to decide whether I will hold to the truth, and give up the order, or hold to the order and give up the truth, I shall feel myself bound to hold to the *truth*." Few persons, I believe, who are not tainted with the heresy in question, will impugn this decision. And, with regard to the abstract question of employing Scripture readers, (almost the only instrumentality suited to the present circumstances of the country,) I scarcely need remind your Lordship, that no layman *necessarily* requires a license from a Bishop, or from any other human authority, to do *that*, which it is every Christian's privilege and duty to do, *upon a much higher authority*, viz. that of the Scriptures them-

selves; and this view of the case is confirmed by the Bishop of Exeter. His Lordship, in his late *Protest* against the "Declaration," signed by the twenty-three Bishops, thus observes, "I will not affect to" permit "what I have no right to forbid." This is an admission of no ordinary value. It implies just what I infer, that it is the right and duty—the *scriptural* right and duty—of "private Christians," to exhort and edify one another. His Lordship thus argues the case:—"Do the Bishops who have subscribed this paper say that they mean to 'call and send' these Scripture readers to be ministers? If they do not, what are these persons but private Christians, *who may exercise the right*, or if you will, *perform the duty*, of private Christians, privately exhorting one another, edifying one another? *For this duty no mission by the Bishop is necessary.*" (The italics are mine.) This is what I have always contended for. But, still I admit that, under ordinary circumstances, that is, when it requires no compromise of truth, it would be most *desirable* to work with and under the clergy, as in the Church Pastoral Aid Society.

Before I conclude, I will make one observation with respect to the "Declaration" referred to.—I believe that it is an almost unanimous opinion that, as far as any practical good may be expected to result from it, *it will be a mere dead letter*,

unless it be followed up, on the part of their Lordships, by an exhortation to their clergy, to invite their respective parishioners to join one or other of the societies already established. Without further drawing upon your Lordship's time, I will now bring the letter to a close, by recommending the "Appeal" to your special attention. Should the fact of my having associated your Lordship's name with this undertaking be the means of giving it greater publicity, my object will be gained; and should the cause of God be, in the smallest degree, promoted by the circumstance, I am sure you will be the last person to regret the course I have taken,

I have the honour to be,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient  
and faithful servant,

GEORGE ATKINSON.

*London, Jan. 1848.*

# A P P E A L.

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MY CHRISTIAN BRETHREN,

“I HAVE long felt, and every day increases my conviction of its truth, that not only the safety, but the very existence of the Church of England, is, under God, in the hands of the laity. According to the course which they shall pursue within the next few years will, I verily believe, depend, whether the Church of England is to prove a blessing or a curse to our land.” Such were my sentiments, contained in a pamphlet which I published in 1846. And in order to show that my views, with reference to the dangers which then menaced our Church, were not unsupported by similar testimony, I deemed it right to quote an observation which had been recently made by a Bishop whose praise is in all the churches—I mean the Bishop of Calcutta. His Lordship’s observation, like my own, had reference to the *Tractarian heresy*. It was of this *false and fatal* system



that he said, unless we could “effectually reject from us, as a Church, *the glaring imposition*, our candlestick will be removed out of its place.”\* I admit that this language of the Bishop, as well as that of my own, is strong—very strong; but not stronger than the case requires; neither is it stronger than that adopted by another authority, and that by one of the best and ablest champions of the Church of England—and this, too, while he proves to demonstration the truth of his remark. His words are as follow:—“As for the Tractarians, they are mere Papists under a different name, dishonestly holding English preferment, when they can get it, with Romish doctrines.” Such is the testimony of the Rev. George Stanley Faber, in his Letters on Tractarian Secession to Popery. Again, I add the testimony of the Bishop of Llandaff, which is to the same effect. His Lordship says,

“These rash teachers seem to think it enough, here and there to protest against certain popish corruptions; but they love to lead their disciples to the very confines of that treacherous ground – they encourage a taste and liking for the prospect—they study to make its boundaries less distinct and perceptible, and they seem intent upon smoothing the way and affording facilities for pass-

\* See Sermon preached before the Church Missionary Society in 1846, containing a faithful testimony against Tractarianism.

ing on from our own side to the other. If this be not dangerous to the purity of our Church, and of the faith which has been established among us by the blood of martyrs, it is hard to say what is; and if it be reconcilable with that allegiance to which all her ministers have over and over pledged themselves, then have we cleansed our sanctuary in vain." \*

It might seem almost superfluous to occupy your time, by producing sentiments to the same effect from other sources, to corroborate the truth of these statements; but the subject is of too painful an interest, and fraught with too deep an importance to our Church, to render any apology necessary for thus taxing your attention; and, especially, at a time when the pernicious tendency, nay, the very effects of these treacherous doctrines, are absolutely leading hundreds, it may be thousands, of our too confiding and unsuspecting brethren to apostatize from our communion. For the benefit, then, of those individuals who have not had the opportunity of ascertaining the opinions of the various Bishops and others upon this destructive and anti-Christian system, I will bespeak your attention, while I bring before you

\* This quotation will explain to Mr. Bennett the origin, or at least the confirmation, of Mr. Chirol's tendency to Rome. And believing this to have been the case, in the present instance, I cannot forbear expressing my opinion, that Mr. Bennett's sermon on *Apostacy* is most severe. It is also illogical; and, as far as it professes to be an exhibition of gospel truth, a libel upon the Church of England.

such quotations as will at once convince you, not merely of the imminent danger to which the *Church of England* is exposed, but the cause of truth itself. I have already, by the quotation of one sentence, given you no vague and undefined notion of the Bishop of Calcutta's views upon this lamentable delusion, which is now endangering our Church. And, bearing in mind that the sermon preached before the Church Missionary Society, in 1846, was the last occasion when this excellent Bishop raised his voice against the dangers of Tractarianism ; and, as he himself considered that it was the last testimony he should ever bear to the truth in his native land, I hope that these circumstances will give to his parting, I had almost said to his dying, injunctions, a corresponding weight and importance. His farewell exhortation was couched in these affecting terms :

“ Receive, I pray you, in love, this my last testimony to the blood of the Lamb. I shall see you no more at our anniversaries. But we shall be assembled before the judgment-seat of Christ. Let each one of us see to it, that we meet there on safe ground.”

I now add the following, in further proof of his opinions :—

“ It is to me, I confess, a matter of surprise and shame, that in the nineteenth century we should really have the fundamental position of the whole system of Popery virtually reasserted in the bosom of that very

Church which was reformed so determinately three centuries since from this self-same evil, by the doctrine and labours and martyrdom of Cranmer and his noble fellow-sufferers." (Charge, 1838.)

Again he observes,

*"You will expect me to say something concerning India.*

"I am full of fear; everything is at stake. There seems to be something judicial in the rapid spread of these opinions. If they should come over here, and pervade the teaching of our chaplains, the views and proceedings of our missionaries, our friendly relations with other bodies of Christians, and our position amongst the Hindoos and Mahometans, *Ichabod, the glory is departed*, may be inscribed on our Church in India. All real advances in the conversion of the heathen will stop. Our scattered Christian flocks will miss the sound and wholesome nourishment of their souls,—Our converts will quickly dwindle away to a nominal profession,—Our native catechists and missionaries will be bewildered. A scheme which substitutes self and form and authority of office, for weight of doctrine and activity of love, will be eagerly imbibed. The spirituality of our missions will be gone. And nothing in the whole world is so graceless, as the eminent Gérické once observed, as a mission without the spirit of Christ. . . . In my own diocese, till I receive particular directions, I shall proceed, as I ought, cautiously but firmly, so far as my influence and mild authority as a Protestant Bishop extend. I have made up my mind. I take a very different view of the case now from what I did three years since. I then addressed a few cautionary remarks to my reverend brethren in my public charge on the question as it then lay

before me I did not conceal, even at that early period, my fears of the tendencies of the traditional school. But I leaned to the side of charity. I hoped the leaders would have retracted, or cease to repeat their errors. I hoped the character of those errors would have been so acknowledged, when the novelty had passed; but I was mistaken. I now look on the progress of these doctrines in a very different light. I am an alarmist. I believe our Church was never in the danger she now is, except perhaps immediately before the great Rebellion. Not the High Church party, of which Archbishop Laud was then the head, nor the Non-Jurors who condemned the glorious Revolution of 1688, carried out so many of the main principles of the Church of Rome, and professed them so formally, fully, and systematically within the Church of England as is now openly done." (Ordination Sermon, 1841.)

More might be adduced, but this may suffice, as our first authority.

Let me now request your attention to the Bishop of Chester's estimate of these destructive principles. His Lordship thus writes:—

“Many subjects present themselves towards which I might be tempted to direct your thoughts,—one more especially concerns the Church at present; because it is daily assuming a more serious and alarming aspect, and threatens a revival of the worst evils of the Romish system. Under the specious pretence of deference to antiquity, and respect for primitive models, the foundations of our Protestant Church are undermined by men who dwell within her walls;

and those who sit in the Reformers' seat are traducing the Reformation. It is again becoming matter of question whether the Bible is sufficient to make men wise unto salvation; the main article of our national confession, justification by faith, is both openly and covertly assailed; and the stewards of the mysteries of God are instructed to reserve the truths which they have been ordained to dispense, and to hide under a bushel those doctrines which the apostles were commanded to preach to every creature." (Charge, 1838.)

Three years after this, in another Charge, referring to their mistaken view of the Church and ministry, he thus speaks :

" Had an enemy devised a plan for marring our usefulness, he could not have formed a scheme more likely to effect his purpose." (Charge, 1841.)

The Bishop of Winchester is equally faithful and unequivocal in his animadversions. He says,

" I cannot but fear the consequences for the character, the efficiency, and the very truth of our Church, if a system of teaching should become extensively popular which dwells upon the external and ritual parts of religious service, whilst it loses sight of their inner meaning and spiritual life; which defaces the brightest glory of the Church, by forgetting the continual presence of her Lord, seeming in effect to depose him from his rightful pre-eminence; which speaks of the sacraments, not as seals and pledges, but instruments of salvation in a justificatory and causal sense; not as eminent means of grace, inasmuch as ' faith is confirmed and grace in-

creased 'in them, as our Article speaks; not as that they be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather certain sure witnesses and effectual signs of grace,' as our Article speaks again, but as if they were the only sources of divine grace, to the exclusion of any other; *the means, the keys* of the kingdom; deprecating, as superstitious, an 'apprehension of resting in them,' and investing them with a saving intrinsic efficacy, not distinguishable by ordinary understandings, from the *opus operatum*; which tends to substitute, at least in unholy minds, for the worship, in spirit and in truth, the observance of days, and months, and times, and years." (Charge, 1841.)

Just at this particular moment, the following testimony against the Tractarian system will be read with peculiar interest. It is from a Charge delivered by the present Archbishop of York, as Bishop of Hereford. His Lordship thus deprecates the disparagement of the Reformers and the Reformation :

" Among other marvels of the present day may be accounted the irreverent and unbecoming language applied to the chief promoters of the Reformation in this land. If ever men had a catholic spirit and deserved well of their country and of mankind; if ever men in such circumstances did good service to the Church of Christ, and to the cause of vital godliness, such were these men. And they ought ever to be, as, indeed, till of late they have ever been, regarded with grateful respect and veneration."

And having exhorted his clergy to preach *unreservedly* the doctrines of the cross, Dr. Musgrave, with a view of defending the doctrine of justification by faith, alluding to the compilers of the **Articles** and their contemporaries, thus represents them as scripturally

“ Setting forth, in language too accurate and precise to be misunderstood by any candid and ingenuous inquirer, *that faith in the righteousness of Jesus Christ is the sole and simple instrument of justification ; that this faith must not be dead, barren, and unfruitful ; that if real, it must and will be a living faith—a faith zealous and productive of good works—but that these works contribute not as instruments of merit to justification ; else it would imply a reliance to be placed on something inherent in ourselves, some personal quality of our own, and not on the perfect righteousness of Jesus Christ.*” [Italics by the author.]

In short, there is scarcely a feature in that delusive system that his Lordship does not most faithfully unmask ; and thus concludes his strictures :

“ I have spoken, because I deem the patrons of the system to be in grievous and dangerous error ; seeming to innovate, where innovation would be mischievous and full of peril ; and betraying withal, by scarcely disguised panegyric, or by half-blushing blame, an undue attachment to the doctrine and discipline of Papal Rome.”

The Bishop of London has also expressed his decided disapprobation of certain parts of the



system. With reference to the frivolous custom of decorating the communion-table with flowers, his Lordship observes, (and it would be well if certain individuals in his Lordship's diocese, who affect to be such zealous contenders for episcopal authority, would endeavour to reconcile their own practice with his Lordship's recorded sentiments on this head).\* He says.

“ I strongly disapprove of the practice, which, as I am informed, has been adopted by a few of the clergy, of decorating the communion-table with flowers ; and especially when that decoration is varied from day to day, so as to have some fanciful analogy to the history of the saint who is commemorated. This appears to me to be something worse than frivolous, and to approach very nearly to the honours paid by the Church of Rome to deified sinners. Such practices as these, which are neither prescribed, nor recommended, nor even noticed by our Church, nor sanctioned by general custom, throw discredit upon those decent ceremonies, and expressive forms, which are intended to enliven the devotion of those who are engaged in the service of God, and to do honour to his holy name.”

\* Dr. Wiseman was quite right when, in his letter to Mr. Chirol, he says, with reference to the Tractarians, “ With a ready cry on the authority of the Episcopacy, on apostolical succession, and the sin of schism, never were the true rights of bishops more completely despised and set at nought, and never was dogmatism more boldly assumed than by the leaders of this party.”

Thus far, I am indebted for my quotations to a publication, entitled, "The Voice of the Anglican Church," by the Rev. Henry Hughes, M.A. I now avail myself of other authorities, borrowed from a useful little work, entitled, "A Real Tract for the Times," by the Rev. James Sutcliffe, M.A., 3rd edition. The first I shall notice is that of the Bishop of Cashel. He observes,

"The Tractarian views have been taken up, with very few exceptions, only by those who have, in the midst, perhaps, of much external decorum, exhibited no signs of spiritual life, and have never seen clearly the great scriptural truth of justification by faith. They have proved themselves to be blind leaders of the blind, entirely in the dark as to God's plan for the justification of a sinner: like the Jews of old, they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge."

The next is equally strong and decisive—that of the Bishop of Ohio. He says,

"The old root of Rome, dead at the top, has thrown up in the midst of us a youthful sapling, vigorous, aspiring, full of life, heady, high-minded. It is already a great tree. I believe most solemnly, that, under this new shape, we have a revival of anti-christian heresy and opposition to 'the truth as it is in Jesus,' which cannot be dreaded too seriously, or resisted too earnestly. There is no controversy of these times comparable with this. We have important controversies about the polity of the Church,—this is about the very life of the Gospel."

The estimate formed of Tractarianism by the Bishop of Rochester may be summed up in the following brief sentence—"I certainly believe the system to be most pernicious."

"I charge you," observes Prebendary Townsend, "in the name of Christ, to shun these novelties, to despise such teaching, to abhor such perversions of learning."

I have, at present, but two other quotations to which I would call your attention.

*Dr. Lee* (Regius Professor of Hebrew, at Cambridge,) on *Dr. Pusey's late Sermon*, thus writes—

"The 'Holy Truth,' which it seems to be your object to propagate, is, as you must see, daily creating and increasing an *unholy* division among us. Dissent is, on the one hand, rejoicing in your progress, and gathering strength under it. Romanism is still more anxious for your success, daily congratulates your heroism and your blindness, receives now and then one of your deluded followers into its bosom, and anxiously looks forward for the period when your leaven shall have so leavened the whole lump, that darkness, superstition, and cruelty, shall again extend their ravages over this so long and so richly favoured land! Infidelity, too, hails with no less enthusiasm the mystified reserve, the priest-ennobling projects, the superstitious, blind, and irrational theology of the Tractarian school, as something well adapted to its extension. These, wiser in their generation than the children of light, know full well how to appreciate efforts,

from which the well-informed and well-intentioned cannot but turn with sorrow, and over which the true disciple cannot but lament and mourn."

The last quotation is from *Dr. Dibdin's Letter to the Bishop of Llandaff*:—

"My Lord, even these [crosses, genuflexions, &c.] are little mischievous, compared with the doctrine which has been delivered from the pulpit of a surpliced preacher, by one who dares to receive the pay of a *Protestant* clergyman, while inculcating some of the most audacious dogmas of Rome. In the afternoon sermon of Christmas Day, the congregation of ——— were deliberately told, that the body of Christ had been as absolutely upon the altar-table of the communion, as it appeared to the shepherds in the manger; in other words, transubstantiation in its most flagrant character. I know that this is true."

My Christian friends, let me now ask, taking it for granted that you admit the importance of the quotations which have been brought before you,—let me ask, I say, what are we to think of a system, when, with any appearance of truth, it can be spoken of as "the glaring imposition"—which "threatens a revival of the worst evils of the Romish system"—which substitutes "for the worship in spirit and in truth, the observance of days, and months, and times, and years,"—a system, the patrons of which are deemed "to be in grievous and dangerous error,"—the supporters of which "have proved themselves to be blind,

leaders of the blind, entirely in the dark as to God's plan for the justification of a sinner,"—which is considered as “ a revival of anti-christian heresy, and opposition to the truth as it is in Jesus, which cannot be dreaded too seriously, or resisted too earnestly,”—in short, when it can, with any degree of truth, be said to be a “ pernicious” system, “ inculcating some of the most audacious dogmas of Rome;”—and when, lastly, we are solemnly charged, “ in the name of Christ, to shun these novelties, to despise such teaching, to abhor such perversions of learning,”—what, I repeat my question, what, under such circumstances, can we think of such a system?\*

I scarcely need observe, that I might have gone on making similar quotations, from other sources, to an almost indefinite length,—quotations which, more or less, condemn the Tractarian errors. I refrain, however, from doing so, because the laudatory strains which have accompanied many of these strictures, with reference to certain fancied benefits which these writers are supposed to have conferred upon the Church, have so completely neutralized the effect of them, that the very censures themselves have lost their power; and I cannot but think that a much greater service would have been rendered to the Church, had the authors of these censures

\* Let it be observed that, if I have used strong language, it is all borrowed from the Bishops and the Clergy themselves.

altogether refrained from noticing the errors in question. It required no great depth of penetration to foresee the natural consequence of such a mode of dealing with a heresy—it was foreseen, and almost every step of its subsequent progress has been just what was anticipated. What should we think of the defenders of our Church against the inroads of Arianism and Socinianism, if, while opposing the doctrines, the persons who held them were so lauded for their learning and piety, and other supposed superior qualifications, as to render them rather the objects of envy than of distrust! And this is precisely the case with the persons in question. Doubtless, it has had the unhappy effect of throwing a shield over the errors of which we complain; nay, more, I believe they have even had the further effect of producing a sympathy in favour of the individuals so eulogized, and hence the fearful consequences which have resulted to the Church. That the Tractarian system is, indeed, undermining the Church, its avowed enemies are too well assured of; and the following quotations from Roman Catholic authorities are no mean testimony upon such a point. The Roman Catholic prelate, Dr. Wiseman, says of these writers—

“ It seems impossible to read the works of the Oxford divines, and especially to follow them chronologically, without discovering a daily approach to our

holy Church both in doctrine and affectionate feeling. . . . Their admiration of our institutions and practices, and their regret at having lost them, manifestly spring from the value which they set upon everything *Catholic*; and to suppose them (without an insincerity which they have given us no right to charge them with) to love the parts of a system, and wish for them, while they would reject the root, and only secure support of them—the system itself—is to my mind revoltingly contradictory.”

Again, a *Roman Catholic bookseller in Liverpool*, thus writes :

“ We Catholics are much indebted to Dr. Pusey, the Rev. Mr. Newman, and other leading Puseyites, for the number of converts from Protestantism to the Holy See, hardly a day passing away without an addition to Catholicism. Our priests circulate Dr. Pusey’s Sermon on the Eucharist, as abounding in Catholic articles of faith, the *Tracts of the Times*, and Newman’s *Lives of the Saints*. Indeed, our priests refrain from controversy, seeing in the conversion of so many individuals from Protestantism to Catholicism, that Puseyism is wonderfully preparing the speedy return of England into re-union and conciliation with the Holy See.”

The last quotation upon this head is as follows :

“ We Catholics look on these Oxford divines as nothing more or less than the light troops of Catholicity, and clearing the way for us.”—*Letters to Dr. Hook, by Verax*.

With such sentiments, then, as I have already quoted against the Tractarians, on the part of those who saw, and deprecated, the tendency of their destructive system, backed as they have

been by the opinions of the last-mentioned authorities, is it possible to arrive at any other conclusion, than that the countenance they have received from many of the administrators of our church has been the cause of our present alarming position! No one, I think, who takes an impartial view of the matter can, for one moment, doubt the fact. But whether this view of the subject be the correct one, or not, as to the immediate cause of our danger, certain it is, that, if some *movement* be not made, and that instantly, to arrest the progress of our downward course, we are gone, both as a church, and as a nation. The question then, recurs, what is to be done to arrest such a national calamity? The answer to this question I find in my first opening remark, that if the Church of England is to be saved, it must, under God, be effected by the laity. Is any one disposed to ask, why the laity, as a body, are thus appealed to, as being the fittest instruments for forming, and carrying into operation, a plan by which the dangers which now threaten the Church, are to be arrested? I answer, because, from the divided state of the clergy, they are utterly unequal to the task—those who are sound in doctrine have not the time; and, if they had, by an ecclesiastical understanding, they have not the permission, to enter into the parish or district of a brother clergyman, however



destitute of spiritual instruction that parish or district may be. The natural consequence of such a state of things, (unless the Bishop interpose,) is, while, on the one hand, many souls are perishing for lack of knowledge, for the want of instruction; numbers, on the other hand, are tempted by *unfaithful teachers* to apostatize from the profession of a true, to the adoption of a false, faith. My Christian friends, I appeal to you, as before God, whether I am not describing a case of frequent occurrence. Look at the number of parishes in our country which are now under the influence of teachers that are paving the way to Rome. Do our Bishops, as a body, interpose the weight of their authority to counteract this evil? It is too well known, that they do not. It may be that they cannot. In either case, the evil is progressing, and, if not checked by the timely interference of the laity, will end in national apostacy. It may be urged that we have already a machinery in the Church which is quite adequate to meet the wants of the people, if duly carried out. Thank God, that we have two Societies which are eminently qualified to do a great work, *wherever the clergy are disposed to avail themselves of their services*. I mean the Church Pastoral Aid Society, and the Scripture Readers' Association. And if the Church were in a healthy state, these Societies would, by their extension,

meet the wants of the country. But, unfortunately for those parts of our land, where their services are most required, there they are not permitted to carry on their operations. And why, but for this obvious reason, that these faithful Societies are pledged to carry the principles of our Reformed Church to every man's door which is open to them? This is the grand secret of the opposition to these Societies, on the part of those, "whose object is to recede more and more from the principles of the English Reformation." I would ask, then, are the laity, under such circumstances, merely on account of an ecclesiastical arrangement, which affects the clergy only, to be deterred from carrying the gospel to their fellow-creatures, and above all, to their fellow-countrymen; especially when, by the neglect of that scriptural duty, the very foundations of the church they love are being undermined? I will not believe that the laity are prepared, either by their supineness, their indifference, or their fears, thus to sacrifice their church and their country. But then, my friends, no time must be lost. We are in the position of a people who have to contend, not merely with outward enemies; our greatest danger lies in the existence of a conspiracy within our own camp—and every hour's delay does but increase our danger, and lessen our resources.

I consider that I have now arrived at that

point, when I should bring before you, what I would submit as being the best, and almost the only remedy to meet this and every other form of anti-christian error, be it disguised either under a Popish or a Protestant garb. I propose, then, in the humble confidence that God's blessing will rest upon its labours, if formed, the establishment of a society, which shall have for its object, the supplying with Scripture readers those parishes or districts in England, where, from whatever cause, the spiritual necessities of the people require them; that such Society shall be *exclusively* conducted by Lay-Members of the Established Church; and, as I have observed in my pamphlet, already alluded to—

“ In order that there may be no misunderstanding as to the general principles of the Society, I would observe that it is neither more nor less than an extension of the ‘ Scripture Readers’ Association,’ or that branch of the Church Pastoral-Aid Society which refers to its lay-agency. Neither of these Societies, as was before observed, can reach those parishes or districts where a Tractarian, or any other clergyman who disapproves of the system of lay-teaching, may be located, however great the spiritual destitution may be. The only difference, then, between the above two Societies and the one contemplated is, that the latter begins where the others leave off. . . . that, whereas in the former cases their operations are restricted to those parishes or districts from whence they receive an *invitation* for as-

sistance—the operations of the [proposed Society] will be extended to any parishes or districts whose spiritual destitution *requires* their assistance." \*

No doubt, the cry of violating what is called *church order* will be raised by the opponents of such a proposition; and the persons proposing it may be deemed disturbers of the peace of the Church; but I do beseech you, in the name of God, not to be deterred from your duty by such specious though hollow pretences. Be assured, that the time is fast approaching when, if we neglect the present opportunity, the means and resources which are now within our reach will have passed from our hands; we shall then, too late, repent of our apathy and our unfaithfulness. But let me remind you that, though *we* may be at our ease, there are *others* who are up and doing. The reported re-establishment of a Romish hierarchy, "with all its ramifications of ecclesiastical government—deans, chapters, archdeacons, and ecclesiastical courts, &c.,—as it existed prior to the Reformation, and at present exists in Roman Catholic Ireland;" this revived machinery on the part of Rome, encouraged as it is by the treacherous and far more disgraceful attempts on the part of the Tractarians, who look upon the Reformation as "*the great schism of the sixteenth cen-*

\* See Appendix.

*tury* ;"—these facts, I repeat, should speak with a voice of thunder to the Protestants of this empire. Yes, my friends, we may depend upon it, never was there a time when prouder pretensions were manifested on the part of Rome; and no wonder; for, as a nation, we seem *virtually* to have renounced our Protestantism. Alas! so far has England hitherto slighted her privileges and despised her mercies, that God seems to be about to sell her into the hands of her enemies. Whether such a catastrophe be indeed impending over us, is a question which time and events can alone unfold. Should, however, the same retrograde movement, which has unhappily compromised the cause of Protestantism for the last ten or twelve years, be much longer continued; and should Protestants, from whatever cause, refrain from making *an aggressive movement* upon the destructive system, against the dangers of which, it has been my object to warn you, it will not require the spirit of prophecy to foretell the issue. That there will be much judgment required in carrying on the operations of such a society, as the one proposed, no one can doubt; *and as little can we doubt, that however unexceptionable may be the mode of its operations,* still the cry of its being contrary to church order will resound in our ears. Church order, or, in other words, an ecclesiastical arrangement *which secures a faithfully preached*

*gospel*, is indeed of all blessings the greatest ; but a church order, *which reverses this great end*, is, of all curses, the greatest. It may be asked, then, who is to decide this important matter, as to whether the gospel be preached or not? I answer, at once, that the scriptures *alone* must be our guide—and they seem to furnish an easy solution to the question—at least, as far as those to whom the word is preached are concerned. They are commanded to take heed what they hear—to cease to hear the instruction that causeth to err—to beware of false prophets—and, surely, in a day, like the present, when so many are handling the word of God deceitfully, never were such cautions more necessary. To the Scriptures, then, and to the Scriptures alone, must be our appeal. Were it otherwise, where would be the force of St. Paul's commendation of the Bereans, as being "more noble than those in Thessalonica, in that they received the word with all readiness of mind, *and searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so.*" What things? Why, the very doctrines which he himself, an inspired apostle, had preached to them. It was because, by daily searching the Scriptures, they saw that his preaching was in conformity with the word of God, that, it is added, "Therefore many of them believed." If, then, an inspired apostle could thus address an assemblage of Christians, shall those

be deemed as holding something nigh akin to heresy, who assert, that it is the duty and the privilege of every Christian to guard himself from false doctrine, by appealing to the word of God? True, indeed, it is, that an awful amount of responsibility rests upon those who hear the word. Woe be to them, if they receive it not, when faithfully preached! but an equal woe attaches to them if they blindly receive what is not the truth. "If the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch." The common sense of every man, at least of every Protestant, goes along with this reasoning. For the want of its exercise, Tractarianism is slaying its thousands, and Romanism its tens of thousands. Thus we see that private judgment is the inalienable right of every man, and the moment he foregoes the privilege, *that moment he becomes a slave*, and deprives himself of that attribute which mainly distinguishes him from the brute creation. A most painful illustration of this last remark I have lately read in "Faber's Letter on Tractarian secession to Popery," a little work before alluded to, published by the Protestant Association, and which I would strongly recommend to your perusal. He says, in the commencement of his fourth letter,—

"The disciples of Mr. Newman appear to have adopted the Pythagorean maxim, '*The Master hath*

*said it,* as quite sufficient to justify their submission to any *dictum* of that gentleman without further examination. At least, I am led to this supposition by a circumstance which happened to myself. A young, certainly a *very young*, theologian of my acquaintance roundly asserted to me, that the doctrine of justification, as held alike by the Church of England and all other reformed churches, was *invented* by Luther. Not unnaturally, I requested the *proof* of his assertion, as I myself was not aware of the alleged fact. His only reply was, that Mr. Newman *had told him so.*"

I will mention another instance, as illustrative of that blind and infatuated submission which is now so fearfully common amongst us, and which has recently come to my own knowledge in this metropolis. It was the declaration of a member of a congregation whose minister (a well known Tractarian) has such baneful and destructive influence upon his deluded hearers, and was to this effect:—"I am so satisfied that Mr. — is right in all his views, that if he were to join the Church of Rome, I should certainly follow him." And what renders this the more painful, is the fact that the individual to whom the declaration was made, replied, "And, I think, I should do the same." In short, as the Bishop of Calcutta long ago observed, "There seems to be something judicial in the rapid spread of these opinions." We thus perceive, by the foregoing instances, the



extreme danger and folly of giving up ourselves *implicitly* to the guidance of any man, and especially in what concerns the interests of eternity.

I have intimated that the movers of this question may possibly be charged as being disturbers of the peace of the Church, by the establishment of such a society as the one now under consideration. My reply to the imputation would be, if we prove *the necessity* of such an institution, we are not at all answerable for the issue. Nay, more, *should such be the result of its formation*, I would still say, better, far, that such a delusive peace should be broken in upon, than that the truth itself should be sacrificed. St. Paul himself, in this view of the case, was one of the greatest disturbers of the public peace that the world ever saw; but did he, on that account, cease to preach the gospel? I trow not. Shall we, then, at a time, when the Roman Catholics are permitted, *without restraint*, to make an open assault upon our Church in any parish in England; and when, moreover, to use the language of the Bishop of Chester, "the foundations of our Protestant Church are undermined by men who dwell within her walls;" shall we, I say, at such a time, and under such circumstances, be diverted from our purpose of defending her, by the deceitful and treacherous cry of church order, and the charge of being disturbers of the peace of the Church?

No; my christian friends, it cannot, it must not be. Why, the very apostolic command, "that we should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints," implies, not merely, the possibility, or the probability, but the almost certainty, that such a collision may be expected; and, more than this, does not the whole history of the Church confirm such to have been the case? In short, whenever light and darkness, truth and error, are brought into contact, such must be its effect; and so it will be till the offence of the cross hath ceased. To suppose, then, that such a society, as the one contemplated, could be established, without its being deprecated by those who are undermining the truth, would indicate that we possessed but a very limited knowledge of the past history of the Church. I trust, then, upon the whole, that what I have said upon this part of the subject may have the effect of dissipating many difficulties which some have apprehended, and that, in future, when such occur to the mind, we may at once go to the standard of divine truth to have the difficulty solved. If the test of Scripture be fairly tried, we need not fear the issue. Upon this principle, let us carry to the word of God another objection which has sometimes been urged against this and similar societies—I mean, the employment of lay-agency. Previously to the establishment of the

Church Pastoral Aid Society, this deeply important instrumentality, (with an inconsistency that can scarcely be accounted for, at least, on the part of those who had been for years sanctioning the principle, in the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts,) this instrumentality, I repeat, was one of the great ostensible objections raised against the Society. That Society, however, most nobly vindicated this great principle, and has been most successfully engaged in carrying on its lay operations; till, at length, it has been the means of proving, not only its legitimacy, but its vast utility; and the blessing of God has been most signally vouchsafed, to the enlargement of the Church, and the great assistance of the clergy. But although this great principle had been thus vindicated, no sooner was it in contemplation to establish "The Scripture Readers' Association," than the same objection was pertinaciously revived. And how was the objection met? Why, as every such objection should be met, by a reference to Scripture. So appropriately did the Rev. J. H. Gurney, secretary to the Society, dispose of this question, that I feel assured I shall be excused, if I quote his own words on the present, as I have already done on a former occasion, in a pamphlet which I have already alluded to. He observes that,—

“ To numbers it seemed a very questionable invasion of clerical prerogative,—a dangerous intrusion of unauthorized men into things sacred. We were told that it better became us to wait patiently until other and safer remedies should be found,—that wise and christian men should bear the burden that was laid upon them, rather than have recourse to rash experiments, involving an unsound principle. I know not, my Lord, where these persons find the rule by which they condemn our proceedings—I search my Bible through, and find nowhere any single text which forbids a christian man, with his Bible in his hand, to speak privately to his brother-man respecting the things of their common salvation. I find a text of another sort, which says, ‘ As every man hath received the gift, even so minister the same, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God.’ *Every man*, it says ; mark that. Why, if words have any meaning, and God’s law be binding on all to whom it comes, instead of saying that no christian layman is permitted thus to teach, we ought rather to say that none are excused—and *that*, depend upon it, is much nearer the truth than the other. Few are sinning in over forwardness to do good to their neighbour, for body or for soul ; numbers are sinning who sit quietly at home, when, like ‘ good stewards,’ they should be dispensing actively what God has given.”

This appears to me most conclusive reasoning. But if there were no other passage in the Bible, touching upon this point, save that of Aquila and Priscilla, I should consider *that* scriptural precedent as decisive of the question. As the passage

is a short one, I will quote it; It is as follows;—  
 “ And a certain Jew named Apollos, born at Alexandria, an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures, came to Ephesus. This man was instructed in the way of the Lord; and being fervent in the spirit, he spake and taught diligently the things of the Lord, knowing only the baptism of John. And he began to speak boldly in the synagogue: whom, when Aquila and Priscilla had heard, they took him unto them, and expounded unto him the way of God more perfectly.” (Acts xviii. 24, 25, 26.) Here, then, we have an instance of lay-agency that cannot be questioned, and that too, be it observed, even for the instruction of a minister—I say, of a minister—for if he were not a minister, then he preached as a layman—and thus *another* proof would be added in favour of lay agency. Again, it is cheering in the present day, to hear the following language from another clergyman of the Church of England, when there are not wanting those among his brethren who would gladly *check* the unrestrained circulation of the Scripture. The Rev. Sir H. Dukinfield remarked, at an annual meeting of the Scripture Readers’ Association, that

“ If there were any one principle which their Church was more ready to assert than another, it was, that the Bible was the common property of every man. He thought he might say that it followed, as a matter of

course, that every man had a right to read the Bible to his neighbour, if that neighbour was willing to listen to it; and if one man should be permitted to read the Bible to another, (and what was there to hinder him from doing so ?) those who were sent forth by this Society had the strongest possible claims to the notice and the confidence of those to whom they were sent."

Let us not forget the important fact, "*That the Bible is the common property of every man.*"

And now, my christian friends, I do sincerely trust that what I have advanced upon this truly momentous question, will have proved to you, that the dangers which threaten the destruction of our beloved Church are imminent; and require the application of an immediate remedy. And if, with me, you have arrived at this conclusion, then I would further hope that the proposition which I have placed before you, may meet with a favourable and cordial response. A Provisional Committee has already been formed for the purpose of carrying into effect this great and important undertaking. It remains, therefore, for the true and enlightened members of our Church to decide, whether the benevolent intentions of the committee are to be realized or not. *I would just remind you that no society now exists in our Church which can reach the dangers that beset us—consequently, if left in this defenceless condition, a disease will prey upon her very vitals*

which must, sooner or later, be the means of her absolute and irretrievable destruction. I ask, with deep solemnity, is our country prepared for this alternative? God forbid! Then permit me, before I close, to make a last, though I humbly trust, a successful, appeal to my fellow-countrymen, in behalf of our cruelly stricken and falling Church. Would that every individual, who feels a real interest in her welfare, would put to himself, at this critical period of her existence, this important question,—*What am I doing to avert the evils of Tractarianism, which are now avowedly undermining her as a national institution?* The answer to this individual and personal appeal might possibly lead many to consider, *how far they may be fulfilling their duty to God and their country, should they hold back their influence, when such an opportunity as that which now presents itself is placed before them.* Regard not, I beseech you, whether the individual who addresses you be a clergyman or a layman. Look simply at the merits of the question. View it in all its bearings upon the eternal interests of our fellow-creatures. Weigh well the fearful consequences which must result to the cause of religion, upon the downfall of our Church. Rome would then indeed exult, and with reason, too,—for the greatest, if not the only barrier to the ultimate attainment of her wishes—the conquest of England—

would be removed. May God, of his infinite mercy, give you and me to see, ere it be too late, the things which belong to England's peace! Let not the supposed difficulty of our position, dark as it may appear, divert us from attempting an acknowledged duty. With God, all things are possible. May every class, then, and every individual of every class, who wishes well to our Zion, come forward at this eventful crisis of our country. Could we but reach the ear of Royalty, with what zeal and earnestness should we not pray that our gracious Queen might discountenance a *system of theology* which virtually excommunicates her own royal consort from the Church of Christ, and undermines the very foundations of that tenure by which she herself holds the sway of these realms.\* Truly, it was a noble exclamation, and worthy of her grandfather, George the Third, of blessed memory,—“I must,” said he, “I must be the Protestant king of a Protestant people, or no king.” May the spirit of this sentiment, as far, at least, as the altered circumstances of the country will admit of it, pervade every act of our gracious Sovereign, whom may God long preserve to reign over a Protestant kingdom!

To the nobles, to the gentry, and to the com-

\* Fathers and mothers!—Ponder well these words—As sure as night succeeds the day, so sure will a *revolution* follow in the wake of *uncheck'd* Tractarianism.



monalty of the land, would I earnestly address myself, in these perilous times. The religious, and, I may add, the political and civil privileges which we respectively enjoy, were the purchase of the blood of our martyred forefathers; and, if we would preserve those privileges—the glorious Reformation which gave rise to them must *first* be preserved—but this can only be done, to adopt the language of Bishop Barrington, “by a constant vigilance in support of those principles which effected it in the sixteenth century.” To that part of the press, likewise, which has so often and so nobly, advocated the principles for which I am contending, I would confidently appeal at this particular conjuncture of our nation’s peril. In the name of all that is dear to our common Protestantism, I would invoke its aid, and implore its mighty influence. And lastly, I solemnly appeal to every individual who feels the importance of these privileges, to manifest a zeal, in some measure, commensurate with the great blessings which are at stake. I will not take the liberty of mentioning names; but the country, if moved by the consideration of these momentous truths, will at once direct their eyes to those great and good men who have, on all former occasions, stood forward as the champions of their country’s cause.

I will now conclude, with the earnest prayer that God, in his infinite mercy to our Church and

country, may make this humble appeal, in some small degree, instrumental in calling attention to this all-important duty.

I have the honour to be,

My christian brethren,

Your obedient and faithful servant,

GEO. ATKINSON.

London, Jan. 1848.

## A P P E N D I X.

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*The following Rules are suggested as those that might form the foundation of such a Society.*

### R U L E S.

I. THE Society to be called "The Church of England Lay Evangelist Society.

II. Its object shall be to send Scripture Readers into those parishes or districts where they are most required, for the purpose of making known the truths of the Gospel, and more especially the great Scripture and Church of England Doctrine of "Justification through Faith in a Crucified Redeemer."

III. The operations of the Society shall be carried on in those parishes or districts, the spiritual necessities of which are not supplied by the "Scripture Readers' Association," and "Church Pastoral-Aid Society," or any other Church Institution of like character, and conducted upon the same religious principles.

IV. The Managers of the Society, by which term is to be understood all persons entitled to attend and vote at the Council and Local Boards, hereinafter mentioned, shall be Lay-Members of the Church of England.

V. The Readers employed by the Society shall be strictly prohibited from Public Preaching, and from holding any meeting on the Lord's Day, during the morning or afternoon services.

VI. Annual Subscribers of 10s. and upwards, and Collectors of £1 and upwards, shall be Members of the Society during the continuance of such Subscription or Collection. Donors of £10 and upwards, to be Members for Life.

VII. The government of the Society shall be vested in a President, Vice-Presidents, and Central Board. The Central Board shall consist of not more than twenty persons, five to be a quorum, and shall hold its Meetings in London, and appoint the Readers. Two Members of the Central Board shall go out of office annually, but be re-eligible. Vacancies shall be filled up at the Annual Meetings, from Candidates proposed by the Central Board.

VIII. The Central Board shall elect the President, the Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer, and also one or more Secretaries, all of whom shall be entitled to attend and vote at the Board Meetings.

IX. The Central Board may also appoint such other Officers and Assistants, and make such regulations as they shall deem necessary, for the proper carrying out of the affairs of the Society.

X. The operations of the Society at a distance from London, shall be conducted by Local Boards of not less than Three Members of the Society.

XI. The Local Boards shall ascertain what Readers are required in their districts, and have the control over them; but the power of appointment, removal, or dismissal, shall remain with the Central Board.

XII. An Annual General Meeting of Members shall be held in London, at which the proceedings of the foregoing year shall be reported, the accounts presented, and the vacancies in the Central Board filled up.

XIII. A Special General Meeting may be called at any time by the Central Board, or by any thirteen Members of the Society on their addressing a letter signed by them to the Secretary, specifying the object of such Meeting, at which not less than twenty shall constitute a quorum. Ten days' notice at least of any such Meeting and of the objects shall be given in three London Daily Newspapers, which shall be deemed sufficient publicity.

XIV. All Meetings of the Society, as well as of the Central and Local Boards, shall commence their proceedings with prayer.

XV. None of these Rules shall be repealed or altered, nor any new one added, except at the Annual Meeting, or at a Special General Meeting called for that purpose.

GEO. ATKINSON, *Hon. Sec.*

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Already the number of Subscribers is very encouraging; and, as soon as the list shall be increased to such an extent as shall warrant the Provisional Committee in coming before the public, they will be prepared to commence operations. In the meantime, those friends who are favourable to the establishment of such an Institution, are requested to *signify the amount* of their intended contributions. It is requested that *money* may not be forwarded till applied for. All letters addressed to the Hon. Secretary, 32, Sackville-street, Piccadilly, will be duly attended to. Papers, showing the progress which has been made, will be forwarded.

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SUBSTANCE  
OF  
TWO LECTURES  
ON THE  
FINAL AND UNIVERSAL TRIUMPH OF THE GOSPEL.  
DELIVERED BEFORE  
THE NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE AUXILIARY  
OF THE  
CHURCH OF ENGLAND YOUNG MEN'S SOCIETY FOR AIDING  
MISSIONS AT HOME AND ABROAD.  
BY  
JAMES BATEMAN, ESQ., M.A., F.R.S., &c.,  
PATRON OF THE AUXILIARY SOCIETY.

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TO  
THE PRESIDENT, VICE PRESIDENTS, OFFICERS AND MEMBERS,

OF THE

North Staffordshire Auxiliary

OF THE

Church of England Young Men's Society,

FOR

*Aiding Missions at Home and Abroad,*

THESE LECTURES,

DELIVERED AT THEIR MEETINGS,

AND

PUBLISHED AT THEIR REQUEST,

ARE AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED,

BY THEIR FAITHFUL FRIEND AND SERVANT,

JAMES BATEMAN.

BIDDULPH GRANGE,

May 10th, 1848.



**"I thank God, who by the light of these His wonderful mysteries has kindled that love in my heart which I had not ere I began to see them, and which have left me that which they found me not."—*Joseph Mede.***

## LECTURE I.

DELIVERED IN THE TOWN HALL, BURSLEM,

OCTOBER, 1846.

THE subject of this evening's Lecture—THE FINAL AND UNIVERSAL TRIUMPH OF THE GOSPEL—is a glorious truth, most clearly revealed to us in the written Word of God, and which you and I, my Christian friends, do therefore joyfully receive and steadfastly hold. The long delay—the ceaseless struggle—the little progress made,—could scarcely fail to perplex and dishearten us, if our confidence in the final issue were not built on the express declarations of Him with whom is no variableness or shadow of turning, and who has infinite power to execute whatsoever in infinite wisdom He decrees. But resting on His promise, the lamp of our faith burns bright and clear amid the surrounding gloom, and, like Abraham, we can rejoice afar off at the prospect of Messiah's glorious day. What, though our great adversary be still permitted to walk the earth seeking whom he may devour, *we know* that the judgment, so long deferred, will at length be executed, and the arch-deceiver cast into the lake of fire! What, though sin and its attendant sorrow yet fill our fallen world

with lamentations and mourning and woe, *we know* that festal ages will assuredly succeed, when the voice of joy and health will ascend from every dwelling, and sin and sorrow flee away! What, though death have reigned well nigh six thousand years, and made this earth a charnel house, *we know* that a day is coming—and that perhaps speedily—when this last enemy shall be destroyed, and mortality be swallowed up of life! These things *we know*, because they are written in the Scripture of truth, and doubt we must not of their ultimate accomplishment, even had there been no pre-intimation of a period of delay. But God has dealt more graciously with His Church, and in revealing beforehand the season of her waiting-time, has converted what might seem to be a stumbling-block to our faith, into the means of its strongest confirmation. This consideration is in itself so important, and is so closely connected with our subject as a whole, that I must beg leave to invite your attention to certain passages of Scripture that may serve to establish its truth. This will not detain us long. Then, after glancing at the many lets and hindrances with which the Gospel has had to contend, and with which it is contending still, I shall pass on to the assurances that are so amply vouchsafed to us of its eventual triumph. Up to this point, little difference of opinion prevails among the wise and good; but opinions are more divided as to the time when this triumph will be achieved, and the character of the events that will precede and follow it.

On each of these litigated but deeply interesting questions, I propose, ere I conclude, to offer a few

observations ; and may He, who alone giveth light and understanding to the simple, be graciously pleased to bless this humble attempt to explore these deeper treasures of His holy word !

First, then, we have to consider the intimations of delay that have been so mercifully granted to the Church, and which I apprehend we may readily trace alike in the earliest and latest pages of the sacred volume. Such delay is shadowed forth in the types of the Old Testament ;—less obscurely indicated in the parables of the New ;—while, in the prophetic times, it is distinctly announced. But in the threshold of our inquiry, permit me to observe that the believer of the present day enjoys advantages that were not vouchsafed even to the prophets and seers of the apostolic age, much less to the uninspired members of the early or mediæval Church.\* It was

\* Nothing is a greater source of perplexity and error than inattention to the various meanings of that ambiguous phrase, “the Church.” The term is used to denote either :—

1. A *pile of brick or stone*, set apart from all secular and profane uses.
2. The *clergy*, as contradistinguished from the laity.
3. The *national establishment*, as contradistinguished from the various dissenting bodies.
4. The *Church of England*, as contradistinguished from the Presbyterian, Lutheran, and other Protestant Churches.
5. The *community of the baptized*, as contradistinguished from the unbaptized, or heathen.
6. The ‘*blessed company of all faithful people*,’ who compose “the remnant according to the election of grace” (Rom. xi. 5) ; or as St. Paul elsewhere (Heb. xii. 23) describes them,—“The Church of the firstborn which are written in heaven.” [This is

“not for *them*,” the Saviour said, “to know the times and the seasons,” which, if prematurely re-

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the sense in which the word is generally employed in Scripture, and which I would wish it to bear in the following pages.]

The Tractarian sense of the word “Church” is not exactly described in any of the above, but I have never been able to comprehend its precise meaning, and have therefore made no attempt to define it. Sometimes it would seem to be a kind of mixture of the first and second with the fifth and sixth; the fusion of the two last is, however, the most frequent and dangerous error. Yet how strange to confound the “*visible Church*” (or Church of the baptized), with the “Church of the firstborn” that necessarily continues *invisible* until “the manifestation of the sons of God,” at the Saviour’s advent in glory. (Rom. viii. 19.)

The word ‘Catholic’ is frequently associated with the word ‘Church,’ and quite as frequently misapprehended. In the Liturgy of the Church of England, it is used in its strict etymological sense of ‘*universal*,’ as opposed to ‘*individual*,’ but with the multitude it is used in its conventional sense of *Popish*, as opposed to *Protestant*. It is unfortunate—as was justly remarked by the Bishop of Worcester, in a recent charge—that the word should have been retained at all, as being calculated to mislead the unlearned. But as ‘*universal*’ is employed in our Liturgy, as an exact equivalent to ‘*catholic*,’ no minister need make use of the latter in the pulpit, unless he be anxious to mystify his congregation, or is really ignorant of the *essential* difference between the Church of England and the (so-called) Church of Rome. Many such, alas, there are, and they speak of the ‘Anglican’ and ‘Roman’ ‘branches’ of the ‘Catholic Church,’—just as if they sprung from the same stem! But where is the tree that will produce grapes on one of its ‘branches,’ and thistles on another? (See note p. 10.)

I would earnestly direct attention to these points, as affording excellent tests of orthodoxy at the present time, and not the less necessary because *overt* Tractarianism would seem to have nearly disappeared of late. It is true that nosegays candlesticks and credence-tables, eagles and piscinas, with faldstools and frontals and other articles of the Tractarian wardrobe, have been generally

vealed, might have interfered with the earnestness of their expectation, and damped the ardour of their faith. But with *us*, the case is entirely reversed.

Living in the latter days of the Gentile dispensation, we can compare the facts of history with the words of inspiration, and thus avoid the false glosses in which her ignorance of the future necessarily involved the early Church. And in either case, what a tender example do we find of God's never-failing regard for the weakness and infirmities of our nature! A knowledge of the future was mercifully withheld, when and so far as such knowledge would have been in itself a burden; but it is withheld no longer, now that it may serve to quicken our faith, and re-kindle our hope!

Turning now to the Old Testament types, our

locked up (for a while), and the 'Anglican' priest has consented to preach in a black gown, or pray with his face to the people,—but the old leaven still remains, and is constantly, though *covertly* at work. Not long since, it was recommended to the party (through their organ, the *English Churchman*), that they should attend more to their sermons, as the best means of winning back the confidence of their congregations! Their congregations should, therefore, have vigilant ears.

As clear, able, and perfectly sound treatises on the points above referred to, and kindred topics, I may mention—

“An Inquiry into the Scriptural View of the Constitution of a Christian Church, and its Relation to the Church Universal; also into the evidence respecting the alleged fact of Apostolical Succession.” By W. A. Garratt, M.A. London, 1846. *Seeleys*.

“The Church and the Churches.” By the Rev. Hugh M'Neile, D.D. London, 1847. *Seeleys*.

“The Christian State: or, the First Principles of National Religion.” By the Rev. T. R. Birks, M.A. London, 1847. *Seeleys*.

attention is at once arrested by the history of that remarkable people, whom Moses was divinely appointed to conduct from the land of bondage to their destined inheritance in the land of Canaan. Theirs was no ordinary progress. Every step of that mysterious way; every incident in that eventful march, "happened unto them" as the Apostle himself assures us, "for examples, and are written for our admonition, on whom the ends of the world are come." (1 Cor. x. 11.) They were the literal Israel; we are the spiritual Israel. They were marching towards an earthly Canaan; we, too, have set forth on our pilgrimage, but to a better country, that is, a heavenly. They were God's "witnesses" in the former dispensation, before Christ's coming in humiliation; we are God's witnesses under the later dispensation, before Christ's coming in glory.\*

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\* Of the Jews it is declared (Isaiah xliii. 10—12, xliv. 8): "Ye are my witnesses, saith the Lord." In the Christian dispensation God has also his "witnesses" (*μαρτυρες*, *martures*, hence our English word "martyrs"), of whom the account is given in Rev. xi. 3—13. These are doubtless to be understood of faithful *Protestant* Churches; for to "witness" for the truth, implies the correlative duty of testifying, or *protesting*, against error. And here the true standing of the Church of England, and of her 'chaste sisters in Christ,' the Reformed and Continental Churches, will distinctly appear. They "witness" for Christ, against the great Antichrist of the seven hills. It is *PROTESTANT* truth *versus* *CATHOLIC* error. And let it be well understood that, in the present dispensation, the term "Catholic" (*καθολικος*, *katholickos*, over-all, universal), as applied to a *visible* ecclesiastical body, belongs alone and exclusively to the apostate Church of Rome, as prefigured in the Apocalyptic "beast," to whom there was granted a long lease of power "OVER ALL KINDREDS AND TONGUES AND NATIONS." (Rev. xiii. 1—7.) Rome may glory in the title, but she glories in her shame.

They were delivered by God's free grace and electing love, from the gross idolatry and heartless tyranny of ancient Egypt ; we, too, and by the same free grace and love, have been delivered from the still more cruel yoke and worse idolatries of Papal Rome, " that great city which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt." (Rev. xi. 8.) Thus far the parallel is clear and unbroken, nor will it fail us in a later stage. Israel's way, we know, was short, and yet the journey was toilsome and long. Once indeed they had attained to the very borders of Canaan, and the promised rest seemed almost won ; and yet, for rebellion and stubborn impenitence, they were commanded to retrace their steps and enter the howling wilderness again. Often in like manner did the Christian Church, at various epochs of her history, appear to have all but accomplished her weary way, and on the point of achieving

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It is a title which no attached member of the Church of England will envy her, or seek to share with her. If it be objected by some ultra High-churchman, that Rome has the ' Apostolical succession,' and other (so-called) notes of a true Church, and cannot therefore be the predicted apostacy ;—I reply, that the compilers of our Articles were of a different opinion. With *them*, preaching of the pure Word of God, and due administration of the Sacraments, are regarded as the essential ' notes ' of the visible Church of Christ (Art. XIX) ; and both of these are in the subsequent articles altogether denied to the Church of Rome. (See Art. XXIV., XXVIII., XXX.) Besides, in the Homilies she is repeatedly styled " Antichrist," " that filthy, foul, and withered harlot," &c. (See " Homily on Obedience ;" " Against Peril of Idolatry," &c.) And how can an idolatrous Church be, in any valid sense of the term, a ' Church ' at all ? For, as St. Paul asks (2 Cor. vi. 15, 16), " What agreement hath the temple of God with idols,—what concord hath Christ with Belial ?"



her promised triumph ; but ever and anon, for sins like those of Israel of old, she was condemned to resume her sackcloth covering, and to continue for a season longer in the wilderness state. Thus, to the believer of the present day, the wondrous history of God's ancient people, is at once a virtual prophecy of the ingratitude and unfaithfulness of the Gentile Church, and a type of the dreary period of protracted trial through which she was doomed to pass.\*

The Old Testament would supply us with many kindred types, but we cannot now enter upon their consideration, and must proceed to the parables of our blessed Lord, three of which will be found to bear directly on the present inquiry. I allude to the following :—

I. PARABLE OF THE NOBLEMAN WHO WENT TO RECEIVE A KINGDOM, AND TO RETURN. (Luke xix. 11—27.)

II. PARABLE OF THE VINEYARD. (Luke xx. 9—16.)

III. PARABLE OF THE TALENTS. (Matt. xxv. 14—30.)

The first of these is addressed to the disciples, and is designed, as we are expressly told, to correct an erroneous impression, “that the kingdom of God should IMMEDIATELY appear.” In order to check any such unfounded expectations, the parabolic narrative represents “a certain nobleman”—in whom the disciples could not fail to recognize their Lord—

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\* See this subject handled at greater length, and with consummate ability, in Mr. Birks' “Sermon before the Protestant Association.” 1846.

as proceeding "into a FAR country, to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return!" But the parable of the succeeding chapter (the second on our list) unfolds a further truth. Here we find that a certain lord, clearly answering to the nobleman in the former case, goes "into a FAR country," for a period which is distinctly characterized, as "A LONG TIME!" And lastly, in the parable of the talents, the same important truth is repeated in the same words, though in a different garb. The "kingdom of heaven" is again the subject of our Lord's discourse, and he likens it "to a man travelling into a FAR country," who returns "AFTER A LONG TIME" to reckon with the servants whom he had left in charge of his goods. Thus in three distinct examples we find our Lord, not only discouraging the too sanguine anticipations of his followers, but teaching them to regard the establishment of his kingdom as a remote event, for which they would have long to wait.

It now only remains for us to inquire whether in other portions of the Word any light has been thrown on the probable duration of that long and indefinite period which the types and parables prepare us to expect, before the commencement of Messiah's reign. I need scarcely observe, that such light, if it be indeed vouchsafed, must, of course, be looked for in the prophetic times; and to these I would therefore briefly direct your attention. I am well aware of the difficulties that surround this mysterious subject, and of the prejudices that would dissuade us from attempting their solution. But difficulties, however great, and prejudices, however widely diffused, cannot excuse our

neglect of a study on which the Holy Spirit has pronounced a repeated and emphatic blessing. A dark mist may, perhaps, for a time, obscure the sacred oracles, but the veil will be lifted as the time of their accomplishment draws nigh, and the last days of the dispensation be illumined by a bright effusion of prophetic light. For then the seal must be broken that has rested for ages on the mystic numbers of Daniel and St. John, and the vision become so "plain, that he may run that readeth it." (Hab. ii. 2.)

The only parts of Scripture which, with the above object in view, it will be needful to explore, are the second, seventh, and twelfth chapters of Daniel, compared with the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth of the Apocalypse, and also with 2 Thess. ii. 1—12. From these carefully collated, the following grand truths are clearly deducible:—

1. That four great Gentile empires would successively arise, and that in the days of the last of these, the God of heaven would set up a kingdom that would stand for ever.

2. That in the latter or divided stage of the fourth empire, a blasphemous and persecuting power, diverse from all that had preceded it, would spring up, and continue in action until destroyed by the coming of the Son of Man for the establishment of His kingdom.

3. That the decreed period of the duration of this great apostacy, and the consequent humiliation of the true Church, is "1260 days" (Rev. xi. 3; xii. 6), or "forty and two months" (Rev. xi. 2; xiii. 5), or "a time, times and a half." (Dan. vii. 25; xii. 7.)\*

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\* In all these cases it is the same period of time, though variously

Now whatever the nature of the apostacy, a point on which a true Protestant can scarcely doubt, it is clear, that the "times" which assign its duration, assign equally the length of a season of trial, which must precede the full manifestation of the kingdom of God. One question alone remains: the *scale* on which to calculate the mystic numbers. And here a clue at once presents itself in the analogy which evidently obtains between the wanderings of Israel in the wilderness of Sinai, and the wilderness-sojourn of the Christian Church. (Apoc. xii. 6, 14.) But since the former, as we learn from the Mosaic narrative (Num. xiv. 34), was on the scale of a "day for a year," a suspicion must necessarily arise that the latter should be computed on the same principle; and that thus, under the 1260 *days*, a period of 1260 *years* was really designed.

Here we have the ground-work of the "year-day theory," that famous key to the sacred calendar of prophecy, which Futurists and Tractarians are vainly striving to wrest from our grasp.\* To establish its

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expressed. Thirty prophetic "days" make a prophetic "month," and twelve prophetic "months" make a prophetic "time," or year. Three times and a-half, therefore, are equivalent to "forty and two months," or 1260 "days."

\* Those who wish to study the "year-day theory," should read the chapters devoted to its examination in Birks' "Elements of Prophecy" (London: *Painter*, 1844); which may be regarded as the "end of controversy" on this subject. See also Faber's "Provincial Letters." (London, 1844. *Painter*.) That Tractarians should still exclaim against a principle that entirely contravenes their own theory of a visible Church, is matter less of surprise than of regret; and here they might take a lesson from the Dissenters, among whom there appears to be a growing conviction that the year-day

truth, did time permit, were an easy task; but, for the present, I can only allude to the wonderful and varied mass of evidence that is arrayed in its support, and which must bring conviction to every disprejudiced mind. Assuming, then, as we safely may, the principle itself to be true, it yields another and invincible proof, that the Church, though doomed to navigate a dark and tempestuous sea, was not forsaken by her heavenly pilot, or left without warning of the length of the way.

But the delays and disappointed hopes of eighteen centuries were not the only trials that were destined to befall the Church. In every age, the deep waters of affliction have rolled around her, and the overflowings of ungodliness have made her afraid. The wild beast out of the forest has cruelly broken down her hedge, and laid waste her vineyard, while wolves, in sheep's clothing, have ravaged her fold. The sword and persecution from without, apostacy and treachery within, these have been her portion to drink! Yet He who mixed the bitter cup, repeatedly prepared His servants to expect to drain its contents. "Ye shall be hated of all nations for my name's sake;" "If they have persecuted Me, they will also persecute you;" were the words of the Saviour to his beloved disciples. (Matt. xxiv. 9; John xv. 20.) And the same note of faithful warning runs through the writings

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principle is true. I infer this from an article in the *Congregational Magazine* on Mr. Elliott's *Horæ Apocalypticae*, in which the writer observes, that he would be content to rest the defence of the theory on the evidence in its favour which the Apocalyptic visions, as interpreted by Mr. Elliott, so abundantly supply.

of the holy apostles and prophets. The "little horn" of Daniel was to "wear out the saints of the Most High." (Dan. vii. 25.) The "dragon" of St. John was to make war upon those who keep the commandments of God, and have the testimony of Jesus. (Rev. xiii. 17.) "The day of Christ," St. Paul assured the Thessalonian converts, "would not come until there came a falling away first." (2 Thess. ii. 3.) And "in the last days," according to the concurrent testimony of St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. Jude, "perilous times," and a season of abounding impiety, would assuredly arrive. (2 Tim. iii. 1; 2 Peter iii. 3; Jude v. 18.)

Thus we see that the long ages of persecution, and the various phases of wickedness or delusion, had each their predestined station in the counsels of infinite wisdom. But Scripture has its promises of glory as well as its annunciations of woe; and the exactitude with which the latter have been realized, is a sure pledge and token that the former likewise will be as minutely accomplished in their appointed time. He is faithful that promised, and not one jot or tittle of His word shall pass away till all be fulfilled." As yet, however, all has *not* been fulfilled. Hitherto we have seen but the dark side of the picture, though the bright reverse meets us in almost every page of holy writ. And this brings me to another portion of my subject, viz. :—

#### THE ASSURANCES OF EVENTUAL TRIUMPH.

Here my only difficulty is selection. The announcements of the final issue of that tremendous struggle, of which this earth for near six thousand

years has been the theatre, was proclaimed from the first. The "seed of the woman" was to "bruise the serpent's head." (Gen. iii. 15.) "As I live," the Almighty declares with an oath, "*all the earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord.*" (Numb. xiv. 21.) "God shall bless us, and *all the ends of the world shall fear Him.*" (Ps. lxxvii. 7.) His "kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and *all dominions shall serve and obey Him.*" (Dan. vii. 27.) "At the name of Jesus, *every knee shall bow.*" (Phil. ii. 10.) "The kingdoms of this world (shall) become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and *He shall reign for ever and ever.*" (Rev. xi. 15.)

These are a few, a very few, of the many passages in Scripture that clearly predict the advent of that kingdom, for which, in obedience to our Lord's command, we daily pray. And up to this point, all sound divines are virtually agreed. All alike expect the arrival of a blessed æra, when Satan shall be bound, and a holy and righteous dominion extended for at least a thousand years, to the uttermost parts of the earth. But as to the nature of this kingdom, and the time and mode of its establishment, a great diversity of opinion prevails, even among men of undoubted piety and learning. And I may here without impropriety remark, that the view which I have myself deliberately adopted, and to which I shall seek to win your assent, is not held by the venerable and venerated President\* of our Society, nor yet by your own

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\* The Rev. Clement Leigh, Rector of Newcastle-under-Lyme.

exemplary and indefatigable pastor \* and some others of our clerical patrons.

It was due to these gentlemen, and to the weight that so deservedly attaches to their opinions, to make this admission. But it is also due to myself, in order that I may not appear presumptuous in your eyes, to state fully and explicitly that the differences to which I allude, are far, very far, from reaching to points of vital faith. *Here*, praised be God, there is no ambiguity, and those who seek diligently for saving truth will assuredly find it; it is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. But the Scriptures,—even a Pope was constrained to admit,—are a stream in which a lamb may walk and an elephant swim. True it is, that as yet mortal “eye hath not *seen*, nor ear heard the things that God has prepared for those who love him; but He has *revealed them* by His spirit” to the eye of faith, and “the Spirit searcheth all things, even the deep things of God.” (1 Cor. i. 9, 10.) And few, I apprehend there are, of those who in the humble and prayerful spirit of Joseph Mede, have searched these mines of divine truth, but will with him be ready joyfully to exclaim, “I thank God, who by the light of these His wonderful mysteries, has kindled that love in my heart which I had not ere I began to see them, and which have left me that which they found me not.”

The differences of opinion to which I refer, will be found to resolve themselves into this fundamental question, viz:—whether the Son of Man will come

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\* The Rev. E. B. Squire, Curate of Burslem at the time of the delivery of the Lecture, now Vicar of Swansea.



in person to introduce His millennial kingdom, or whether such coming will be deferred to its close ; or, as it may be more technically expressed, “ whether the advent will be *pre-* or *post-*millennial.”\* The difference, as I have already observed, is not vital, still it is relatively far from unimportant, and the zeal with which it is now debated in every quarter of the religious world, invests the subject with a special interest at the present time. In the Church of England the point is earnestly discussed by both the ‘ high church ’ and ‘ low church ’ parties, and the same may be said of the ‘ Old Scotch Kirk ’ and the ‘ Free Church ’ in Scotland.† Among Dissenters also, the question is vigorously mooted ‡

It would have been well, if the discussion of these solemn and exciting topics had been confined to temperate and sober Christians ; the reverse, however, is unhappily the case. In my own neighbourhood, and in most parts of the United Kingdom, Mormonite

\* As the word ‘ millennium ’ does not occur in scripture, and all my readers are not bound to understand Latin,—it may be well to observe that the term is used to designate the 1000 years of blessedness foretold in Rev. xx.

† The Rev. David Brown has written ably against the *pre-*millennial advent, and the Rev. H. Bonar, of Kelso, still more ably in its favour. In the “ *Prophetical Landmarks* ” of the latter we have a work of singular utility and value. (London, 1847. *Nisbet and Co.*)

‡ I allude particularly to the “ *Jubilee Hymn*,” of Dr. Raffles, of Liverpool, and “ *The Letter* ” from one of his congregation, that its publication elicited. The sentiments of the hymn are admitted to be unexceptionable, but its theology is shown to be wrong. There can be no Jubilee, as the writer of ‘ *the Letter* ’ demonstrates, before the second advent.

tracts have been diligently circulated, bidding men prepare for the instant coming of the Son of God. In America, large parties were to be seen, the other day, wandering about in cotton dresses,—which they styled the resurrection robes,—and momentarily expecting to be caught up to meet the Lord in the air! And in Palestine, a recent traveller\* observed a large party in the valley of Jehoshaphat, eagerly awaiting the fulfilment of Zechariah's prophecy, when the Mount of Olives should be cleft in twain, and the Lord God come, and all his saints with Him. (Zech. xiv. 4, 5.)

Now, it is clear that all such expectations are utterly baseless and absurd, if it can be proved that the second advent is *post*-millennial, as in that case 1000 years, at least, must elapse, before the event so ardently expected can possibly occur.† Taking, then, into account the peculiarities of the present age, the temper of men's minds, and the importance of the

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\* The Countess Hahn-Hahn. Among the parties repairing to Palestine in expectation of Christ's immediate advent, the name of the United States' Consul, Mr. Warder Cresson, deserves to be recorded. He accepted the office, and discharges its duties gratuitously, in order that he may be at hand when the great event occurs.

† No one, I presume, except Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce, will be prepared to maintain that the millennium has already commenced. Yet this most preposterous notion is actually broached by the Archdeacon, in his work entitled "The Five Empires." (London, 1841. *Burns*.) Such a view might excite small surprise in the Hotel de Ville, at Paris; but it is otherwise when espoused by a dignitary of the Church of England. How gross, alas, is that spiritual darkness with which Tractarianism surrounds its victims!

matter in dispute, the time would seem to have arrived when it behoves us, at once, to submit the whole subject to a careful examination in the light of God's Holy Word. We shall thus be the better prepared,—because on more intelligible grounds,—either to participate in the blessed hope that now inspires so many bosoms, or to reprove, if need be, the wild fanaticism of unstable and unlearned minds.

It has been customary of late years, to decry and disparage millenarian views,\* and the whole weight of ecclesiastical authority has been cast into the opposite scale.† Even the 'voice of catholic antiquity' is here unheeded, by those too who are wont to affect the highest veneration for its dogmas. Yet it is undeniable, that in the earliest and purest ages of the Christian Church the views that are now so unceremoniously rejected were universally held, and it was only as Romish corruption advanced that they gradually disappeared.‡ At the time of the Reformation,

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\* I use the term '*millenarian*' (in the absence of a better) to indicate the views of those who expect the personal advent of Christ before the *millennium*. Other views (*e. g.* the personal reign of Christ) are usually included, which, and the objections that have been urged against them, are clearly stated in Mr. Ogilvie's admirable work, "Popular Objections to the Pre-millennial Advent, considered." (London, *Nisbet*, 1847.) This book cannot be too strongly recommended to those who wish to master the present subject. It has, however, one blemish; it *falters* about Rome and Babylon.

† "Have any of the rulers believed in him?" (John vii. 48,) was the sneering question of the Pharisees, and one most characteristic of the spirit in which the Jewish Church rejected the doctrine of the *first* advent. May the Christian Church be preserved from a similar error in regard to the *second*!

‡ Up to the middle of the third century, all the fathers (in-

however, the ancient doctrine was extensively revived (as a reference to the catechism of King Edward the Sixth sufficiently proves),\*—the Reformers, like the apostolic fathers, being of opinion that the second advent would be introductory to the world's jubilee, and that the full triumph of the Gospel would not be achieved until the Master came in person to finish the work. But as the truth of the doctrine itself must be established, not by the weight of Protestant or Patristic authority, but by the testimony of the written Word of God, I shall now proceed to adduce some decisive arguments from Scripture in its support.

That the advent must be *pre-millennial* seems to be proved by the following considerations:—

1. Isaiah xxxiv ; xxxv. These chapters, as all commentators admit, form one complete and *consecutive* prophecy. The 34th describes the awful

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cluding Barnabas, Clement, Justyn Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, &c.) were 'chiliasts' or millennarians. For a full account of the historical testimonies to the antiquity of the doctrine of the millennium, see "Greswell, on the Parables," vol. i. 273.

\* Extract from King Edward's Catechism:—

"*Ques.*—How is that petition, *Thy kingdom come*, to be understood?"

"*Ans.*—We ask that his kingdom may come, for that, as yet, we see not all things subject to Christ. \* \* \* \* As yet Antichrist is not slain, whence it is that we desire and pray that, at length, it may come to pass and be fulfilled; and that *Christ alone may reign with his saints* according to the Divine promises."

After King Edward's time, the doctrine fell into disrepute through the violence and fanaticism of the Anabaptists and 'Fifth Monarchy'-men, just as in our day it has been injured by the follies and illusions of the Irvingites. When Satan cannot stifle a doctrine that he dreads, his usual plan is to undermine and corrupt it. This is eminently true of millennial views.

judgments attendant on the Lord's coming, and the 35th a state of millennial blessedness. But as the latter *succeeds* the former, the millennium must succeed the advent.

2. Dan. vii. Here we have a connected vision reaching from the time of the prophet to the day when the saints obtain the kingdom. But the rise of a persecuting power is foretold, who was to "make war upon the saints and prevail against them, *until the Ancient of Days came;*" ver. 21, 22. How, then, can the saints have any millennium of rest before the advent?

3. Zechariah xiv. We have here a clear description of the 'day of the Lord' and the personal advent of Christ. His feet are represented as again standing on the Mount of Olives, from whence the disciples saw him ascend into heaven, there to remain until he should again "come in like manner as they had seen Him go into heaven." But it is *after* the great 'day' that the glorious events take place of which we read in the subsequent verses, and which can only refer to the millennial age.

4. Matt. xxiv. In this chapter we have a continuous prophecy, extending from our Lord's day to the closing scenes of the present dispensation. Yet not a word is said of any season of blessedness that was to occur before his second coming.

5. Luke xii. 31—46. The duty of *watching* for the Lord's return is here strongly insisted on. But how could this be possible if at least a thousand years of blessedness were to intervene before the advent?

6. Luke xvii. 26—30. The state of the world before the coming of the Lord is here likened to the state of the world in the days of Noah, “before the flood came and destroyed them all.” But such a state of abounding iniquity utterly excludes the idea of any general conversion of the world, or any season of repose before the return of the Lord.

7. Luke xix. 11—24. The testimony of this parable is decisive against any season of holiness or repose before the Lord’s return. The servants of a certain nobleman are left in charge of his goods for a protracted period. But they hate him, and rebel against his authority, until he returns to take open possession of his kingdom.

8. The testimony of the other parables is equally clear. The wheat and tares ‘*grow together*’ until the harvest, “which is the end of the age.”\* (Matt. xiii. 30.) In like manner, good and bad fishes are mingled together in the Gospel net, until a separation is made at the coming of the Son of man. (Matt. xiii. 47.) In either case, the idea of any millennium to precede the advent is entirely excluded. †

9. Acts iii. 19—21. The “times of refreshing” and of “the restitution of all things” are here dis-

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\* *αιων*, age or dispensation, not *κοσμος*, or the physical universe. It is unfortunate that these two most distinct words should alike be rendered ‘world’ by our English translators. To this source may in a great measure be attributed the confusion of ideas on the subject of the second advent, that exists in so many minds.

† It is interesting to know that Mr. Greswell was driven to admit the pre-millennial advent, through the impossibility of explaining some of the parables on any other hypothesis. (See his learned work on the Parables. London, 1834.)

tinctly connected with the presence (*παρουσία*) or personal coming of Christ. Until the latter has taken place, the former cannot begin.

10. The First Epistle to the Thessalonians. In this Epistle, no fewer than twelve passages occur, in which the coming of the Lord is set before the Church as the object of her constant expectation; but there is not the slightest allusion to any millennial rest before the coming itself.

11. 2 Thess. ii. 1—8. In this passage, the same apostacy that Daniel foretold is again announced, and its destruction again connected with the coming (*παρουσία*) of Christ. It was already working in the Apostle's day, and is to continue working till the Lord's return;—where then can we interpose a millennium?

12. Rom. xi. 26. In this verse, as in divers other parts of Scripture, the national conversion of Israel is obviously connected with the coming of the Lord. But while Israel remains in an *unconverted* state, the reign of righteousness cannot of course begin.

13. Rom. viii. 22, 23. The "whole creation," is represented as "groaning together," and "waiting for the redemption of the body," but as the time of this redemption is also the time of the second advent, the earth cannot be reclaimed from the primeval curse at any period antecedent to the Saviour's return.

14. The Apocalypse, however, supplies the most conclusive evidence in favour of the premillennial view. Here the whole course of this world's history, from the æra of the vision to the close of the millennium, is exhibited in an unbroken series of prophetic

pictures, the most august of which is appropriated to the second advent. In what position, then, is the latter placed? *Immediately before the description of Christ's millennial reign.* (Ch. xix., xx.) This alone might decide the entire controversy, and although other weighty arguments in favour of the same view might be deduced from the Apocalyptic visions, it is scarcely necessary to state them here.\*

I have now presented, though briefly and imperfectly, a portion of the evidence from both the Old and New Testaments, that seems to bear directly on this momentous question. As Mr. Birks most truly observes:—

“ From first to last the concert and harmony is unbroken. There is not one single passage that implies a long period of rest and triumph before the Lord's return; there are many, very many, which exclude it, and prove it to be impossible. The distinct and full prophecies of the Apocalypse confirm and ratify the conclusion drawn from the more general statements of Holy Scripture. There is no balance, no division of evidence on this point; it lies entirely, and without exception, on one side.”—*Four Prophetic Empires*, p. 345.

But however full and decisive the evidence may appear to those who have espoused the pre-millennial view, difficulties will still occur, and objections still be urged against it. To state and answer these, would swell this Lecture beyond all reasonable bounds; I can, therefore, only refer you to the nu-

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\* The reader desirous of entering deeply into the present controversy will find most of the above arguments, (and many others on the same side), unfolded more at large in Bonar's “*Prophetical Landmarks* ;” and Birks' “*Four Prophetic Empires and Kingdom of Messiah.*” (London, 1845. *Seeleys.*)



merous works in which they are ably and calmly discussed.\* For myself, I may perhaps be permitted to observe, that although brought up with a strong prepossession against the pre-millennial advent, my 'objections' speedily melted away when brought to the test of Scripture; and I doubt not that if your own be submitted to the same ordeal, they will rapidly share the same fate. You have but to divest your minds of early predilections and prejudices, and then, if you search diligently for the truth, you will assuredly not have long to search in vain.

To such a search I now invite you. Should you arrive at conclusions opposite to those that I have sought to advocate, you will still proceed with all your wonted zeal in the great and glorious field of missionary labour. If, on the other hand, the views in question should approve themselves as true, one motive more will urge you forward in the righteous cause. Again, if you think that by the circulation of the Bible, or by the faithful preaching of the cross of Christ, you are destined to convert the world, you will neither weary nor pause, in spite of the discouragements that sin or Satan may cast in your way. But if, on the alternative view, you are convinced that the full triumph is reserved for the Lord himself, and that only the task of preparation is committed to His servants in this dispensation, you will strive with increasing energy to finish the work He has given you to do.

Our Lord himself emphatically declared that the

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\* See the works of Ogilvie, Bonar, Elliott, Birks, &c., referred to in the previous notes.

Gospel should be preached as a witness to all nations, and then should the end (*i. e.* of the *æon* or dispensation) come ; but not a word is said of any general conversion of mankind by the instrumentality he enjoined. To preach the Gospel, as a witness to all nations, is one thing ; to induce all nations to *receive the witness*, is another ; and while the former has already been well nigh accomplished, little progress has hitherto, alas, been made with the latter ! But, blessed be God, it is the zeal with which our efforts are directed, and not the present success which attends them, that is to indicate the approach of those “times of refreshing” of which give all the holy prophets witness, that have been since the world began. Let us, then, labour diligently to complete the task assigned to us, neither forgetting to send the glad tidings of salvation to heathen lands, nor neglecting the spiritual darkness which prevails so extensively in our own more favoured isle. These are the goodly objects for which our society was framed, and if in a spirit of faith and prayer we keep them steadfastly in view, we shall reap in due season the precious reward, “and God, even our own God, will give us *His blessing.*”

END OF LECTURE I.

## LECTURE II.

DELIVERED IN THE NATIONAL SCHOOL ROOM, SHELTON,

NOVEMBER 2ND, 1847.

ON a previous occasion, my Christian friends, I endeavoured to trace in the light of Scripture the true position of the Second Advent, and its relation to the evangelization of the world. The prevailing opinion on these momentous questions I was led to regard as defective and erroneous, and sought in its stead to establish a more correct and hopeful view: more correct, because more in accordance with the words of inspiration; more hopeful, because accounting for past reverses, and pointing to the real epoch of assured success. Of the essential truth of the view then submitted to your consideration I feel, on subsequent reflection, more than ever convinced. There will be no general effusion of the Holy Spirit; no turning of whole nations to God; no thousand years of righteousness and peace;—until our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ shall have been visibly invested with supreme dominion, and become “the light of the Gentiles, and the glory of His people Israel!”

I am thankful to observe, if I may judge from the tone of our recent theological literature, that the belief in a pre-millennial advent has made decided

progress during the past year ; especially among the younger evangelical clergy. Of these, many—I might almost say a majority—have already adopted what I conceive to be the only legitimate view. On the other hand, their clerical brethren of maturer age, men worthy to tread in the footsteps of Wilberforce and Simeon and Venn, still hold to the doctrine as more generally taught and received in their youth. This discrepancy of opinion on *one* theological question, between men whose views entirely harmonize on all beside, is in itself most remarkable, and deserves our serious consideration. The well-known fact that Hervey's grand discovery of the circulation of the blood, was never adopted by any physician of a greater age than fifty years, has been cited as a parallel case. But the explanation it suggests appears, at least to my own mind, wholly inadequate. In the present instance, I should rather be disposed to regard the *difference in opinion* as specially and providentially adapted to the *difference in position* of the respective parties. For while the fathers of our Israel will in all human probability have been gathered to their rest before the truth of either view can be tested by the event, the younger members of the flock of Christ may, perhaps, behold those great things which many prophets and apostles of old "desired to see, and have not seen them ;" with *them* therefore the question at once assumes the very deepest solemnity and importance. A fuller knowledge is mercifully vouchsafed them of events in which they may be personally engaged, and their minds are more largely occupied by the contemplation of the

coming glory, in order that they may be the better disciplined for the awful struggle that is destined to precede it!

I alluded in my former 'Lecture,'—though incidentally and briefly,—to the various topics of surpassing interest that naturally group themselves around the coming of the Son of man. These I now propose to submit to a more careful examination; not, however, without earnestly praying on my own and my hearers behalf, that God may be pleased to "open our eyes, that we may behold the wondrous things of His law."

The points which I should especially wish you to keep in view, are mainly the following,—all of which have an important bearing on the matter under consideration, and may, I think, be proved by the most certain warrants of Holy Writ.

1. That we are now living in the latter times of the Gentile *aww*, or dispensation; and as the present dispensation succeeded the Jewish, and was better than the Jewish, so it will be itself succeeded by another dispensation, better than the Gentile.

2. That this present dispensation will close, not in a general diffusion of righteousness, but a general outburst of violence and iniquity.

3. That while this dispensation lasts, the true Church of Christ is to exist only "as a little flock," "a remnant according to the election of grace."

4. That when the whole of this remnant has been gathered in, the stroke of judgment will fall, and the Saviour's feet again stand upon the Mount of Olives. Satan will then be chained for a thousand years, and the reign of righteousness at length begin.

Having thus glanced at our subject as a whole, I shall next endeavour to fill in the outline of the amazing picture, and to fix your minds on some of its most striking features. You will thus be the better prepared to appreciate the progress of events, as in due and majestic procession they move onwards to that solemn time, when "the mystery of God shall be finished, as He hath declared to his servants the prophets." (Rev. x. 7.) The steps that more immediately conduct to this consummation, may first advantageously occupy our attention, and we may then inquire whether there are any marked and peculiar signs that "this generation will not pass away until all be fulfilled."

The 'steps' themselves appear to be chiefly three:—1st, A time of unexampled trouble in connection with; 2dly, The Restoration of the Jews, and issuing in; 3dly, The Coming of the Lord.\*

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\* I need scarcely observe that by the 'coming' of the Lord, I mean a *personal* and *actual*, as opposed to a *spiritual* or *figurative* 'coming.' This second coming will however consist (like the first) of several distinct acts, and extend over a lengthened period of time. In the 19th chapter of the Apocalypse, the advent of Christ is represented as occurring before the millennium, when the saints of the first resurrection receive their reward; but at the close of this period all (the remainder of) mankind stand before the "great white throne," and are "judged every man according to his works. (Rev. xx. 11—13.) Thus 1000 years at least must elapse between the Saviour's advent at the opening of the millennium, and His sitting in judgment at its termination. And *this period constitutes the great judgment day*. Not a 'day' according to man's reckoning of twenty-four hours, but one of the "days of heaven," (Ps. lxxxix. 29,) where time is computed on a grander scale; "one day," as St. Peter observes in *direct reference to this very subject*,

## I. A TIME OF UNEXAMPLED TROUBLE.

This is foretold in many parts of Scripture, but the earliest intimation of it appears in Balaam's far-reaching prophecy,—“Alas,” he exclaims, “who shall live when God doeth this!” (Num. xxiv. 23.) “At that time,” we read in Daniel (xii. 1), “there shall be a time of trouble, such as *never was since there was a nation* even to that same time.” “Then,” our Lord himself declares, (Matt. xxiv. 1), “shall be great tribulation, such as *was not since the beginning of the world* to this time, no, nor ever shall be.” “In the *last days* perilous times shall come.” (2 Tim. iii. 8.) As troubles of an *unparalleled* character cannot, of course, occur more than once, all these predictions seem to connect themselves with the seventh vial, during the effusion of which we are to expect “a great earthquake, *such as was not since men were upon the earth*, so mighty an earthquake and so great.” (Rev. xvi. 18.) We are now, as all commentators agree, living under the *sixth* vial, and probably near its termination; we may, therefore, shortly expect some

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being with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day.” (2 Peter iii. 8.) It is the office of judgment to distribute rewards and punishments; and of this distribution a part takes place in the morning, or commencement,—part in the evening, or close, of the ‘great day.’

The millennium is emphatically Messiah's ‘*day*’ (Luke xvii. 24), during which “he must reign till He has put all enemies under his feet.” (1 Cor. xv. 25.) If it be objected that it appears unlikely that Christ should come to *reign* on earth, it may with perfect justice be replied, that it was far more unlikely that he should come to *suffer*. The Jews disbelieved the latter, and were punished for their incredulity; let us beware how we *disbelieve the former!*

indications of that unprecedented storm which shall presently shake all the kingdoms of the earth, overthrow the mystic Babylon, and issue in the glorious appearing of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.\* This is a solemn consideration, and we need to weigh it well.

But these 'times of trouble' are closely connected with another event of thrilling interest, viz:—

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\* This, be it observed, was spoken in November last. Since then the out-pouring of the *seventh* vial appears to have actually commenced, and there seems to be a general impression, in the religious world, that such is indeed the fact. The Editor of that excellent little periodical, "*The Christian Lady's Magazine*," (for April) observes that the seventh "vial seems already suspended in the angel's hand." Mr. Jenour has published a pamphlet, entitled "*The First Shock of the Great Earthquake, being an exposition of the out-pouring of the Seventh Vial*." (London, T. D. Thomson.) Even the "*Record*," (April 27) is constrained to "subscribe to the general opinion that the sudden and unexampled crash of the European kingdoms now under our eyes, is the commencement of the seventh vial of St. John." See also the speeches of Mr. Stowell and others, at the recent anniversary of the Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews.

But most remarkable of all is the language of a periodical of a very different stamp; thus writes the "*Westminster Review*:"—

"The story of February, 1848, will not fade from human memory as a nine days' wonder. The term 'Revolution,' is too feeble to express the magnitude of the change that has taken place; a change which the sublime imagery of Scripture can alone adequately depict. We seem to have stood as witnesses to the opening of the seventh seal; as listeners to the sounding of the seventh trumpet; and the words that rise to our lips are those of the Apocalypse,—'I saw a mighty angel take a stone, like a great mill-stone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with violence shall Babylon be cast down, and shall be found no more at all.'"

What we have as yet experienced, is, however, only to be regarded as the first gust of the tempest; next year, perhaps, it will burst in all its fury over the devoted kingdoms of the old Roman world.



## II. THE RESTORATION OF THE JEWS TO THEIR OWN LAND.

The Jews were to be driven from the land of their fathers, and their 'beautiful city,' Jerusalem, "trodden down of the Gentiles," until the end of the present (or Gentile) dispensation. But there is a 'set time' in the divine counsels, "when the Lord will build up Jerusalem and gather together the outcasts of Israel." (Psalm cii. 13; cxlvii. 2.) This reconstruction of the Jewish polity and city will not, however, be accomplished, except as on a former occasion, "*even in troublous times.*" (See Dan. ix. 25.) The "day of Jezreel," will be "great, *so that none is like it*: it is even the time of Jacob's trouble; but" the prophet adds the gracious intimation—" *he shall be saved out of it.*" (Hosea i. 11; Jer. xxx. 7.) In the latter passage, we see how the last crisis of the Jewish tribulation is linked with the '*time of unexampled trouble,*' that forms the burden of so many prophecies. And as the tribulation itself is clearly caused by the hostile invasion of Judea by a vast confederacy of all nations, the Jews, to be the victims of it, must, of course, have been previously restored in large numbers to their own land.

It is remarkable, that while the *fact* of the Jewish restoration is announced in, at least a hundred different passages of Scripture, its proximate cause and the mode of its accomplishment are nowhere distinctly revealed. We may, however, infer that after a great complication of European politics, (under the action of the seventh vial,) diplomatic motives may suggest the re-settlement of the Jews in Palestine; a country

that has ever proved itself a fertile source of dissension to the Gentile powers. Thus the present "kings and queens" of Christendom may, perhaps, become "nursing fathers and nursing mothers" to the "precious sons of Zion." (Isa. xlix. 23 ; Lam. iv. 2.) The latter, as at the time of their first exodus from Egypt, will find favour in the sight of their former oppressors, and carry back goodly spoil and great treasures to their ancient home. The "ground" that has lain desolate for so many years will again "give her increase," and "the heaven over head" no longer "of brass," will shed, as of old, its fertilizing showers. (Zech. viii. 12 ; Deut. xxviii. 9.) But this season of peace and prosperity will be but of brief duration. Restored in an unconverted state,\* but yet supposing that the days of their mourning are ended, they will

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\* On this point there is much misapprehension, yet the teaching of Scripture is very plain. The Redeemer is to "come to Zion and turn away ungodliness from Jacob ;" Jacob, therefore, cannot be nationally converted before the second advent. But the advent *does not take place until* "all the people of the earth have been gathered together against "Jerusalem." For *then* it is "that the Lord shall go forth and fight against those nations, as when He fought in the day of battle ;" then too, it is, that He shall at length "pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and supplication, and they shall look upon Him whom they have pierced," and "there shall be a great mourning in Jerusalem." (Zech. xii. 3—11 ; xiv. 9.)

It should also be noted, that the future restoration of the Jews will probably, like their former return from Babylon, be in *two distinct stages* ; the first, *partial and political*, accomplished by the Gentile nations from motives of worldly policy ; the last, *plenary and perhaps in part miraculous*, effected by the more immediate agency of God. It is to the latter only that such passages as the following can possibly refer :—Deut. xxx. 4 ; Isaiah lxvi. 8.

speedily fall into a state of carnal ease and false security. The 'multitude of riches,' in which they trusted, will now be their ruin. It is "to take a spoil,—to take a prey,—to carry away silver and gold," that "Gog," with "a great company and a mighty army," comes up against the land of Israel in the latter days.\*

Under this mighty leader, the Gentile nations,

\* That Russia, the great northern power of the present century, is mainly intended by the 'Gog' of the thirty-eighth and thirty-ninth chapters of Ezekiel can scarcely, I think, admit of a doubt. In connection with this idea, the following extract will be read with interest:—

"Amidst the *revolutionary earthquake* which is shaking Europe from east to west, there is one power regarded by the revolutionists with fear and hatred, and by others with awe, as *possibly* the avenging rod of God's anger, in the wars and tumults which may be expected to arise. This power is Russia.

But Russia, in times past, although strong in its myriads of warriors, wielded by absolute power, has always been restrained by one necessity. Russia, it was said, in 1813-1814, *cannot move without the aid of British gold.*

What has occurred within the last ten years? Why, the discovery of mines of such extraordinary richness, in the Russian dominions, that this Government, from being a borrower, has become a lender to all Europe! More than six millions of gold is carried into the Emperor's treasury every year. Thus, in a very short space of time, a leading fact is wholly reversed, and Russia, hitherto unable to move, is now put into possession of prolific mines of marching resources. This fact is assuredly worthy of remark, and may probably have been ordered by Divine Providence with a view to events not yet developed, but possibly close at hand."—*Record, April, 1848.*

The chapter on "The latest Conflicts in the East," in Mr. Birks' work, on "The Two later Visions of Daniel" (London, 1846, *Seeley's*) will also well repay perusal, though I should incline to think that France, rather than England, is the "King of the South," in Daniel xi. 40.

'Gog' is probably identical with the "King of the North" (Dan. xi. 40); "the Assyrian" of Isaiah (x. 5; xiv. 25); the "idol-shepherd" of Zechariah (xi. 17); the "proud man" of

like the Egyptians under Pharaoh, pursue the unoffending Israelites and assault them in the land to which they had so lately been instrumental in restoring them. For a while "the destroyer" (Jer. iv. 7) speeds on his way. He takes Jerusalem, and inflicts the most atrocious cruelties on the wretched inhabitants. (Zech. xiv. 2.) To the Jews themselves all would now appear to be lost, but it is written, "yet a little while and the indignation shall cease," and the yoke of the oppressor be removed from off their neck (Isaiah x. 25—27); for Israel has, at length, "received" of the Lord "double for all her sins." (Isaiah xl. 2.) The "cup of trembling" is taken out of her hand (Isaiah xli. 17), and all the kings and nations of the earth are compelled to drink it in her stead. (Jer. xxv. 15—28.) "The Lord, also, will roar out of Zion and utter His voice from Jerusalem, and the heavens and the earth shall shake; but the Lord will be the hope of His people, and the strength of the children of Israel." (Joel iii. 16.) "As birds flying, so shall the Lord of Hosts defend Jerusalem; defending also He shall deliver it; and passing over He shall preserve it." (Isaiah xxxi. 5.) "And the slain of the Lord shall be many." (Isaiah lxvi. 16.) "For the day of vengeance is in my heart, and the year of my redeemed is come." (Isaiah lxiii. 4.)

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Habakkuk (ii. 5); "the King of Babylon (Isaiah xiv. 4); "the Prince of Tyrus" (Ezekiel xxviii. 1—19). From these and other kindred prophecies, the expectation of what is called "the last Anti-Christ" is derived.

We have now seen how the national deliverance of Israel, and the overwhelming destruction of their enemies, are both accomplished at—

### III. THE COMING OF THE LORD.\*

This overpowering event is the central sun, if I may so speak, of the whole prophetic system ; around which all the bright promises of joy and peace, like the starry constellations, are harmoniously arranged. To this, as to a common focus of light and love, have converged the hopes and aspirations of all God's faithful servants in every age. Of this, " Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of His saints." (Jude ver. 14.) This day Abraham rejoiced to see afar off, " and he saw it and was glad." And this " is the blessing with which Moses, the man of God, blessed the children of Israel before his death ; saying, The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them ; He shined forth from Mount Paran, He came with ten thousands of His saints." (Deut. xxxiii. 1, 2.) This was the theme that kindled the loftiest strains of ' David's harp of solemn sound,' (Psalm xviii. 29 ; xlv ; 1 ; &c., &c.) and from Isaiah to Malachi, was the burden of every prophet's song.†

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\* A strange idea of the *annihilation* of our planet has taken strong possession of many minds, but this is nowhere taught in Scripture. The " heavens and earth that now are," are to *perish by fire*, as the heavens and earth that were of old *perished by water* ; that is (in the language of the Psalmist), " as a vesture they shall be *changed*," not *destroyed*. (See 2 Peter iii. 5—13 ; Ps. cii. 26.)

† Perhaps the most sublime passage in Scripture is Habakkuk's description of the Lord's coming to judgment. (Hab. iii. 3—16. Compare Deut. xxxiii. 2.)

And "Surely I come quickly," are the latest words of the Son of God. (Rev. xxii. 20.)

We have now briefly to consider the effects of Christ's blessed advent on the world at large. Even here we shall find that certain stages of progress are distinctly marked. Israel supplies the first example of a *nation wholly righteous*, for of *them* it is written, "after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts; and.....*they shall all know me*, from the least of them unto the greatest." (Jer. xxxi. 33, 34.) But among the other nations of men in the flesh (as distinguished from the glorified saints of the first resurrection), we learn from Isaiah lxxv. 20, that *sin* will still exist, though rare, perhaps, and certainly without the added violence of Satanic temptation, the great adversary being now chained in the pit. But at the close of the millennium, and after the judgment of "the great white throne," "He that sat upon the throne said, Behold, I make all things new." (Rev. xxi. 5.) There can now be no more sin, for "there is no more death," "the wages of sin." The "nations of them that are saved," walk in the light of the new Jerusalem, into which no unclean thing can enter. The earth is now "filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea;" and thus, at length, we have a *righteous world!* But the promises of God are not even yet exhausted, for we read that "*of the INCREASE of his government and peace THERE SHALL BE NO END.*" (Isaiah ix. 6.) As to our own planet, we know that its Creator "made it not in vain, but formed it to be inhabited." (Isaiah xlv. 18.) But He who made the

earth “made the stars also,” “and calleth them all by their names” (Psalm cxlvii. 4); and as these assuredly were not “made in vain,” so neither, we may reasonably conclude, were they destined to remain uninhabited for ever. “Perhaps,” as Mr. Birks beautifully suggests, “perhaps, from our planet, honoured above all worlds by the incarnation of the Son of God, other worlds may be awaiting their destined possessors,” and be prepared to echo the praises of God and of the Lamb, as in the day when “the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.” (Job xxxviii. 7.) Thus ‘universal,’ in the highest sense, will ‘the triumph of the Gospel’ eventually become!\*

And now, having gazed for an instant on the glories of the heavenly kingdom, it remains only to inquire whether, to a devout and thoughtful mind, there appear any marked and peculiar

#### SIGNS OF ITS APPROACH.

I need scarcely remind you that in His reply to the anxious inquiries of the disciples (Matt. xxiv. 3), our Lord gave them certain ‘signs’ of His coming to judgment, and of the end of the age,—such as earthquakes, pestilences, and the like. For these ‘signs,’ the Church was strictly enjoined to “watch,” and the generation alive at the time of their exhibition was to

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\* It may be interesting to mark the stages, by which the Gospel advances to its predestined triumph:—

1. In the present age we have only righteous *individuals*.
2. In the millennial age we have a righteous *nation*.
3. In the post-millennial age we have a righteous *planet*.
4. And finally, “in the ages to come,” (τοὺς αἰῶσι τοὺς ἐπέρχομενοις, Eph. ii. 7) a righteous *universe*.

rejoice and “hold up its head,” in the sure prospect that redemption was drawing nigh. Such an injunction from the Saviour’s lips will not only serve to justify the present inquiry, but will leave us wholly without excuse if, like the Pharisees of old, we fail to discern the signs of the times (Matt. xvi. 3), or say with the foolish servant, that our “Lord delayeth His coming.”

In addition to the signs communicated by Christ to His disciples, many others are mentioned by the inspired writers,\* which may be arranged and classified in the following manner:—

\* The tone of many *uninspired* writers is in itself a sign; thus, for example, wrote the late Dr. Arnold:—

“Modern history appears to be not only a step in advance of ancient history, but *the last step*; it appears to bear marks of the fulness of time, as if there would be no future history beyond it!”

—*Lectures on Modern History*, p. 38.

Or take the following most remarkable passage from a recent article in the *Churchman’s Monthly Review*:—

“The present is an era of fossil geology. In all directions the buried remains of past ages are dug up and brought to light with persevering zeal. The records of China, and the ruins of Copan and Uxmal; the sculptured triumphs of Sesostris, the mounds of Babylon, the wanderings of Tarchon, the rocky sites of Petra, and the long-lost cities of Sheba in the wilderness; abbots from the twelfth century, and the cloistered monks of the Nicene age,—all in turn are brought out from their hiding-places, and rise like spectres from their tombs. *A thoughtful mind will perhaps discern, in this rage for the discovery of antiquities, this rehearsal of all past history, a sign of some great change that is approaching, the consummation of the whole course of Providence for six thousand years.* We find, in the word of God, that at each remarkable crisis of mercy or judgment a review is taken of all the past, as in the dying words of Joshua, the song of the Levites, or the speech of the martyr Stephen.



1. PHYSICAL SIGNS. *Great earthquakes in divers places.*<sup>1</sup> *Famines.*<sup>2</sup> *Pestilences.*<sup>3</sup> *Fearful sights and great signs from heaven.*<sup>4</sup> (Luke xxi. 11—25.)

And certainly, if these analogies have any weight, *our recent literature yields us no slight token that the main crisis of the world's history is near at hand.* The past, in ten thousand forms, is made to converge on the present, that we may thus be prepared for a future which shall cast them both into the shade.—Page 474. 1844.

<sup>1</sup> “Earthquakes,” the *Athenæum* lately remarked, “are more numerous than formerly.” It was only in January last that the town of Augusta, in Sicily, was entirely—except twenty-seven houses—swallowed up by an earthquake.

<sup>2</sup> Never perhaps was a ‘famine’ more terrible than the one which even yet lingers in unhappy Ireland. In 1846, Sweden was scourged with famine, as was Poland in 1845.

<sup>3</sup> The cholera, that new plague of the nineteenth century, threatens a fresh visitation.

<sup>4</sup> The “fearful sights” (*σημεία*, portents, prodigies) intended, are no doubt meteors, comets, &c., such as we know from Josephus preceded the destruction of Jerusalem. Of ‘meteors’ we read accounts in all quarters; I shall cite only a few. From Antigua Mr. Herkes writes (in the *United Service Magazine*, March, 1848): “On the 5th of January there appeared an infinitely magnificent phenomenon, which from its gorgeous red blaze must have been apparent to the islands fifty leagues distant from Antigua. This vast sheet of light was slow in its formation, and had a long fiery tail. After having reached the climax of its glory, it shot horizontally across the sky, casting a crimson vapour all around. The entire duration must have been about five minutes, leaving all beholders in amazement.” From Ispahan the Rev. H. Stern writes (in the *Jewish Intelligence*, March, 1848): “Before I conclude, I must take notice of an extraordinary celestial phenomenon, which was seen here on the night of the 5th instant. Mr. Sternschuss and myself were led to observe it by noticing flashes of light through the window, which illuminated our rooms. We both hastened into the court to look for the cause of it, when we were surprised to see an angle of about ten feet by two, glowing with a

*Great hailstones.*<sup>5</sup> (Ezekiel xiii. 11—13; Rev. xvi. 21.)

2. SOCIAL OR MORAL SIGNS. *Wars and rumours of wars.*<sup>6</sup> (Matt. xxiv. 6.) *Distress of nations with perplexity.*<sup>7</sup> *Men's hearts failing them for fear of the things that are coming on the earth.*<sup>8</sup> *The sea and the waves roaring.*<sup>9</sup> (Luke xxi. 25, 26.) *Open scoffers.*<sup>10</sup>

bright flame in the cloudless sky, and dispelling with its lurid fire the darkness of the night. We were nearly twenty minutes admiring its sublime aspect and the splendour of its radiancy." In the *Montreal Gazette*, January 31, 1848, we read: "On Friday night, we witnessed a very singular meteoric phenomenon. The whole heavens were filled with auroral lights. They did not, as usual, arise from the north, but pencils of rays arose from the whole circumference of the horizon; the appearance was equally remarkable and splendid, and we never remember reading of anything of the kind." It may perhaps be objected that there have always been similar displays; then let the *Edinburgh Encyclopedia* return the answer: "The most unaccountable of all the circumstances respecting the aurora borealis, is that it is not for much more than a century that this phenomenon has been observed with any degree of frequency in our latitudes." As to 'comets,' the *Athenæum* observes, "that they are losing their portentous character, in their frequency and familiarity."

<sup>5</sup> From the accounts of many recent hailstorms of unusual character, I select the following from a French paper: "Hailstones of *incredible size* fell in the district of Eguilles, one of which weighed ten pounds! The rest were *truly enormous*." (*Memorial d'Aix*, Oct. 20, 1844.)

<sup>6</sup> Accounts of "wars and rumours of wars" now daily throng the columns of the newspapers.

<sup>7</sup> Politicians are our witnesses here.

<sup>8</sup> The state of the Stock Exchange—especially as regards Foreign Securities—is the best commentary.

<sup>9</sup> The "waves" are doubtless the same as those of which St. Jude speaks, as "foaming out their own shame;" i. e., masses of ungodly men. On the Continent they 'roar horribly' now.

(2 Peter iii. 3; Jude, 18.) *Perilous times.*<sup>11</sup> (2 Tim. iii. 1—7.) *Diffusion of prophetic light.*<sup>12</sup> (Hab. ii. 2, 3.) *Increase of knowledge.*<sup>13</sup> *Era of locomotion.*<sup>14</sup> (Dan. xii. 4.) *Accumulation of wealth.*<sup>15</sup> *Cry of unrequited labour.*<sup>16</sup> *Recklessness and sensuality.*<sup>17</sup>

<sup>10</sup> What is *Punch*, the most popular of our periodicals, but a "scoffer" at all that is dignified and holy?

<sup>11</sup> Nearly twenty distinct features of these "perilous times" are enumerated by St. Paul; not one of which but is strikingly characteristic of the period in which we live. What, for example, can better describe the fashionable (i. e., *Tractarian*) religion of the day, than the "*having a form of Godliness but denying the power thereof.*" To uphold sacramental forms, and to despise—I fear from ignorance of its nature—*true conversion* of heart, is of the essence of this awful heresy. For fuller illustrations of St. Paul's remarkable prophecy, I must refer the reader to *Abdiel's Essays* (*Simpkin and Co.* London, 1843); *Bosanquet's Principles of Evil*, &c., &c.

<sup>12</sup> That the diffusion of prophetic light is one of the most remarkable features of the age, the works of Elliott, Birks, &c., will amply justify me in asserting. An extract from a work of the former (published upwards of four years ago) is annexed to this pamphlet, to prove the extent to which this light has been vouchsafed. (See Extract. See also Dr. Cummings's *Apocalyptic Sketches*; the Rev. R. Purdon's Tracts on *The Last Vials*, &c.)

<sup>13</sup> Of this sign, and its conspicuous fulfilment, it is quite unnecessary to speak.

<sup>14</sup> The same may be said of the "era of locomotion." All mankind are "running to and fro." The "swift messengers" of Isaiah (xiii. 2) are ploughing the deep, and the "fiery chariots" of Nahum "running like the lightnings" across the length and breadth of the land. (Nahum ii. 3, 4.) It is probable that the word כִּרְכָרִית, rendered "swift beasts," (Isaiah lxvi. 20) more properly denotes "swift machines;" so that the wonder of the age, 'the iron horse,' may be destined to bear its part in the restoration of Israel.

<sup>15</sup> and <sup>16</sup> The 'increase of capital,' and 'increase of pauperism,' both remarkably characterize the age.

(James v. 1—5; Matt. xxiv. 38.) *Preaching of the Gospel.*<sup>18</sup> (Matt. xxiv. 14; Rev. xiv. 6.)

3. CHRONOLOGICAL SIGNS. Including the termination of the chief prophetic periods.<sup>19</sup>

4. SIGNS CONNECTED WITH THE RESTORATION OF ISRAEL. [N.B. The passage in Psalm cii. 16, "*when the Lord shall build up Zion, He shall appear in His glory,*" proves that these two events synchronise, and that therefore what is a sign of the one is equally a sign of the other.<sup>20</sup>]

<sup>17</sup> It cannot be denied that this is a reckless pleasure-loving age; especially if we judge of it by the state of the Continental nations.

<sup>18</sup> This glorious sign is eminently characteristic of the present century. The everlasting Gospel has already been, or is now, preached "*as a witness to all nations.*" It was the absence of *this sign* that led Augustine to doubt the nearness of the consummation so generally expected in his day.

<sup>19</sup> Mr. Fysh enumerates no fewer than twelve of these, all of which terminate in about twenty years, or less, from the present time. (See his "*Examination of Anastasis.*" *Seeleys*, 1847); see also the diagram of the convergent endings of the chief prophetic periods in Elliott's "*Horæ*," vol. iv.

<sup>20</sup> I can only enumerate the following:—1. The state of the cities, land, and population of Judea, now (as never before) exactly corresponding with the description in Isaiah vi. 11—13. 2. The interest taken in the Jewish cause, and all that concerns Zion. (Ps. cii. 17.) 3. A great increase in the numbers of the Jewish people (compare Acts vii. 17). 4. Drying up of the mystic Euphrates, (or Mahometan power) in order that the way for the 'Kings of the East' (the Jews) may be prepared. (Rev. xvi. 12.) 5. Present attitude of Popery. It is clear (as even the Rabbis admit) that there can be no full restoration of Israel, until Babylon the Great has been destroyed. But her attitude, just before her final overthrow, is thus described, Rev. xviii. 7, 8, "*She saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow.*

The whole of the above—and others might be added\*—are either already fulfilled, or in rapid course of fulfilment at the present time. And surely when we see an array of evidence, at once so varied and so marvellous, all distinctly pointing in the same direction, it were madness—worse than madness—to affect to despise it! And even if—as on some former occasions—† events should not realize our hopes and anticipations, an error like this would do us no harm; for watchfulness is the attitude that best becomes the Christian

THEREFORE shall her plagues come in one day, death and mourning and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire, for strong is the Lord that judgeth her." Now, in the *Tablet*, (a leading Romish paper) and in a prominent position, there appeared, not long since, a blasphemous story relating to the Abbess of Minx. This celebrated personage was represented as engaged all night in interceding for the Catholic Church, and the following words are said to have been addressed to her, under circumstances too awful to narrate: "Fear not, my child, *I have not left my Church a widow*, but have raised up a Pontiff after my own heart, Pius the Ninth." Thus Rome, in the words she has so audaciously put into the Saviour's lips, has all unconsciously tolled her own knell!

\* *E. g.* "The mystic Euphrates seems now to own that its bed is dry, and gives warning that the true Cyrus is near at hand."—*Hope of Apostolic Church*, p. 238. *Nisbet*, 1845.

† An expectation of the nearness of the advent has extensively prevailed at various periods, especially at the breaking up of the Pagan Empire of Rome, and at the close of the tenth century. But the universality of the impression was sufficient to prove it to be erroneous. To the world, "*that day*" will come as a thief in the night; but for the comfort of Christ's little flock, St. Paul adds, "*that day shall not overtake THEM as a thief.*" (1 Thess. v. 4.) At present, the warning is raised only by the despised evangelical party, and the little heed paid to it is a great additional pledge of its truth.

wayfarer. But, though I put the alternative, I confess I scarcely feel the doubt. A streak of red is surely kindling in the eastern sky, the herald of approaching morn !

And of a hope like this, firmly rooted in the believer's mind, who shall estimate the mighty power ! It will nerve us for the approaching contest. It will be as a helm to steer, or an anchor to hold by, through all the storms and tempests of the last days. Sorrow is turned into joy before it. It quickens our love and strengthens our faith. It gives fresh energy to all our missionary undertakings, fresh elevation and dignity to all our righteous aspirations, fresh animation and fervency to all our prayers !

It was the custom of the Jewish Church that on the morning of the great jubilee, the high-priest, provided with a silver trumpet, should repair to the mountain-heights that overlook Jerusalem ; and when his eye caught the first distant gleams of the rising sun, he was to proclaim the glad tidings to the anxious watchers in the vale below. I would, that in the spirit of this deeply affecting and instructive practice, the fathers of our own Israel should now ascend the sunlit hills of holy prophecy, and thence, to Christ's faithful and expectant servants, announce the dawn of the millennial 'day;' the rising of the Sun of Righteousness, with healing on His wings. And, oh, my Christian friends, let not the silver tones of the great jubilee-trumpet fall upon ears that are dulled by worldliness or sealed in unbelief. Let us not, like the foolish virgins, delay the work of preparation until the golden bowl has been for ever broken ; the silver chord for

ever loosed; the door of mercy for ever shut! . Rather let us have our loins alway girded, and our lamps continually burning; that when, at length, our long expected Master comes, we may go forth with willing feet to meet Him, and not be ashamed before Him, at His coming!

END OF LECTURE II.

## ON THE SEVENTH VIAL. (Rev. xvi. 17—21.)

Extract from *Mr. Elliott's work on the Apocalypse*, (published in 1844.)

[N.B. The *italics* are Mr. Elliott's.]

"OF the earlier part of this pre-figuration, the sense, translated from symbols into realities, (realities yet future but apparently quickly coming,) seems to be this: that after a certain further progress of the three unclean spirits now abroad (*viz.*, as I suppose, those of *Infidel democracy*, *Popery*, and *Anti-christian priestcraft*), such as to marshal their collective strength in Western Christendom and its Colonial dependencies, in hostility against Christ's cause and Gospel, there will arise, all suddenly and fearfully, some extraordinary *convulsion*, *darkening* and *vitiating* of its *political atmosphere*: the permitted effect perhaps, in God's righteous judgment, of the working to a crisis of those evil principles. I explain the *air* in the vision to mean the European *political atmosphere*.

\* \* \* \* And doubtless under the judgment of the seventh vial we must expect this convulsion, vitiating and darkening of the political atmosphere of Western Europe to be unprecedentedly awful: the very elements of thought and feeling and social affection, and moral principle, whereby society and its various polities are in God's wonderful wisdom constituted and preserved, being so affected as altogether to intercept the influences of the ruling lights or authorities in our system,—to minister disease instead of health to the body politic,—and perhaps with terrible convulsions, to resolve society for a while into its primary elements.\*

"With regard to the *thunders*, *lightnings* and *voices* of the vision, they indicate of course wars and tumults following, and the

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\* Extract from the "*Morning Herald*," March 20, 1848:—

"In falling, it (*i. e.* the French Cabinet) has dragged down the monarchy along with it. . . . . *Society is resolved into its elements.*"

From the same, March 2:—

"The recent earthquake,—only one shock of which has yet been felt, but which shock is sure to be followed by others,—the recent earthquake has necessarily brought everything to a pause."

I need scarcely observe that the *Morning Herald* is quite unconscious that it is speaking the language of prophecy.



tremendous *hailstorm* accompanying, greatly serves to aggravate the idea ; with perhaps this further indication, that *France*, the most northerly of the Papal kingdoms, may again enact the part of the chief instrumental operator of the plague."—*Horæ Apocalyptice*, vol. iv. pp. 88—91. Third Edition.

Thus far events have exactly realized Mr. Elliott's anticipations. Mr. E. proceeds :—

— " In the result a most remarkable *revolution* is foreshown as destined to befall the European commonwealth ; viz., the final breaking up of that decem-regal form of the Papal empire which has now characterized it for near thirteen centuries, into a new and *tripartite* form . . . . . in which the *Great City*, or *ROME*, is to receive its own peculiar final and appalling fate. So that, whenever, after fearful wars and convulsions, a tri-partition like this shall take place in the European commonwealth, it must be regarded as the proximate sign and very alarm-bell to Christendom of the judgment, the great judgment, being then at length close at hand." \*—*Or. Ap.* p. 91.

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\* Traces of the '*tri-partition*' alluded to by Mr. Elliott are already beginning to appear on the continent. 'United Italy,' 'United Germany,' are in everybody's mouth, while France—associated perhaps with Switzerland, Belgium, and Spain—will complete the expected number. A few years, however, may possibly elapse before this threefold division is fully accomplished. England, when she became *Protestant*, separated herself from the 'great city,' and is therefore not included in the prophecy, unless indeed—which God forbid—she reunite herself to Rome. Russia, too, is not included, being obviously the 'Gog' of Ezekiel (xxxviii. xxxix.), and having therefore a distinct prophetic mission of her own.

THE END.

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PROTESTANTISM AND PUSEYISM.

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STRICTURES

ON THE

REV. W. J. E. BENNETT'S

"PRINCIPLES OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER;"

WITH AN

EXAMINATION OF HIS SERMON,

LATELY PREACHED AT ST. PAUL'S, KNIGHTSBRIDGE,

ON MR. CHIROL'S ALLEGED APOSTACY.

BY A PROTESTANT.

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"Seest thou a man wise in his own conceit? there is more hope  
of a fool than of him." Prov. xxvi. 12.

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# STRICTURES,

ETC.

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POLEMICAL weapons are dangerous instruments in the hands of arrogant men. There be many such among those who wield them: they love to be militant while they know not how to conquer; but although unable to overthrow bold and robust adversaries, they can, and often do, fatally wound themselves. They carry on an internecine war with the fire and vehemence of madness; yet, being blinded by ignorance, they are continually directing their weapons against their own heads. But this is not the worst: they more frequently make fearful havoc among those who gather round to cheer them on to that "bad eminence" which is the goal of folly, where her caps and bells are ultimately placed upon the heads of all presumptuous offenders. They obtain surreptitious tickets of admission into the temple of Truth, when they throw its beautiful arrangements into barbarous disorder, soiling her tablets, defacing her records, and filling the whole sacred edifice with confusion.

There is a class of modern divines, so to call them, which reminds us of the "madman who casteth firebrands, arrows, and death, and saith, Am I not in sport?" Solomon compares such a man to one who "deceiveth his neighbour;" and where shall be found more mischievous deceivers of their neighbours than they who, with materials drawn from our protestant altars, pave their dismal way to the Roman-catholic sanctuary? It is notorious that we have workers of mischief among us, who, beneath the scarp and counterscarp of the moat surrounding our spiritual citadel, are working unseen,

and in imagined security, to shatter its defences, and open a breach for the entrance of the besieger. Such men hold themselves canonically justified in propagating the severest, and often the most unjust objurgations against those who hold, in opposition to the "damnable heresies" of the Roman church, that mere ceremonial worship is no worship, and that the revival of ancient usages is the revival of exploded abominations.

Some of these incipient Jesuits, retaining the mask and vestments, together with the fiscal impropriations, of English presbyters, armed with a string of anti-erastian postulates, take their stand against the simple but honest church of England. They affect, indeed, to be governed by her ordinances, but do all in their power to split her into vulgar fractions, to distract her by disorders with the intent of scraping together her disunited elements during the confusion of their dismemberment, and casting them into the Stygian vortex of papal superstition. "For of this sort are they which creep into houses, and lead captive silly women laden with sins, ever learning, and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth." Such women admire novelties as they admire foreign fashions; and many are there whose whole affections are divided between semi-popery and French lace. They fast in point tuckers and flounced petticoats, make their private confessions in *centos* adapted to the Irish melodies of Thomas Moore, and perform their penances in brocaded satins or Parisian tissues.

If the *new school* of religious sciolists has produced some men of bold enterprize, of artful pretension, of profound subtlety—men capable of imparting an energy and momentum to sophistry which has prostrated and blinded many of our theological sages—if there be a few writers, aiming to reanimate a defunct theology, who, by artful enthymemes and ingenious dialectics, have managed to beguile of their best wits some of our church dignitaries; the school in which they take their degrees of unenviable renown has, doubtless, likewise produced many impotent and offensive drivellers, who have presumed to insult, not only our common sense, but likewise our more fastidious sense of decorum, by the crudest and most inane dogmas.

If we are asked how it happens that men of so narrow a mental calibre should produce effects that are speedily inflated into bulky notoriety, we beg to answer the question by an old story which very aptly illustrates this problem in human characteristics. Once upon a time there was a certain quack doctor, occupying a large mansion in a populous thoroughfare, who accumulated such vast sums daily, that his bankers were obliged to enlarge their premises, in order to meet the additional influx of monetary business produced by this modern Midas, who could convert copper into gold with the dexterity of an Arabian alchemist. The bankers were his humble servants at all times; for though they laughed at his ears, they worshipped his wealth. One morning, a regular licentiate of a medical college having called on this renowned dispenser of nostrums for the cure of all bodily distempers, addressed him thus:

“Pray, doctor, how is it that you contrive to amass such prodigious wealth, while I can scarcely prevent body and soul from taking unfriendly leave of each other?”

The doctor, having conducted his interlocutor to a window overlooking the crowded street, asked him, with a bland smile, how many persons he thought had passed within the last minute?

“Perhaps a hundred,” was the reply.

“And how many wise men among them?”

“Probably two.”

“The latter, no doubt, are your patients; the former, mine; you physic the wise men, I the fools.”

Here was the Q. E. D. of the proposition. And so it is with those divines we have just noticed; their spiritual therapeutics are prepared for the quack doctor's fools, whom they at once physic and blind: those who seek instruction elsewhere are the poor licentiate's wise men. Fortunately for them and the world, the large majority of fools are in better hands, otherwise Bedlam would soon be let loose, and the country inundated with a deluge of folly.

And what, after all, is the popularity so eagerly sought after by rabid anti-erastians and masked idolaters? What is it but that indiscriminating admiration of the ignorant vented

in vulgar applause, and occasionally rising into a paroxysm, which relieves itself by the hysterical presentation of a piece of plate?

The talents of some men distinguished for the stir they make in certain neighbourhoods, (such men being always clamorous in proportion to their vacuity,) are too apt to be calculated according to the proportion of numbers occupying pews or benches in their consecrated theatres,—for theatres they are, and nothing else; where the man is applauded and idolized, while God is seen only in some trumpery symbol, or left to that niggard love which the hearers have to spare after the lion's share has been awarded to his human representative standing in the pulpit, covered with starched white holland. Never was there a greater fallacy than that of measuring talent by the line of mob acclamation. Of such kind of applause the empiric always obtains the most. The larger the pack, the louder the yelping.

Crowded churches do not prove the genius of the preacher, any more than empty senate-houses the incapacity of the statist. It is notorious that the church of the eloquent Blair was almost vacant when he preached. So probably would it be now, were he living; while that of a preacher, as much distinguished for his emasculate polemics in favour of Pope Gregory's chants and certain exploded mummeries, as by his dogmatical pulpit declamation, is so thronged on a Sunday morning, as to require *orthodox* empasms, though not recognised by the canons, to preserve an endurable atmosphere.

When, too, the great Burke rose to speak in the House of Commons, it was a signal for all the *speechless ayes and noes* to depart. His wisdom was too profound for their puny capacities; his eloquence too refined for their gross tastes. They were unable to distinguish betwixt the man and his doublet. So in these days many church-goers, with *large* fortunes but *small* minds, worship the preacher instead of the Creator, and admire the surplice rather than the priest, because, we presume, the first is without spot, while the last may be spotted all over. And yet, though little wits are thus blown into transparent bubbles, both Blair and Burke are immortalized, while those divines to whom we have alluded

will sink into oblivion with the crowd of Smiths and Murphys, who are incessantly falling into that unfathomable void.

There is said to be, within the "bills of mortality," more than one divine who has set a small segment of the modern Babylon into a religious ferment, encouraging crosses, not in love, but in cornelian, which are becoming matters of extensive request among aristocratic catechumens. Those divines, of whom we are now speaking, who "teach for doctrines the commandments of men," have sprung into considerable notoriety, by the exercitation of a certain generic idiosyncrasy peculiar to the new theological genus lately discovered in Oxfordshire, with which they claim kindred—an inflated, purblind assurance, of which the offensive ancillaries are presumption and self-confidence.

We have heard of one of these propounders of Oxford Catholicism, now calling himself a priest of the *original* Christian sanctuary, and pastor of a flock having more money than mind, and preferring a farrago of stale Popish divinity to a fresh course of spiritual diet;—we have heard of such a teacher who is reported to have been some years ordained before he discovered that he had taken a false oath, or, what is essentially like it, had made a solemn protestation before the bishop, at God's altar, that he was stone blind, *in a catholic sense*, mistaking reasonable truths for, what he now calls, "*catholic verities*," until some Oxford magnetiser first opened his eyes, then cast him into a profound sleep, which he is still undoubtedly enjoying, and dreaming for the benefit of those neophytes from common-sense to semi-papistry, who are awaiting the enunciation of future oracles to sanction their riding the "whole hog," without saddle or bridle, up to the very walls of the Vatican. We are told that he performed the character of a plain "easy going" clergyman, without any notoriety, save that of *respectable mediocrity*, for some years before he indulged in those *non-utilitarian* exploits which have gained him a name (and many a dog is a Cæsar now) that shall place him among the chronicles to be prepared without act of parliament, for the future benefit of waste paper depositories. If what he is reputed to maintain be true, that they who



enter the church in any other way than the one indicated by himself and his co-popish transcendentalists are undoubtedly on their road to that Pandemonium of agony and of horror, of which purgatory is the vestibule, and Puseyism the weathercock, he must, according to his own showing, have been unfit, during those years, to officiate at a Christian altar. But he is a "brand plucked out of the burning," (though we think such a brand cannot too soon be extinguished,) and has shot up, like a skyrocket, out of the puritanical mud in which, according to the recent discoveries of his *clairvoyance*, every member of the Anglican church is plunged, save such only as exhibit upon their foreheads the Oxford phylacteries, patented by the well-known University firm, established for the sale of "filthy rags" and cast-off tawdry of that scarlet lady whom the inspired man has called by a name too offensive to ears polite to be scored upon this profane record.

There are, no doubt, sundry pastors now "gathering together into a place called, in the Hebrew tongue, Armageddon," who are only restrained from swearing fealty to the Pope by family obstacles. A wife and children are the drag-chain which checks them, when they betray an impulse to run into the arms of Antichrist through the portals of the Holy City. There are many secular reasons why they do not vault over the pale within which they have been stalled by our hierarchy, and lay their besotted heads upon anti-Anglican bosoms. They cannot be priests at a papal altar. They cannot be cardinals. The Popedom is shut out from their ambition. Though they might dabble in holy water, they would not be privileged to set up a mart for the sale of indulgences. They would relinquish large loaves and sweet fishes for penny bricks and salted herrings. Therefore, with very commendable prudence, they still continue among us, fattening upon our ecclesiastical abundance, at the same time, like politic shepherds, macerating with fasts and penances their hungry sheep, which, though so sparely fed, except on Sundays and Christmas-days, vainly "hunger and thirst after righteousness." The sleek *papas* of the fold meanwhile still hold their lucrative dignities as servants of the "Reformed Church," while actually preaching for converts to Rome,

declaring fealty to the Archbishop of Canterbury, but virtually giving it to the Pope, of which the numerous secessions of young unmarried priests from the chanting-houses of their spiritual patrons are a sufficient proof. Those patrons, whose wives and children only keep them within the fences of our Church, are enemies in the spiritual camp, whom it behoves all good Protestants to denounce, however ministers of state and other ermined adorers, who are not shocked at "bowing the knee to Baal," may support, both with purse and person, their idolatrous synagogue.

We have been led into the foregoing observations by the perusal of a volume, entitled, "The Principles of the Book of Common Prayer Considered," the author of which is a Mr. Bennett, "late student of Christ Church, Oxford, and incumbent of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge;" an edifice, as we understand, recently erected for the benefit of himself and that of all whom it may concern. We hear there is a cross upon, and another above, the altar; the one real, the other sham. We are told there are many other things so absurd and fantastical, that we will not undertake to vouch for the accuracy of our intelligence. The world is so given to calumny, that we dare not believe a tithe of what we have heard concerning this unseemly pile of canonical bricks and mortar. A dreamer may have been abroad; we therefore would be cautious in taking for *catholic verities* his probable Pythonicks, and, consequently, entreat any one who may desire more positive information, to visit the Knightsbridge cathedral on a fast-day, when they will have an opportunity of seeing that spiritual fold chokefull of a hungry flock, and its most sanctified but uncompassionating shepherd cramming them with theological bubbles, produced from the breath of his own nostrils.

We pretend to know nothing of the author whose book has so lately engaged our attention, but what he declares of himself in his published manifestoes of—what he assumes to be—revived Catholicism. There are, certainly, some startling doctrines, as it appears to us, indicated, rather than broadly avowed, in the writings of Mr. Bennett; for, we are free to confess, his language is generally so embarrassed, and his

ideas so offuscated, that he may really mean the reverse of what he seems to imply. He may interpret his own English in a manner very different from ourselves; so that what we fancy involves a sanction of Roman-catholic absurdities, may actually be intended to recommend Protestant reformations. We are bound, however, to take his English as we find it, and to apply that exposition which it most obviously appears to challenge; therefore, before entering upon any critical analysis of his production, either in whole or in part, we beg leave to ask him the following questions, which we should be very much obliged if he would answer in an appendix to a future edition, if such should ever be called for, of his "Distinctive Errors of Romanism."

Do you maintain the infallibility of the Church, composed, as you aver, of all persons who have been baptized in Christ's holy name, and, consequently, having among its members a large majority of the corrupt and profligate?

Do you hold the divine right of supremacy in the priesthood, who being, as we apprehend you to infer, "called of God, as was Aaron," are thus endowed, as he was, with "spiritual discernment" above the laity, in whatever degree learned, holy, just, and good?

Do you deny to seculars, however well instructed and exemplary, the right of private judgment in spiritual matters?

Do you believe that tradition is an infallible source of truth, and that we are bound to receive it as of equal authority with Scripture?

Is it your opinion that young ladies ought to make private confession to young clergymen of all their sinful thoughts, words, and works?

Do you recommend weekly fasts and periodical penances as indispensable to the constitution of a true Christian?

Are you an advocate for emblazoned crosses upon church altars and upon church service-books?

Would you inculcate that popish doctrine which declares the actual presence of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist?

Do you deny the exercise of free will in man?

We should be very much obliged by answers to these

queries in the manner already proposed, or they may be left with our publisher, if preferred. And pray excuse us, Mr. Bennett, if we earnestly entreat to have no quibbling—an Aristotelian accomplishment very general among that theological fraternity to which we presume you belong. We confess there are among them men of rare endowments; but, in our consciences, we cannot include you in that “golden number.” There are, too, no doubt, some very good Christians in their little confraternity. We trust you may be one of the *some*; but, not having the honour of your acquaintance, we cannot be expected to vouch for it.

Now, the utter incompetency of the writer whom we have just been addressing, to teach good theology, we shall endeavour to show, by proving him, out of his own book, to be deficient in the very elements of knowledge. We propose to examine one section of his volume on “the Book of Common Prayer.” Before, however, we proceed to anatomize this precious specimen of unintelligible English, bad logic, and inconclusive reasoning, we shall undertake to make it appear that false grammar, no less than false logic, is a very prominent feature in Mr. Bennett’s manual of devotion; and these united, we contend, will not only show him to be utterly unfit to hold before the feet of her Majesty’s lieges the lantern of wisdom, but overthrow his assumed right to the championship of the Church.

Of his preface to “Principles of the Book of Common Prayer Considered,” we proceed to examine the first paragraph, which is as follows:—“The many controversies which have *arisen* of late on the subject of the Prayer Book, may be *referred partly*, indeed, to the prejudices of the laity; but, perhaps, *more so* to mistakes in the teaching of the clergy. We have in general found that *any* restoration of the forms and ceremonies of our Church, *which were* usual at the time of the Reformation, *have been* met by the people with distrust and with resistance; but at the same time we must, in candour, allow that in many cases this distrust and resistance *has been* the consequence of want of proper information, rather than a wilful disobedience to the Church’s laws. The clergy should reflect that they *anticipate* the natural order of

things, when they strive to gather the fruit before they have sown the seed. It is a *true* Catholic principle, *in its very best sense*, to love such usages and customs as bear the marks of antiquity. To give to anything the name of 'innovation,' is to give to it the name most odious in the eyes of a *Catholic* and of an *Englishman*. But they whose occupations in life (as must be the case in the great majority of the people) are so all-absorbing, as to deprive them of the power of searching and reading for *themselves*, will, of course, measure antiquity by their own memories. For them antiquity reaches no further than a single generation, therefore the *resistance* or such ought to form no *ground* of regret in the eyes of the Church; for the Church has only patiently and by discreet teaching to *remove these narrow limits* of the *notion* of antiquity, and she will cast back the imputation of 'novelty' upon the very *points* now cherished and beloved as ancient. Then these very same persons, *on their own grounds*, will become the Church's staunchest followers and most faithful sons."

Let us now take to pieces this miserable tissue. "The many controversies which have *arisen* of late on the subject of the Prayer Book." Things are properly said to *arise from*, or *out of*, but to *fall on* or *upon*. In the very first line, then, of this preface, it will be seen that the terms are inappropriate. "May be *referred partly*, but, perhaps, *more so*." Is not a verb, expressing a distinct and definite sense, here used after the manner of an adjective, with degrees of comparison? If a thing is referred, it is so absolutely; neither more nor less. To say anything may be *more so* referred, is stark nonsense. That which in itself implies completeness, cannot be subject to degrees of comparison. We beg to say, that to be referred '*partly*, is not to be referred at all. Controversies may be referred to the laity, and likewise to "mistakes in the teaching of the clergy;" and though the *effects* or *consequences* may be greater in the latter case than in the former, those controversies must be positively referred to both, if at all, without any degrees of comparison.

Now for the second period. "We have in general found that *any* restoration of the forms and ceremonies of our church *which were* usual at the time of the Reformation, *have*

*been met, &c.*" If Mr. Bennett should fail to blush when shown to be guilty of such grammatical blundering, he must verily have a countenance of Corinthian brass. What can the reverend incumbent of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, mean by *any* restoration of a form? It is a monstrous solecism; an application of the laws of continuity where they were never intended to operate. Our theological seer confounds parts with entires. He is evidently a disciple of the corpuscularian doctors who divide non-entities into infinitesimal fractions. But he cannot practically illustrate his own theory. How, for instance, can there be *any* restoration of the form of turning to the east, of bowing before the altar, and a thousand other simple acts of popish worship, held by certain priests to be "essentially necessary to salvation"? The restoration of the form must at once be complete, or there is no restoration. A man must bow to the altar or not bow; so that there is either a full restoration of the form or there is none. If our British Gamaliel had written, "a restoration of any forms and ceremonies," he would not only have been intelligible, but have escaped the chance of offending those exquisite sensibilities so admirably developed by the fastidious Mrs. Malaprop. Should not a quondam usher of Westminster School and a *quasi* teacher in a Knightsbridge church be ashamed at having so completely forgotten his accident?

But let us advance a step further. The relative *which*, being the nominative case to the verb *were*, has its antecedent in the possessive, *of the forms of the Church*; while the singular noun, *restoration*, stands as the nominative case to a plural verb, *have been*. Perhaps, however, there is to be a reformation of the Church philology as well as of its forms and ceremonies, under the accurate scrutiny of our Knightsbridge incumbent and his co-presbyters in the same sanctuary. Be this as it may, we will take leave to put Mr. Bennett's hybrid phraseology into more endurable English, for the benefit of those who are not likely to approve of his dialectics:—"We have in general found that a restoration of any forms and ceremonies of our Church, in use at the Reformation, has been met," &c. In the latter part of this

sentence we find the blunder of the former reversed, *two* nominative cases being followed by a verb in the singular number—"in many cases this distrust and resistance *has been*," &c. The sentence concludes with distrust being pronounced not to have been *a wilful disobedience of the Church's laws*. Here cause and effect are most sadly confounded; so, in truth, are Mr. Bennett's gravest notions of right and wrong. They form a sort of antagonistic amalgam, in which the elements do not kindly blend, but are sufficiently infused to defy separation.

Our author thus proceeds; "The clergy should reflect that they *anticipate* the natural order of things, when they strive to gather the fruit before they have sown the seed." They *eat* their custard first and *make* it afterwards. Would not *invert* be more appropriate than *anticipate*? Mr. Bennett, however, knows best; the latter word may therefore stand, if he prefers it. It will, no doubt, do well enough with the new Oxford exposition.

Further. "It is a true Catholic principle, *in its very best sense*." Has a *true* Catholic principle a *best* and a *worst* sense? That cannot surely be true of a Catholic principle in a *bad* sense, which is not true of it in a *good*. If a Catholic principle be *true* at all, it must be so completely: it cannot, we mean, be true in a *bad* sense, but only in a *good*. It can be subject to no divarication of qualities. Burgundy and verjuice are not drawn from the same cask. *True* principles are always *good*—being perfect; therefore necessarily excluding everything *bad*. Here we have a specimen of our author's false logic cheek by jowl with his false grammar.

Take another specimen of both:—"To give to anything the name of innovation, is to give to it the name most odious in the eyes of a Catholic and of an Englishman." A Catholic and an Englishman would hence appear to be distinct ecclesiastical classes in the eyes of this Artesian polemic. To give to anything a name, is to give to it something in the eyes. We beg to say that those Catholics or Englishmen—women are gallantly excluded—who have odious names in their eyes had better have them extracted (that is, the eyes and names together), and sent to the British Museum as *natural curiosities*.

To proceed. "But they whose occupations in life (as

must be the case in the great majority of the people) are so all-absorbing as to deprive them of the power of searching and reading *for themselves*, will of course measure antiquity by their own memories." Here the parenthesis, bad though it be, is evidently in the wrong place. The parent does not clearly know his own bantling: he mistakes the head for the midriff; but *in his eyes* we suppose there is no distinction. We apprehend, nevertheless, that the sentence so clumsily interpolated ought to follow the words, "reading for themselves." *Appropos* of this latter phrase. Do people, except functionaries and hired stipendiaries, read for *others* and not for *themselves*? We have known persons clad "in fine linen, and faring sumptuously every day," on their ecclesiastical wages, except when a fast intervenes, who, though they read for hire, misuse their mother-tongue so abominably as sadly to irritate, though not to *split*, "the ears of the groundlings." We do not for an instant mean to infer that Mr. Bennett *reads* for hire. His choral service would at once give the lie to such a calumny. He is never heard in his church but to *sing*, except when he whistles; and they who hear him, it is said, most generously pay him for his whistle, or for his song, whichever it may be.

We invite our readers to the next sentence of his preface: "For them antiquity reaches no further than a single generation; therefore the resistance of such ought to *form no ground of regret in the eyes of the Church*." The idea of *resistance forming no ground of regret in the eyes*, is, we venture to say, a complex idea, which would have puzzled the renowned Locke to reduce to its primitive elements. To form *no ground* is to form a nonentity—to build a castle in the air: still, to form *no ground in the eyes of the Church* appears, in the eyes of the reverend incumbent of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, a shocking misdemeanor. Under the new "Ecclesiastical Discipline Act" woe to all such culprits, when he shall be our Metropolitan. But let us go on. "For the Church has only patiently and by discreet teaching to *remove these narrow limits of the notion of antiquity*." To *remove the narrow limits of a notion*, is a conceit worthy of a Knightsbridge divine.

Now for period the last. The best thing about it is its



brevity:—"Then these very same persons, *on their own grounds*, will become the Church's staunchest followers and most faithful sons." On their *own* grounds they will be the Church's staunchest followers; what then must they be on the *Church's* grounds?—dead corpses, and nothing else; for the *grounds* of the Church are generally the depositories of the dead, not the common resort of the living.

We beg leave now to transcribe the next paragraph. "Much, it may be feared, has been lost—*many* hearts unwon, *many* minds still unconvinced of the wisdom of our Church's laws, merely because of the unwise forcing on the part of the clergy of that which is *really right*, on *ground* unprepared to receive it. The PRINCIPLES of the Prayer-Book, *by long and judicious teaching*, should be *put before* the people *before* one single *point* of *observance*, as a matter of detail, should be *hazarded*. It is *to begin at the wrong end* to force observances upon the ignorant, and then defend them as right *afterwards*. If there is to be a battle, it had better be one in which the ammunition and stores *are* prepared beforehand, *than sought for* in the emergency of the actual conflict. Thus, in the *Book of Common Prayer*, how many, *rushing forward* to restore its ancient usages, with hasty confidence, in opposition to their parishioners, have been forced to beat an ignominious retreat, and, giving their reasons *for what they HAVE done after they HAVE done it*, HAVE conceded the victory to dissenters, schismatics, and *newspapers*. The PRINCIPLES of things, the *first* rudiments, matters of history, *as such*, require to be fully developed and explained to the people. The details will then quickly follow. Men, *being* reasonable *beings*, will in most instances *fall in* with the truth when they have opportunity of knowing it." Mark how our "learned Pundit" arranges the first part of this piece of insane prose, which is absolutely monstrous. Listen to this sapient Knight of the Cross, this general Bombardinian of the Oxford recruits, who invites old spinsters and young to deposit their secrets in sacerdotal bosoms, where they will be purged of their dross and purified like gold out of the assayer's crucible. "Much it may be feared," he says, "has been lost, many hearts *has been* unwon, many minds *has been* still unconvinced." Here are claims to a bishoprick!

Rejoice, ye ragged aspirants, henceforth to be educated at the charge of Church and State—rejoice, here's "a Daniel come to judgment." The new vocabulary of the English language is already out, prefaced by a grammar, both being compounded and alchemised in the theological laboratory of a popular divine. "The PRINCIPLES of the Prayer-Book," he says, "*should be put before the people before one single point of observance, as a matter of detail, should be hazarded.*" Here's an elegant confusion of words and thoughts. The strife is terrific, but the words have the best of it. They beat the thoughts out of the field. Only think of one *single point of observance*. How *pointed!* A single point, *as a matter of detail!* The fact is, that in our author's foreign English we really cannot tell *de* head from *de* tail, or, in our own words, we can make neither *head* nor *tail* of it. When nonsense is destined to reign paramount, the author of "Principles of the Book of Common Prayer Considered" will no doubt be a bishop; but, we trust, *not till then*.

"It is to begin at the wrong end," says our reviver of obsolete forms, "to force observances on the ignorant, and then defend them as right afterwards." So, then, to do one thing *first*, and another thing *afterwards*, is to *begin at the wrong end*. But what does he mean by the *wrong end*? If a thing has *two ends*, where is the beginning? If it has only *one end*, where is the wrong? It must be the right, or no end at all. So that Mr. Bennett's wrong end is, after all, the right end, or nothing. How, then, can a man begin at such an end? for if there is no end, there can be no beginning. To begin where there is no beginning, refers, perhaps, to some hidden doctrine in pneumatology, with which we pretend not to be acquainted.

"If there is to be a battle," continues our reverend warrior, "it had better be one in which the ammunition and stores *are* prepared beforehand, than *sought for* in the emergency of the actual conflict." We will not dilate upon the confusion of tenses here, but, in pity to the ignorance of him who has so perplexed them, lend him a helping hand to amend his false syntax. For the bad English just quoted, read, "If there is to be a battle, it had better be one in which

the ammunition and stores have been prepared beforehand, than one in which they will have to be sought for during the emergency of actual conflict."

Mark again: "Thus, in the Book of Common Prayer, how many, *rushing forward* to restore its ancient usages, with hasty confidence, in opposition to their parishioners, have been forced to beat an ignominious retreat, and, giving their reasons for what *they HAVE done, after they HAVE done it, HAVE* conceded the victory to dissenters, to schismatics, and *newspapers.*" Properly arranged, this sentence will turn out to be most transcendental balderdash. "Thus, how many, *rushing forward in the Book of Common Prayer.*" Verily, they must be dried moths between the leaves, excited into violent motion by some galvanic process.

In the sentence last quoted, our spiritual Rosicrucian gravely talks of giving "their reasons for what they have done *after* they have done it." From this, we presume that the Oxford dialecticians are able to give a reason *for what they have done* BEFORE *they have done it.* This is very like a man protesting that he was acquainted with his own grandmother before she was born.

Now for the climax: "Have conceded the victory to dissenters, schismatics, and *newspapers.*" The last word comes out *ore rotundo.* How admirably would it chime in the *Gregorian chant!* We would, however, most solemnly advise this pugnacious presbyter to take especial heed how he ventures to throw salt upon the tails of those terrific eagles of the press, who make no more of pecking the jewels out of kings' crowns than they would the plums out of Mr. Bennett's pudding. He had far better tread upon his own tail than attempt to ruffle their feathers, lest, with a single sweep of their mighty wings, they should brush from his besmeared forehead the *diamond dust* of his popularity, leaving him as bare as the brazen Achilles in Hyde-park.

But, bravely undismayed, he thus goes on: "The PRINCIPLES of things, the *first* rudiments, matters of history, *as such,* require to be fully developed and explained to the people." What in the world can matters of history be, but matters of history? These, however, require *to be explained.*

A thousand years hence, when the *amber* of history shall have encircled Mr. Bennett, the question will perhaps arise, why he was like that renowned Agonister, so distinguished for feats of chivalry—

“ When pulpit, drum ecclesiastic,  
Was beat with fist instead of a stick !”

Answer: Because he was a *bipes implume*—Plato’s definition of a man, and ours of an Oxford tractarian. The incumbent of St. Paul’s, Knightsbridge, is partial to PRINCIPLES. We have the PRINCIPLES of the Prayer Book, which are certainly different from its *first* rudiments, these latter being linen rags and printer’s ink. “ The PRINCIPLES of things, the *first* rudiments, require to be developed and explained to the people.” We, however, hold, that to tell the rising generation that flour and milk are the *first* rudiments of bread and butter, or that “ tract ninety” contains the *first* rudiments of Mr. Bennett’s philosophy, would be equally superfluous. They generally know how to estimate the good or bad qualities of the one, and we are satisfied will be at no loss to discover the true properties of the other.

The second paragraph thus concludes: “ Men, *being* reasonable *beings*, will, in most instances, *fall in* with the truth, when they have opportunity of knowing it.” Men, *being* reasonable *beings*! Here’s Knightsbridge cacophony for you! Has this writer’s ear been so long accustomed to *plain tune* as to have lulled him into the pitiful belief that every second word in a sentence ought to be of the same sound? And then, look at his philosophical acumen—men, *being* reasonable *beings*. Here’s a discovery! We shall hear no more of Columbus; he will be henceforward eclipsed behind the moonshine of our Knightsbridge planet.

We come now to paragraph the fourth, of which we shall only transcribe three out of six lines, as these will suffice to show that the unhappy subject of our strictures can’t get out of his trammels: “ But, on the other *hand*, as the clergy have, on their *side*, been in some instances guilty of haste in *pressing* their *views* upon the people.” The very ugly little features of this short sentence are most shockingly dislo-

cated. The perfect tense, *have been guilty*, is chopped into three separate entities by two intruding phrases, *on their side*, and *in some instances*; these most impertinently disturbing the natural unity of words, which it is certainly an offence against grammar, though not against law, to disunite. We must bear witness against the reverend author of "Principles of the Book of Common Prayer Considered," that he has, *on his side*, been, *in many instances*, guilty of *pressing* his views upon the people. Happily, however, he has *pressed* his views upon them so *hard*, that every indication of perspective and of outline must soon be obliterated. They are, in truth, so dingy, and their broadest lights so anti-diaphanous, as completely to conceal from *sight* the brass upon which they have been respectively traced; nevertheless, that metal, conventionally typical of presumption and audacity, is perfectly perceptible to the *touch*.

As the fourth and fifth paragraphs, instead of being really two distinct units, are simply two parts of a whole, we shall take leave to unite them, lest the parent of this abortion should at some future time be unable to recognise the features of his own offspring. "Three points ought to be observed by every parishioner in judging of his parish priest, when he adopts a closer conformity with the Prayer Book than may have been customary."

"He ought to consider the nature of the obligation under which, as a priest of the Church of England, *he* stands towards that church."

It is clear these two paragraphs should not be separated. In looking for the sense, if there is any to be found, we shall discover that *the parishioner* is the subject to which the personal pronoun *he* is made to refer, in the several instances in which it is introduced, when, in reality, the second *he* only has reference to him. We will repeat the passage, with its proper undivided connexion: "Three points ought to be observed by every parishioner in judging of his parish priest, when *he* (the parish priest) adopts a closer conformity with the Prayer Book than may have been customary. *He* (every parishioner) ought to consider the nature of the obligation under which, as a priest of the Church of England, *he* (the

parish priest) stands towards the church." According to our author's confused arrangement, *every parishioner stands towards the Church of England as a priest of that Church.*

Before Mr. Bennett rashly gave way to the natural boldness of his character, and "screwed" himself up to the courage of becoming an author, he should have remembered the maxim of a much wiser man than himself, that "the better part of valour is discretion." "A wise man feareth and departeth from evil, but the fool rageth and is confident." We beg our author's attention to this divine proverb.

We are now quite tired of showing Mr. Bennett's defects as a writer, which only seem to increase as we proceed; as a reasoner he is not one jot more efficient. In that portion of his preface to "the Principles of the Book of Common Prayer," to which our attention has been thus far drawn, we have found every consecutive sentence grossly defective. His blunders are an offence to public taste, as well as a public record of his incapacity. Like the dog in the fable, in attempting to seize the shadow, he loses the substance, and then bays his disappointment in *unisonous recitative*. He plays with the alphabet as he would with a juggler's balls; when he flings them into the air, they dash against each other, and fall beyond the reach and influence of his directing fingers. A man who has no skill in juggles should leave them to his betters. If Mr. Bennett cannot write with more propriety, he should not write at all. 'Tis palpable deceit to invite you to see a show, and then give you nothing but rubbish for your money.

Before we proceed to examine that portion of the volume under notice, entitled "The Choral Service," we pause to show that its author, in his preface, denies the doctrine of free-will. He says:—"The minister of the Church of England, whether he be bishop, priest, or deacon, has *no will of his own as an individual*." Can a man have a will of his own except *as an individual*? Does he exercise his free agency in a dual capacity, and not in a singular? Must he become a noun of multitude before he can have *a will of his own*? Has a man, because he happens to be a bishop, or priest, or deacon, no right to exercise his free-will on a

Christmas-day, when there is a roast sirloin upon the table, unless he has a certificate from the Archbishop of Canterbury? Does Mr. Bennett, we beg leave to ask, never exercise a will of his own? By whose will did he print those sundry tractates which have immortalized his stupidity? By whose will is it that certain revived forms and observances have been introduced into St. Paul's Church, Knightsbridge? Let him answer frankly, if he can. Has he not contrived to exercise his own free-will, in spite of the silly dictum that a bishop, priest, or deacon, has *no will of his own as an individual*? Has he, then, the will of another? Absurd. Let any one, as a matter of expediency or of worldly policy, conform to the new regulations of St. Paul's Church, Knightsbridge, ever so slavishly, he may still do so against his *desire*, though not against his *will*. He *wills* to be obedient, though he may *desire* to rebel. A man without a *will* is a Knightsbridge chimera—one of the reverend incumbent's fictions. Such a thing was never created by Almighty God. We do not believe that there is in her Majesty's dominions a man, woman, or child, who exercises a more perverse free-will than the author of "Principles of the Book of Common Prayer Considered."

It will be obvious that, in whatever degree Mr. Bennett may be amiable, and we hope it is in the superlative, he has, nevertheless, a settled objection, that any man whose opinions happen to differ from his own should exercise the right of private judgment. But will he deny that he maintains in himself this right? We beg to tell him, that the moment he sets up a claim to it in his own person, he at once avows it to be the privilege of every living man. His arguments are so keen and trenchant against himself, that they cut his own throat; and it is only a wonder that he continues to live under the terrible infiction. He may attempt to confine to himself and his co-exclusives, who would extinguish parish clerks and canonize parish priests, the right of private judgment, but he can no more cheat man out of his free-will than he can ride to heaven on a Roman broomstick.

The portion of our author's volume we are about to exa-

mine, is the thirteenth *lecture-sermon*, as he affectedly styles it, being, we presume, neither lecture nor sermon, but a kind of neutral composition between both; a thing like Maw-worm's spencer, which was neither coat nor jerkin, so that no profane hand could lay hold of its skirts, there being none, to lift the rash aspirant to heaven. The text is taken from the Second Book of Chronicles, chap. v., verse 13. "They lifted up their voices with the trumpets and cymbals and instruments of music."

It will be observed that these words have reference exclusively to the temple service of the Jews, so that no conclusion can be drawn from them in favour of a like system in the Christian sanctuary; since, if such conclusion be admitted, it must at once establish the necessity of having *trumpets and cymbals*, as well as other instruments of music, in our choirs. But the words of the inspired chronicler have no more to do with the worship of Christians, so far as regulating the forms of this worship, than with that of Mohammedans. If there be anything in Mr. Bennett's argument, it pleads for the exact forms and appliances of the Jewish choral service to be binding upon Christian worshippers, or it pleads for nothing. He may as well contend for the sacrifice of the holocaust upon our altars, as for brazen instruments of music in our choirs. A man may just as reasonably pray in a cocked hat, as flourish a pair of cymbals in the singing loft of a church; and this latter he is bound to do, so long as he places any reliance on the teaching of our learned divine, who has set up his synagogue at Knightsbridge for the benefit of apostate Jews and destitute Christians. If the reverend gentleman does not soon grow wiser, age will interfere to stifle that reasonable expectation; and from outrageous folly there is but one step, and that is to absolute fatuity.

We shall not now stay to point out the grammatical discrepancies of that portion of our author's volume which we have selected for examination, though these discrepancies overrun every page, but confine ourselves to its logical and *theo*-logical absurdities.

The writer begins by telling us that "poetry and music have



ever been the handmaids of religion." He then informs us, for which the national schools will give him their holiday acclamations, that "the first song on record in Holy Scripture is that of Moses, after he had passed the Red Sea in triumph with the children of Israel." Here is sound, wholesome truth—a little stale, and somewhat spiced with Knightsbridge seasoning; but no matter; there is no leaven, so that it will keep, and when it grows musty, it will do for hungry churchmen whose appetites have ceased to be dainty. So far, no potato-blight is discovered among our author's rhetorical and grammatical roots. The verdure above them is only a little tawny from bad planting and trenching. The disease, however, soon comes into sight, showing that there is nothing but rotteness at the core.

Our learned pastor proceeds—"He" (that is, Moses) "and Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, seem to have made a sort of antiphonal psalm, as a religious service of thanksgiving." As Miriam was the sister of Aaron, are we to infer that she was not the sister of Moses, though he and Aaron were brothers? If the order of consanguinity has been changed since the days of Moses, will Mr. Bennett be kind enough to tell us when and how? He says they seem to have made a sort of antiphonal psalm. The writer here seems to tread on tiptoe over his ground, which he apprehends, doubtless, to be quagmire, lest, if he walk too firmly, he should stick in the mud. "Moses and Miriam seem to have made a sort of antiphonal psalm." From this we should be led to infer that the sorts of antiphonal psalms made by the poetical tinkers of the tabernacle were so numerous as scarcely to be ascertained by aid of the multiplication table. "Moses said, 'I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously;' and Miriam answered, 'Sing ye to the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea.'"

If, by calling this sublime ode an antiphonal psalm, the reverend incumbent of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, means that it was sung by Moses and Miriam antiphonally, or alternately in verses, as divided in our common version of the Bible, or as the psalms are repeated by priest and people in our

churches, or by the quires in our cathedrals, we ask upon what authority he makes so direct a statement. This ode was manifestly composed for the occasion which it celebrated, and probably was never subsequently used. We have no proof whatever that Moses introduced it into the service of the tabernacle; so that its use upon one occasion can afford no argument to support the expediency of an established and *total* choral service in Christian sanctuaries. Moses and Miriam having sung an *antiphonal psalm*, even supposing the thanksgiving ode was such, cannot prove the necessity of chanting the prayers, lessons, and litany, in our places of public worship. Besides, that it was an *antiphonal psalm* we beg leave to dispute, believing, with Dr. Kennicott, who was a ripe Hebrew scholar, (which Mr. Bennett is not,) that the song of Moses, composed in commemoration of his triumphant passage through the Red Sea, was an ode of thanksgiving, divided into four parts, each part being terminated by the same chorus, which was sung by Miriam and her company of singing women. Moses and his male choristers, as Dr. Kennicott conjectures, sang the several parts, the chorus being taken up at its appointed intervals by the prophetess and her musical assistants.

The first five pages of this *lecture-sermon* are devoted to prove—what no one in his senses ever denied—that music was introduced into the ancient tabernacle and synagogue; that “trumpets and cymbals, and other instruments of music,” were employed at the dedication of the temple; that David was at once a poet and musician, and sang his own psalms. But if our modern Jeremiah means to squeeze out of these universally admitted facts a crippled argument that because the Jews had musical services in their temples, we are bound to have the same in our churches, then we say that he places himself under the condemnation of his own theory in not having in the gallery of his church at Knightsbridge cymbals, psalteries, dulcimers, sackbuts, trumpets, shawms, and “all kinds of music” used by the Jews in their public worship. His reasoning is not only inconsequential, but contradictory. It negatives his own practice, and therefore condemns it. If the quire of the ancient synagogue is his authority for the

quire of the modern church, he has nothing for it but to break up his organ, convert its pipes into *marine stores*, and substitute the brazen instruments used at "the dedication of the temple." But he keeps to his organ, and *repudiates* the Jewish band. He accelerates the centrifugal force of his own arguments until it subsides into negative quantities, and ceases to influence himself. He plucks the citron out of the Jewish cake, leaving the stale crust and crumb for any who may have stomachs strong enough to digest it. Does he not, however, see,—unless he has a pair of Roman spectacles across his nose,—that the moment he admits the legality of not being bound in one particular, he immediately admits the legality of refusing to be bound in any? If he may abandon the trumpets, why not the singing? since, if there is really any obligation to retain either, it must be to retain both. Each is necessary, or none; because both were essential to the service which he quotes as his model. If he abandons "trumpets and shawms," he had better superannuate his organist upon a pension, and this, he may take our word for it, he can do without risking the penalty of a *præmunire*.

What in the name of the Protestant Catholic Church have we, living anno Domini 1847, to do with the Jewish services performed anno mundi 2992? They are not, nor ever were, the models of the Christian. If there be any truth in our author's reasoning, he is as much bound to wear the ephod as were the Jewish priests; and our bishops, being "called of God," are then equally bound to restore the mysteries of Urim and Thummim. But there happens to be no truth in his reasoning, so that Christian priests may stick to their surplices, and Christian bishops to their cambric canonicals. Why does not our biblical archæologist recommend that worshipping assemblies should sit in church with their hats on, as the Jewish formalists do in their synagogue? Why does he not separate the men and women, hiding the latter from the profane gaze of the former and making them keep silence, as is done in Duke's-place every Saturday?

Will Mr. Bennett abnegate our proposition that if there be any valid reason for adopting one part of the Jewish system, as a matter of necessary obligation, the same reason must

render it incumbent upon us to adopt the whole? It is either binding on us, or it is not. If the former, Mr. Bennett is a rebel: if the latter, he is a nincompoop. If he prove anything, he proves too much. He erects a hovel of mud only to stifle us with the dust; or else a mean fabric "of wood, hay, stubble," which he unintentionally shakes asunder, and falls prostrate under his own rubbish. But why do not some of the Oxford *demi-semi Romanists* come to his rescue? Why will they permit him to make balls of mire only to fling at his own head? Why permit him to blurt out such crazy nonsense as the following—"If religion ever *died* away, as it did *several times* in their subsequent history, then the *musical praises* of God *died away* with it." Here religion is represented as having a most marvellous vitality. It has died several times, and is "alive again." It must have a plurality of lives, like a caterpillar, as it has already *died several times*, and appears to be once more in an expiring state, under the treatment of its new physician, whose *balm* is mixed up in a foreign gallipot. Whoever may desire to consult him, will find his address in the Post-office Directory, or he can get it from Mr. Archdeacon Lewis, at Lambeth Palace.

"So far, then," observes Mr. Bennett, "by looking to the Jewish history, there can be no difference of opinion on the subject of the musical praise of God in divine worship." (*Musical* praise of God in divine worship!) "And if the Jew had *subjects* for praise, shall the Christian be without *them*." What does he mean? *subjects* FOR praise, surely cannot apply to *God*. Really, the sacred is so mixed up with the profane in Mr. Bennett's pages (ignorantly, we feel ourselves compelled, in Christian charity, to believe), that it is a somewhat puzzling matter to separate them; though, like oil and vinegar, they do not readily amalgamate. But we would gravely ask him—Cannot the Christian praise God without doing so after the manner of the Jew? Cannot he pray in public without singing? Must he be roused to devotion by the peals of an organ, or by the clangor of cymbals and trumpets?

Again, asks our reverend catechist, "If the sons of Asaph

and the Levites sang in the *Temple*, shall the sons of God in Christ, and the ministers of the Holy Spirit, be silent in the *Church*? No." So we say, no. But need they be silent because they do not *sing*? Need they be silent because they do not chant to the din of brazen instruments? Need they be silent because they do not appear "arrayed in white linen, having cymbals, and psalteries, and harps, standing at the east-end of the altar, and with them an hundred and twenty priests sounding with trumpets?" Are we silent in our churches, because we do not adopt Mr. Bennett's choral arrangements, his *canto fermo* and *Gregorian chant*? "We have full proof," he goes on to say, "that the new covenant is not inferior to the old in the praises to God." We fully admit this truth, which is truth still, though disguised by our author in the most humiliating phraseology. "The very first intimation of the gospel," he continues, "was made by psalmody; for there was a multitude of the heavenly host praising God, and saying, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will towards men.'" Until our Bible reads *singing* for saying, we shall positively deny this unsupported conclusion. A man must be absolutely rabid thus to misinterpret a passage, when the naked sense positively stares him in the face. Can *saying* be turned into *singing* by any Jesuitical ingenuity? Until it can, we may write "untrue" upon the assertion that "the very first intimation of the gospel was made by *psalmody*."

We are again told that "many of those persons who were engaged in testifying to the coming of the Messiah, in receiving him, or in announcing him, gave vent to their feelings in a *song*. As, for instance, the blessed Virgin; she had her special hymn, 'My soul does magnify the Lord;' and Zacharias, 'Blessed be the Lord God of Israel;' and the aged Simeon, 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word.'"

By whom, we take leave to ask, is the Virgin said to *sing*? Not by the Evangelist. He writes—"And Mary *said*, My soul," &c. Likewise of Zacharias—"He was filled with the Holy Ghost, and prophesied, *saying*, Blessed be the Lord," &c. And of Simeon—"Then took he Him (Jesus) in his arms,

and blessed God, and *said*, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant," &c. Here is a dream of the reverend gentleman, who fancies there can be no true worship without a song. But for the monotone, recitative, and *unisonous chant*, God can neither be praised nor served, if we are to take for gospel our author's manual of devotion. But, may we be permitted to ask him, does he *sing* a grace before his meals, or does he *preach* it, as he states that all clergymen, who pronounce not his *shibboleth*, *preach* their prayers? According to his rules of elocution, those who do not *sing* their prayers, must *preach* them. There is no neutral ground between preaching and singing in his code of worship. If a man cannot sing, he must be a black sheep, and therefore unfit for the Knightsbridge fold.

But mark, again—"For the apostles of our Lord, and our Lord himself, in the most holy rite of our religion, *did but* think that the voice of psalmody and singing was a right *fulfilment* of worship in that service, and, *after the pattern* of the Jews at the passover, before they went out into the mount of Olives, 'they sang an hymn.'" So, because our blessed Lord and his apostles sang an hymn in the mount of Olives, *after the pattern* of the Jews, the day before his crucifixion, we are to take for granted, on this writer's authority, that "the voice of psalmody and singing was a right fulfilment of worship in our service." We acknowledge that the day before his death, Christ and his apostles did sing an hymn. Well, Mr. Bennett, this was a single event, not one of periodical recurrence—one not even commanded to be observed. So Moses sang a triumphal ode, after having passed the Red Sea; he did not, therefore, introduce it into the Jewish ritual. What proof have we that the hymn sung by our Saviour and his holy apostles was *after the pattern of the Jews*? But even if it were, we Christians have certainly received no command to frame our worship after a Jewish *pattern*. The *pattern* of the synagogue was not followed by the apostles and primitive Christians, but abandoned by them altogether. None of its forms were retained. There was in their sanctuary no altar of sacrifice, no brazen sea, no propitiatory, no table of shew-bread, nor anything peculiar to

the Jewish services. And it was this abandonment of their ceremonial observances that rendered the Jews so inveterately hostile to the first converts from their faith. Had their "instruments of music" been continued in Christian choirs, when St. Paul and other inspired teachers of the gospel were spreading its glad tidings over the civilized earth, we should probably be still "in bondage" to the "beggarly elements," from which bondage those holy men rescued our Gentile forefathers, exalting them to that liberty secured by the effectual expiation upon the cross.

It is, no doubt, because the reverend incumbent of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, does so much in his church after a *Jewish pattern*, that a certain circumcised member of a small congregation in the parish of St. Marylebone offers him homage, and, likewise, because he believes him to have an ineradicable faith in the perpetual virginity of the Virgin mother. This genuine descendant from the stock of Abraham, who has more hair on his face than a bear on his ribs, was melted down from the British Jew into the Popish Christian, in a certain laboratory at the west-end of London, where a man used to preside under a Roman mask, having, we presume, been bribed by the Pope, with an amulet in the shape of a cardinal's hat.

We readily admit that "Paul and Silas sang praises unto God in the prison at Philippi;" we are not, however, told by the inspired man who records the fact, that they performed the choral service of the Christian Church. We observe here nothing but a very natural occurrence,—two holy men, unjustly placed in bonds, offering up their prayers, and singing praises to God. They "made melody in their hearts unto the Lord," not after a *Jewish pattern*, but "with psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs." Such arguments as those we have been assailing are mere shadows; and we should not have undertaken to battle with shadows, if we did not believe that by dispersing them we could diffuse light where they had spread nothing but darkness.

The quotation from St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians is something to our author's purpose. "Let the words of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom, teaching and ad-

monishing one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs; singing with grace in your hearts unto the Lord." *Teaching and admonishing* one another in *psalms and hymns*, does not seem quite consistent with our common understanding of those words. They would appear to imply, *à fortiori*, a reciprocation of spiritual teaching and admonition. But we will give Mr. Bennett the full benefit of his own interpretation of the passage; and what will it prove? Not, surely, that divine service among the first Christians was exclusively composed of "psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs"? for it will be remembered that our polemic contends for the entire Church service being either sung or chanted—even the prayers, the litany, and lessons. Paul and Silas singing in the prison at Philippi will not prove the primitive observance of chants and the *planus cantus*. He knows as well as we do, that the passage quoted from Colossians has no reference whatever to Church worship. It will not at all confirm his fictitious tradition of a choral service in the apostolic times. Never were arguments so effete, and assertions so reckless. Neither is the testimony of "St. John's Apocalypse" a whit more favourable to his theory, though he quotes it with such an air of triumph. And even were it more to his purpose, so far as the singing is concerned, it only professes to be a visionary representation of heavenly doings; no Church, therefore, except Mr. Bennett's, ever taught that it should be literally followed. But let us examine the passage, and we shall find that *singing* is not even intimated. The divine of Patmos thus writes—"And after these things I heard a great voice of much people in heaven, *saying*, Alleluia! salvation, and glory, and honour, and power, unto the Lord our God; and I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, *saying*, Alleluia! for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth." We are aware that Mr. Lowman, and other commentators after him, represent this as a hymn sung by the Church. The text, however, does not bear them out in the conjecture, as the multitude is not represented as *singing*, but as *saying*. And the sound of such a vast multitude uniting in devout acclama-



tions of praise, and lifting up with one accord the voice of adoration to the throne of Heaven, might justly be compared to the sound of many waters and of mighty thunders. But whatever interpretation may be given to this passage, the fallacy of making it an argument in favour of Mr. Bennett's choral service, is evident at a glance. The whole description is clearly not literal, but figurative. We are not to suppose that the prophet actually looked into heaven from the isle of Patmos, but only that he saw in a vision a representation of heavenly ministrings, and that, during these sublime trances, the spirit of prophecy fell upon him. He did not, however, behold a vision of angels in a Jewish synagogue, but in heaven; and heard them praising God, not in *canto fermo*, or *plain tune*, but in plain prose, though of the sublimest description. Where in this lies the proof that in Christian Churches we are bound to have a choral service? Had those sublime words been *spoken* by ten times ten thousand voices, with all the expressive accessories of praise, and the profound solemnities of devotion, what could surpass such a burst of homage in great and stupendous effect?

The gist of our author's special pleading, in the passage we have just extracted from his volume, is, that because St. John, at Patmos, saw in a prophetic vision a vast assemblage of the heavenly community round the throne of God, and heard them utter a sublime address of praise and adoration, it is canonically expedient, that in Christian churches all the prayers should be chanted, the lessons delivered in recitative, and the psalms sung, accompanied with trumpets and cymbals, and all kinds of music.

What a Bethesda for the restoration of infirm souls has this Oxford graduate established! What an Hygeian *dépôt* for the vent of Bennett's antiphlogistic pills for the cure of crippled *catholics* and lame schismatics!

After having proved that music was employed in the ancient Jewish worship, our divine continues: "But we must now go forward to the Church of Christ. *How* do we find this custom of choral music *to have been* practised in the first ages of Christianity?" (How, indeed?) "We have *abundant* and *decisive* proof, from the very earliest times, that the chanting

of psalms and hymns, with *creeds* and *prayers*, was the *universal* custom of the Church. It was *most likely*, as in *other matters*, derived from the Jewish custom already prevailing. But *certainly*, from whatever source derived, the *proof* of its existence is most clear."

Where is this proof? Our author is prompt at assertion, swelling out his fallacies with an empty *ipse dixit*. He is the Baron Munchausen of his party, riding his theological Pegasus up a church steeple, and picketing the restive quadruped to the copper cross just underneath the weathercock. Is it not manifest, that in the passage just transcribed from "Principles of the Book of Common Prayer Considered," we have the most barefaced assertion without an atom of proof? If Mr. Bennett could have squeezed proof out of Bingham, or any other theological antiquary, with whose writings he happens to be familiar, he would have readily done so. But no, he has said, *thus it is! that is sufficient!* And when he tells us that he has been taken up into the third heaven, we shall give him precisely the same credit.

We again beg to ask our learned theologian one or two questions. If, as he would pretend to show, we are bound to adopt ancient Jewish usages, why does not he dance before the altar at Knightsbridge, as David danced before the ark near the house of Obed-Edom? If we are bound to imitate the choral service of the Tabernacle, are we not likewise bound to adopt those instruments by which that service was distinguished? Will Mr. Bennett presume to say that the instruments used in the primitive church are similar to those employed now? Has he ever heard an ancient psaltery, sackbut, dulcimer, viol, shawm, or other instruments of music in use during the first Christian ages? Was the instrument now called an organ, known to the apostles, or any other instruments introduced into the galleries of modern churches? Did Messrs. Gray, and Bishop, and Hill, derive a knowledge of their craft from the writings of some musical mechanic living under the dominion of the Cæsars? Was catgut used for harp strings and fiddle strings in the time of David or of St. Paul? Was the harp of the former like that manufactured by Monsieur Erard, of Broad-street, Golden-square? Even the

ancient harp of our own country, and this not many centuries ago, was strung with wire. All the instruments used now are of comparatively modern invention. How then shall we form our choral service after the pattern of the primitive Church, when the musical instruments then employed no longer exist? If we may change the instruments, why not the service? If we are not bound to use in our choirs the musical *instruments* adopted by the ancient Jews and primitive Christians, why should we be compelled to restore their musical *forms*? But Mr. Bennett does not show even in his own practice the expediency of that for which he contends in such various fantastical tropes. He goes no farther back for his authorities than to the choral system recognised during the *mediæval* periods in the chapels of various Cenobite communities, where *Moralities* were performed on week-days, by the ladies and gentlemen of the house, naked, or dressed, as their assumed characters might require, and the prayers uttered to music on the Sundays; the former, to inflame the senses; the latter, to quiet and prepare them for a repetition of the profane display. But are we to abandon the well considered usages of our ancestors, sanctioned by some of the most learned and pious prelates of the English Church, only because it happens to be agreeable to Mr. Bennett and the Pope?

Our author proceeds to inform us that "the consideration of the Choral Service of the Church *will divide itself, strictly speaking, into two parts;*" (*strictly speaking, it will divide itself,*) "the first, that which relates to the prayers, and other portions of a precatory character, and the second, that which relates more especially to psalmody. The whole character of the service *appears*" (how modestly equivocal!) to have been that of singing, or, more properly speaking, recitative; everything being *said, as said to God, in a solemn and prepared manner, with no idea of producing an impression on the people as an audience,*" (that is, we presume, not as *hearers, but as sleepers,*) "but of *gathering their minds and voices together* in speaking to ONE of great and wonderful terror and majesty. The voice of prayer was the *voice* of a monotone," (a monotone must be some new discovery in zoology, neither animal, reptile, nor insect, yet something

with a voice,) “ a prolonged, supplicating, earnestly-crying voice, which was not exactly a *chant*, but something between a *chant* and *reading*. It was generally denominated the *canto fermo* or *planus cantus* ; in English, *plain song* or *plain tune*.” The monster, then, has a name as nondescript as the thing itself to which it owes its parentage.

From this *very eloquent* passage, it will be manifest that our author is unable to define the precise distinction between speaking and singing; the former is something between a *chant* and *reading*, the latter, something between *reading* and a *chant*. Each is neither, yet both are one.

’Tis the same thing  
To read or sing.

“ The *whole* character of the service,” observes our author, “ appears to have been that of *singing*, *everything* being said.” Does not this sentence prove against the reverend incumbent of St. Paul’s, Knightsbridge, that, though he can write so diffusely about speaking and singing, he does not know *which is which* ? Only imagine the *voice of a monotone* in St. Paul’s Church, Knightsbridge, instead of that of the parson enunciating the prayers ! What a solemn mockery ! Is there an expression of contempt intense enough in the most copious vocabulary of our vulgar tongue truly to characterize such consummate absurdity ?

Mr. Bennett has evidently read Bingham and the Oxford church-antiquarians. The former, in fact, constitutes the *secret drawer* of his theological cabinet ; this piece of gaudy furniture being so clumsily inlaid with the baser metals, that you can hardly discover the parent material.

“ We find,” continues our divine, “ according to Bingham, that there were *four* different ways of conducting the public psalmody of our Church.” So that, *according to* Mr. Bennett, *we find* Mr. Bingham splitting Church *unity* into *four* ; *ergo* there never could have been any Church *unity* ; unless *unity* and multiplicity were never correlative, but identical ; ONE being a *plural* noun in the time of Saint Polycarp, and the age immediately subsequent.

If there were *four* different ways of conducting public

psalmody, why not add a fifth, and give modern protestant Christians the benefit of the novelty? else, subtract *four* from the sum, and leave the original cipher. But our bold controversialist strips bare his Delphic Apollo, showing that the respectable author of "Antiquities of the Christian Church" frequently fixes his ecclesiastical stilts upon ground too insecure to sustain them; that, whenever they give way, his *double* is ready at hand to pick up the splinters, and patch them together with an unfailing adhesive drawn from his own Chrismatory at Knightsbridge.

We shall not give ourselves the trouble to follow Mr. Bennett through his numerous references to the Fathers (from Bingham, of course), showing that chanting was adopted in the early Church, since we do not mean to deny the fact. All we mean to say is, that there was no established form of *praying in plain tune*, and no rule laid down by the Apostles and their immediate descendants for adopting the forms and mummeries so acceptable to the magnates of Belgrave-square. Nothing can be more futile or more impertinent than the arguments employed to establish this outrage upon the common sense and good taste of those occupying houses in that aristocratic locality.

If Mr. Bennett knew how to read with force and fervour, he never would "sing unto the Lord," except in "psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs:" neither would he, against all rules of propriety, chop the Lord's heaven into two accented syllables (he reads *hév-vén*), and render his elocution to the ear what a crab-apple is to the teeth. Let him *sing unto the people*, if he will, when delivering, in a starched Irish surplice, his homilies, or rather, his *lecture-sermons*, on the "Principles of the Book of Common Prayer," and we shall not trouble ourselves to notice his folly; but when he turns divine worship into a farce, at which schismatics may rail, and infidels scoff, by *singing* what ought to be read, we conceive ourselves called upon to rebuke his presumption, though, while we do so, we cannot help pitying his fatuity. It is our firm belief that these follies are weakening the defences of our Zion. However blind men may be to the mischief they are doing, that mischief is not the less positive because they

are too stupid to discern it; and we feel assured that at this moment infidelity is quickening into new and more extensive life under the dangerous incubation of semi-popery.

Our author next proceeds to show that "singing and trowling of psalms from one side of the choir to the other, chanting choristers in white surplices, piping organs, and the like, were the abominations of the puritanic faction, and loudly did they cry for their destruction." Of these poor calumniated enthusiasts, the puritans, he says, "they *put aside*, for a time, the very Church herself, destroyed the throne, and martyred *our* king." We had no idea, until Mr. Bennett informed us,—inferentially, indeed, but undeniably,—that he is in the third century of his existence. But perhaps he is in the progress of his metempsychosis, and was living *out* of his present body upwards of two hundred years ago. Should he, however, be really able to trace his birth to the reign of the first Charles, which perhaps may be the case, as his literary productions betray extreme imbecility, exhibiting the strongest indications of second childhood, we must, under any and all circumstances, do him the justice to declare that he is the most wonderful divine of his age, though—

"His big, manly voice,  
Turning again towards childish treble, pipes  
And whistles in his sound."

We still had no notion that he was a bicentenarian—a loyal subject of the first Charles, until he opened his Pandora's box and let out the truth among its damaging contents. Neither had we any idea that the puritans *put aside the very Church*. What *very* Church did they *put aside*, and where did they stow it? unless that be the *very Church* lately erected at Knightsbridge, in which *plain tune* is restored with many other crotchets popular on the banks of the Tiber. To the departed puritans our embryo dignitary attributes "the cessation of the *plain tune*, or *ecclesiastical* METHODS of SAYING the prayers, and the substitution of the declamatory style of PREACHING the prayers, so much even still in vogue." Will the "reverend incumbent" permit us to ask him if there is no legitimate method of enunciating public prayers but by *singing* them? Will he insult our common sense by saying that

prayers cannot be delivered except by *singing*, without being *preached*? Is everything *preached* that is not *sung*? or is everything *sung* that is not *preached*? If prayers, not *sung*, are *preached*, then are speeches in parliament *preached* because they are not *sung*. Thus the whole delivery of human language must be divided into *preaching* and *singing*. To talk of *preaching* the prayers in our Churches is to use language only justifiable when coming from the tongue of a head adorned with a paper crown and tin appendages.

"But now," quoth this reverend shepherd, "I must pass on to the *service book* of our own Church, and endeavour to lay before you those parts of it in which its choral or musical character is principally developed." He now points to different parts of the Liturgy directed in the rubrics to be *said* or *sung*; from which he infers that they are all to be *sung*, lest, in defiance of rubrical rescripts, they should be *preached*. There is absolutely no part of the service expressly appointed by the rubric to be *sung*, except the anthem. *Matins* and *evensong* are terms not recognised by the Prayer Book now in use, except in the index to the lessons; we mean, the Prayer Book published under royal authority and the sanction of our Church. The virtual abandonment of those terms in the Liturgy at present authorized, puts a decided negative on the argument in favour of an entire choral service. After the third collect is this notice, "In choirs and places *where they sing*, here followeth the anthem;" so that the anthem need not follow, unless it be in places *where they sing*. Hence it is plain that singing does not constitute a necessary part of our public worship.

Mr. Bennett knows as well as we do that protestant worshippers are no longer bound by the Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth. All his arguments based upon it are therefore mere flourishes of a goose's feather. There is, besides, great disingenuousness in his mode of conducting those arguments. He begs the whole question upon which they are grounded, namely, the obligation of following the rubrics of the first reformed Liturgy. Having done this, he astutely, but unfairly, leads his readers to suppose that his reasoning is based upon our present rubrics. Such is not, however, the

case; they have reference mainly to those of an exploded Liturgy. Thus he casts back those dregs which have been drained from the spring of truth, into her defecated fountain, stirring up the transparent waters until they have again become feculent, turbid, and unwholesome.

“ Now, every one will readily agree,” he goes on to say, “ *that* there is quite sufficient here to justify me in saying,” (we declare ourselves dissentient,) “ *that* the desire of our Church is, *that* her services should be of a choral character; *that* they should be performed by a choir or chorus of singers;” (we, in our hearts, believe that Mr. Bennett repudiates, in his own, this ultra-dogmatic nonsense;) “ not *that* the choir should take the duty of the people, but merely to insure a certain number of persons, skilled in music, to lead the congregation.”—(Qy. by the ears?) “ The Church ever contemplates her people as taking their share, and a very great share it is, *of the duty of public service*; she does not consider the congregation as mere lookers-on, as in the Church of Rome, but she considers them as a people with *voices*; as a people *rejoicing in psalmody*; a people with hearts to feel, and voices to give forth the praises of God *with melody*.”

It appears, from this splendid burst of our author's great literary organ-pipe, that the Church of Rome considers her congregations to be *dumb*, but that the Church of England considers hers to be a people with *voices*. The first are *mutes*, the last, crickets, which sing morning, noon, and night. But will the pastor of Knightsbridge be pleased to answer the following? Were voices only given us to *sing*? Is the tongue the mere stop or key of a musical instrument? Cannot we give forth the praises of God except in plain tune or recitative? Are the lips simply *mouthpieces* to some artificial vehicle of musical intonation? Cannot we “ make melody in our hearts unto the Lord ” without graduating our voices by a chromatic scale, or elevating them to a dismal monotone, to the disgust of every well-disciplined ear; thus giving to God what would disgrace a Highland cabin, where no spirit is worshipped but the spirit of malt or potatoes—where no music is heard but that of the native bagpipes?

After twaddling about giving greater attention to the edu-



cation of our children in *ecclesiastical* music—that is, in *planus cantus* and the *Gregorian chant*—he concludes one paragraph, of more than a page and a half, with the following chrononhonthologic climax :—“ Now, if some little attention to the chants and services of the Church were but given by our higher orders as a duty, and they would *bring their books into church*, with voices as well as minds ready to sing God’s praise, *what a service would ours be!* There would be nothing like it, in dignity and devotion, under heaven; far superior to the Church of Rome, with all its boast; *for* there the music is *for display*, with the character of the opera or theatre. In ours, it is *meant* to be solely *for religion*.” Now, if our *higher orders* would only *bring their books* into church with their *voices* as well as their *minds*—what books are the higher orders to bring? Burke’s Peerage, or Boyle’s Court Guide? —“ what a service would ours be!” Ay, what, indeed! “ Nothing like it *under heaven!*” No, truly, nor *above*. What with books, and voices, and minds brought into church by our lords and ladies, who can describe the result? There lives not the man, except it be the reverend incumbent of St. Paul’s Church, Knightsbridge. It is amazing that Mr. Bennett should be insensible of his folly. But certain it is that, like poor Ophelia, when bereaved of her wits, he may be truly described as one “ incapable of his own distress.”

Mr. Bennett now begins to raise the question of absurdity. He anticipates objections which he is utterly unable to answer. He still doggedly asserts, that “ if *singing* the prayers .be unnatural, the *reading* of prayers is *much more* unnatural;” which amounts precisely to saying—If a booby with *three* heads is unnatural, a booby with *one* is more unnatural. According to our merry logician, if to do wrong is improper, to do right is *much more* improper. He may, however, “ put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter,” if he will, but common-sense people will only laugh at his folly, wondering, at the same time, that he is not put under episcopal superintendence. Though he tickles silly people only with straws, yet it is possible he may tickle them into convulsions. They will then, perhaps, require to be sprinkled with the holy water of St. Peter’s, in order to recover their wits.

The proper mode of saying our prayers, according to the dictum of this theological Hullah, is, "merely the sustaining of *one note* or monotone *throughout* the prayer, with a slight modulation at the end. Now, an *earnest, solemn, eager* way of asking a great gift, is much more consonant with this *one tone*, than what is called *reading the prayers so as to be impressive.*" So, then, a pious Christian can only be *earnest*, and *solemn*, and *EAGER*, in asking a *great gift* in *one tone* or monotone. When Mr. Bennett asks a *great gift*, (say the bishoprick of Manchester,) Lord John Russell will not think him *earnest*, and *solemn*, and *eager*, unless he asks it in *canto fermo* or *recitative*. He assures us that no man can *read* the prayers *so as to be impressive.* *He*, certainly, may not be able to do this—indeed, we take for granted he cannot, upon his own testimony. We will defy him to *sing* a prayer *impressively*, yet will undertake to produce those who shall *read* it *impressively*. But why all this *fanfaronade* and noisy hectoring about a mere *modus operandi*, for the adoption of which he stands in such a contemptible minority? Is he vain enough to imagine that his *lecture-sermon* on the choral service of his *Catholic Church* will persuade one sensible clergyman to abandon the universal practice of centuries, and take up with the fictitious usages of Mr. Bennett's *primitive times*? We beg to refer every member of his congregation to the infallible maxim of Solomon—"Answer not a fool according to his own folly, lest thou also be like unto him." To the reverend pastor himself we take leave to say, in the words of that same wise man, "Answer a fool according to his folly, lest he be wise in his own conceit."

"He," continues the preacher, (not Solomon, but Mr. Bennett,) "who is of a sudden cast into some urgent *danger* does not supplicate his brother, who stands by, to deliver him from his *danger* by striving to be *impressive*, but his voice is *raised* in the *peril of the instant* with a *sustained note*, or *lengthened cry of anguish or pain.*" He *sings out* to his brother to come to his relief in *ecclesiastical music*, in a *sustained note* or *monotone*; he utters a *lengthened cry of anguish or pain*, all in *plain tune*, protesting he is sorely swelled with tympany, in *Roman recitative* or a *Gregorian chant*. *Impressiveness* is out of the

question : all he wants is to get rid of his dropsy ; so he bawls to his brother, in a *sustained* note, when that affectionate relative comes to his relief ; but had the sufferer only pleaded *so as to be impressive*, that tender son of his mother would certainly have allowed him to burst.

“It has been well said,” observes the reverend oracle of Knightsbridge, though he does not tell us by whom, “that nothing marks so much the difference between the Dissenters and the Catholics, as the way in which public prayer is offered by their respective ministers. It seems as though, in the *self-will* and *self-seeking* of the Dissenter, even his *prayers* lose the end to which *they* should be *looking*, and *verge* towards the applause of men : while in the Catholic, his *whole mind* being intent and *wrapped up* in the *person* to whom his prayer is uttered, his *very* voice is *in unison* affected ; *ordinary speech* and *ordinary sounds* are carefully eschewed ; he speaks in the *plaintive*, *unobtrusive* tone which the *chant* so peculiarly *describes* ; and though *there is no regard to effect*, still, the consequence is, that, in the congregation being undisturbed by extraneous *matter*,”—(Oh, dear, what can the MATTER be ?)—“there arises a *legitimate*, and *hearty*, and *mental* union with him in the voice of supplication.” Here’s a piece of composition for you ! Here’s a *composite order* of false logic, false rhetoric, and bad English ! “In the *self-will* and *self-seeking* of the Dissenter” (who has *lost* himself, and *seeking* himself, like the pugnacious rat, after doing battle, finds only the *end* of his own tail !) “even his *prayers* lose the *end* to which they should be *looking*.” So that his *prayers* are worse off than the poor rat ; they can’t even find the *end* to which they should be *looking*. In their case, alas ! tail and all is lost ! There’s an *end* of it ! *Requiescat in pace !*

The Dissenter’s “*prayers* lose the *end* to which they should be *looking*,” while he, the Dissenter, is seeking for his lost self, “and *verge* towards the applause of men,” as Mr. Bennett *verges* towards the episcopate ; “while *in* the Catholic his *whole mind* is *wrapped up* in the *person* to whom his prayer is uttered.” His *whole mind* is *wrapped up* ! “His *very* voice is *in unison* affected !” How can it be otherwise than *affected* in

a *sustained tone* or *monotone*? Affectation is the very pith and marrow of the choral service celebrated in St. Paul's Church, Knightsbridge. "*Ordinary speech* and *ordinary sounds* are carefully eschewed," and *extraordinary* speech and *extraordinary* sounds substituted. The Catholic, of course, utters something superhuman—that *something* between the sublime and the ridiculous, for which there is a special canonical privilege of utterance in St. Paul's Church, *as afore-said*. In this *vulgar tongue*, or *vernacular speech*, which is not *ordinary*, uttered in Mr. Bennett's "house of prayer," the "congregation being undisturbed by *extraneous matter*, there arises a *legitimate*, and *hearty*, and *mental* union with him in the voice of supplication." We will not impair the climax by a single remark.

Our ecclesiastical reformer disdains the introduction of metrical psalms into his choir, as "they do not," he says, "form a regular and component part of our service. They are only *permitted* to be sung, not commanded." But by whom, we ask, are they *permitted* to be sung? By the Church. And does Mr. Bennett deny its authority to *permit* as well as to *command*? That which it *permits* surely must be *lawful*, and that which is *lawful* must be *right*; therefore, singing metrical psalms in our church, being both *lawful* and *right*, we are justified in singing, though not *commanded* to sing them. If it be *lawful* for the Church to *permit*, then that which it *permits* must be *lawful*; if otherwise, what surety can we have that its *commands* are lawful? Surely a Church which could *permit* something wrong, might *command* something wrong; so that the moment you make Mr. Bennett's distinction between *permitting* and *commanding*, you question the integrity of that Church upon the authority of which all *his arguments*, so to call them, are based. His distinction is, in effect, "a distinction without a difference." In fact, he proves that to be right which he would fain assume to be wrong; and is continually dashing his head against his own buttresses. So long as the Bishop of London *permits* his clergy to *preach* their prayers, we shall have some hope for an improvement in the devotion of the masses; but the

moment he commands that pious body to *sing* them, we shall exclaim, with the unhappy Moor of Venice—

“Othello's occupation's gone !”

Our sermon-lecturer next endeavours to prove against his opponents that though the choral service is not *necessary* it is nevertheless *indispensable*. Chanting, recitative, and plain tune, are not *necessary* in Mr. Bennett's church, but he *can't do without them*. Our author would have us believe that if we do only what is *necessary* in God's house, our worship is a dead letter. He insists that we must do much more than is *necessary*—works of supererogation, of course; for works which are not *necessary* must be works of supererogation, and these are forbidden both in our “articles” and “homilies.”

We say, that to do anything in the church which is not *necessary*, is to insult Him who is there present with his adoring worshippers to receive their offerings of thanksgiving and praise. When we assemble in the Lord's house, though it is not *necessary* that we should address Him “with a sustained note or lengthened cry of anguish or pain,” in a dismal whine, like that assumed by a sturdy beggar at the door of an hospital, a monotone in *A flat*—it is nevertheless *necessary* that we should love him, obey him, pray to him, trust in him, reverence His holy name; not mock him by singing his prayers and *chanting* his praises to the tunes of Pope Gregory the Great, though he was, as his eulogist, Mr. Bennett, declares, “one of the most able, as well as the most zealous, of the bishops of Rome.” It is *necessary* that we should do good unto all men for God's sake as well as for our own; that we should be honest, charitable, kind, forgiving; and that we should exhibit sundry other Christian graces enumerated in the Gospel, which we trust Mr. Bennett exercises for his own benefit as well as that of his flock. To do, however, what is there laid down as being only *necessary*, according to our Knightsbridge casuist, is not enough—we must do something—nay, a vast deal more. Now we maintain that all the good we can do is *necessary*, since we are commanded to “love God with all our hearts, minds, souls, and strength, and *our neighbours as ourselves*,” but we need not give so much as a hint of this to the “good Samaritan.”

He thus proceeds—"As indeed the sounds of gladness in *choral song* are not to be proved *as necessary*, as the voices of the tuneful birds are not to be proved *as necessary*,—as the beauty of colours in the light and airy wings of the insect *tribe* are not *necessary*—so would they, with him, be all equally set aside, and nature be reduced to the barren coldness of his own hard and immovable heart." Foolish man! are not the voices of tuneful birds *necessary*? Are not the "colours in the light and airy wings of the insect *tribe*" *necessary*? Then, has God made something in vain? That which is not *necessary* cannot be needful; that which is not needful is superfluous; and that which is superfluous is vain. Thus God would have belied his perfection. This is very like blasphemy; but, be it what it may, Mr. Bennett is guilty of it when he charges his infinite and all-perfect Creator with having made anything in vain. Does he imagine that there is nothing *necessary* but what his perception can discover to be so? We beg to tell him that the voices of tuneful birds are *as necessary* as the existence of the present incumbent of St. Paul's Church, Knightsbridge, which *appears* to us neither *necessary* nor useful, and yet, doubtless, he was brought into the world for some wise purpose, though certainly not for the enlightenment of mankind.

Does this near-sighted man really mean to assert anything so derogatory to the Creator of the universe as that he has created anything needlessly? We maintain that whatever God has created, or decreed, or spoken, or done, is *necessary*. Are not "the voices of the tuneful birds to be proved *as necessary*?" We say emphatically they are. If the tuneful lark did not sing it would not be a lark. It is identified by its song. The song defines the species. It is as *necessary* for the lark to *sing* as for Mr. Bennett to *preach*. We heartily wish that he would stick to his *preaching* and leave *singing* to the lark. Are not, again, "the colours in the light and airy wings of the insect *tribe* *necessary*? Is there but one tribe of insects—no distinction between a flea and a *drone*? On the contrary, there are many tribes, and the colours distinguish the tribe. They are *necessary* for this purpose, and for many other purposes, hidden from Mr Ben-

nett's investigation, though he may not happen to know it, and we heartily pity his ignorance. To say that God has done anything which is not *necessary* is a daring denial of his attributes; it is at once to circumscribe, if not absolutely to disallow, his infallibility, his consistency, and his truth.

Our divine proceeds to argue against the *popish tendency* of the choral service in the following luminous phrases:—“Next, as to the *popish tendency* of the choral service, the same arguments which have answered this objection in other *points* of our *church* will answer it also here. *Errors* and *abuses* there may no doubt have been in the *adaptation of music to the Church*. The hiring of singers and persons of the theatre *for the sake of public display*; the introduction of light and theatrical airs in the place of the ancient solemn music of the Church—the attention given to mere sounds,” (as in St. Paul's Church, Knightsbridge,) “as moving the senses *in trifling and wanton amusement*, instead of moving the affections *by solemn and dignified appeals to devotion*; all these errors, frequently observed upon by the Fathers of the Church *from the very earliest times*—errors which every one will see naturally attaching to the *subject*, but no more to be brought against the *system* of the choral service, than the prayer of the pharisee, who prayed to be seen of men in the streets, is to be brought against the system of prayer.” A fig, then, for the purity of the ancient choral service, since the Fathers of the Church have *frequently observed* “the hiring of singers and persons of the theatre for the sake of public display;—the introduction of light and theatrical airs in the place of the ancient solemn music of the Church,” (accompanied, we presume, by trumpets and cymbals;) “the attention given to mere sounds, as moving the senses in trifling and wanton amusement.” All this monstrous desecration of the sanctuary in maintaining a choral service, is said to have been “frequently observed upon by the Fathers of the Church *from the very earliest times*” in an *infallible* church, the ancient usages of which, we are told by the reverend incumbent of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, it is imperative upon us to revive. But though these errors and abuses existed from the *very earliest times*, the *system* was intact. Of course; a system

provoking—*permitting* we mean, not *commanding*—such errors and abuses was no more to be decried on that account than the *system* of prayer is to be decried, because the pharisee “prayed *to be seen of men in the streets.*” If the *pious* pharisee, the type of certain Oxford Christians, prayed with his bedroom window open, this being on the first floor, and impertinent gapers *in the streets* chose to look in upon him and interrupt his devotions, we see not how he scandalized the system of prayer, any more than they who attract gazers to church-windows by the singing of *antiphonal* psalms, the whinings of prayers, creeds, and litanies, in *canto fermo*, scandalize the choral *system*. A *system* which necessarily leads to abuses, because it is *absurd*, is one of all others which we should not desire to uphold; and it is because Mr. Bennett’s choral *system* is absurd, and leads to the most undevout follies, that we so heartily abjure it.

What a rash defender of the Church is this singer of collects, and monotonical utterer of amens! He covers its lofty spires and gorgeous battlements with filthy mud, and then tells us we must never wipe it off because of its ecclesiastical antiquity. If *wanton amusement* was produced in the Christian church *in the very earliest times*, is not this a wholesome reason for purifying her of her scum, and keeping her free from all such ancient abominations? But we are far from believing that, in her primitive purity, she was such as Mr. Bennett describes her. She had no such choral service as he contends for until the Bishop of Rome infused her sterling mintage with the base alloy of Gregorian chants and “all kinds of music.” She did not challenge the attention to “mere sounds, as moving the senses in trifling and wanton amusement,” until some crazy ancestor of Gregory the Great made up a choral service and palmed it upon the Church Catholic.

We only wish the modern, like the ancient church, would try those “which say they are apostles, and are not;” we might then have a more united, a more charitable, a more holy priesthood. We might then have less pretension and more honesty, less profession and more endeavour, less sound and more sense. We might then have disclosed to us less



of the *mask* and more of the *face*, less of the *cassock* and more of the *heart*, less of the *husk* and more of the *kernel*. We have some cause to beware lest the threat denounced against the church of Ephesus be not fulfilled upon us:—"Remember, therefore, from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works; or else I will come unto thee quickly, and remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent." Take heed, then, we say to all crotchety pastors, chanters of lessons, and singers of creeds, that in your choral service "the attention be not too much given to mere sounds, as moving the senses in *trifling wanton amusements*, instead of moving the affections by *solemn and dignified appeals to devotion*." Do not mistake for the church's *first works* of practical righteousness and simple piety, the *model* mummeries observed where there is a *full choral service*. Do not mistake for her candlestick those silver baubles which adorn the communion table of St. Paul's Church, Knightsbridge. Do not persuade yourselves that the worshippers of idols in canonicals from Oriel or Christ Church are in a nearer road to heaven, because they don't *preach* their prayers, but utter them "in a sustained tone or monotone," than the worshippers of Jenny Lind or Senior Lablache. We confess to the "soft impeachment," that we had far rather worship the Swedish nightingale than the Knightsbridge presbyter.

Our divine next grapples with the objection that the choral service is *too long*. In answer to that objection he observes, we now join three services into one. "We join *matins*, communion, and litany together." Now, we presume to fancy, that not only is Mr. Bennett's choral service *too long*, but that we discover in it a very questionable alloy of what is most precious. It may, with all due reverence, be compared to Nebuchadnezzar's image, being composed of gold, silver, brass, and clay; the *brass* being in the *quire*, the *clay* in the *pulpit*.

In order to obviate the length of the service, our church reformer recommends that we should remedy this evil at the *right* end. Who ever heard of remedying an evil at the *wrong* end? An evil must be *all* wrong; how, then, can it have either a *right* or a *wrong* end? If an evil is right in the

*beginning*, we see not how it can be wrong in the *end*; unless it be a combination of right and wrong—something between both, yet neither—therefore, no evil at all. But if an evil really be wrong, how can it have a *right end*? If it can, what should hinder but that the devil may terminate in an angel?

But our church licentiate's remedy for the *right end* of the evil announced is, "to restore the services to their proper places. First, let the *matins service* be performed early in the morning; it would occupy, *chorally performed*, one hour at the furthest. Then let the litany and communion service be performed at noon, and this would occupy, with a sermon, about an hour and a half. In this way we should really enjoy the services provided for us, and enter into them with a zeal and freshness and delight, to which the bulk of our people are now, I fear, strangers." There is some management in this, we confess. In order to decrease the length of his church service, our theological anatomist would chop it into three, by way of abridgment, allowing a long interval of rest between the severed members, that they may have time to recover the shock of amputation. His plan of operation is very much like that of reducing the length of a conger by eating its tail in the morning, its head, shoulders, and midriff at noon, and then persuading himself he had not eaten the whole. And, no doubt, *a very nice mess might be made of it*, with Mr. Bennett's new seasonings and holy water. Let him, however, chop his choral service into what portions he may, if they are severally gone through, in chanting and plain tune, they must occupy their given time, between two or three hours, *chorally performed*. You don't reduce a sum-total by separating it into parts, unless some of those parts are entirely withdrawn. If you were to count fifty of a hundred "early in the morning," and fifty "at noon," you would not reduce the original number; the amount would be the same, in spite of your halt in the reckoning.

Next comes the afternoon service, which, *chorally performed*, as in St. Paul's Church, near the barracks, *with a sermon*, will occupy about two hours. Give two hours for the evening service, performed after the same fashion, and

you will have worshippers on their hassocks, or on their cushions, upwards of six good hours, "by Shrewsbury clock," every Sabbath-day.

Whether the services be too long, or otherwise, is a matter to be estimated by those who attend them. They need not, however, be lengthened unnecessarily by Gregorian chants and other *choral* frivolities, nor rendered absurd by bowings and scrapings and crossings, lighted candles in broad daylight, faded flowers, emblazoned crosses, gilt cherubs, and other fal-lals. Against all such monkeries we solemnly protest.

Why, in the name of our common faith, should the order or mode of performing the holy observances of our congregational worship be set aside, or altered, or debased by the empirical caprices of those whom Messrs. Newman and Oakley have seduced from their original spiritual fealty, and rendered, with regard to the protestant church of England, "bastards, and not sons." What right has a "late student of Christ Church, Oxford," to presume, because he has printed some half-dozen octavos for the benefit of band-box manufacturers, that the majority of English clergymen, following the good custom of pious ancestors, should yield to the contemptible minority of catholic priests, as they assume to be, *par excellence*—priests, let it be remembered, who were first roused to their present opposition to established usages by men who have actually cast themselves into the bosom of the Roman church?

It is all very well for persons to cry, "There's famine in the land"—"Go to, now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you!" We repeat, it is all very well for certain ceremonial alarmists to cry *woe, woe*, when they find themselves, like Elijah, fed by ravens, and have only to lie on their backs, caw for what they require, and find it instantly slipped into their stomachs, as eels into the maw of a pelican, which they find swelling to prodigious distention from the *canonical* liberality of those who supply the dainties. We still do not hesitate to say, that however abundantly some of these ecclesiastical cormorants may "feather their nests," it will be found, nevertheless, upon a

scrutiny, that there is nothing but mere mud underneath the down.

We are not to be told at this time of day—for the broad sun of enlightenment has risen upon us—that if the puritans had not called our time-honoured surplice a *popish rag*, and stalled oxen in our cathedrals, we should at this moment have our churches everywhere adorned with crosses, our choirs filled with minstrels, our pulpits with papists, and our altars adorned with lighted tapers, after the manner of conventual sanctuaries. However mistaken the puritans might have been, in some respects, they kept from the fold that very wolf which more recent schismatics are fattening for the work of devastation. They boldly grappled with Antichrist, and cast him from the threshold of their temples, to howl and welter in the mire heaped up within the Saturnalian penetralia of his own.

We take leave to ask Mr. Bennett, “Who made thee a ruler and a judge?” What must be his reply? “My own presumption.” Can he seriously think that the whole Christian family in this land is to be bound by the unintelligible canons of an Oxford M.A., who absolutely knows not how to distribute the *nine parts of speech*? It is really humiliating to find a *Christian pundit*, who has not yet mastered his *first rudiments*, standing up in the presence of peers and statesmen, and persuading them that he is a trusty keeper of their consciences, that he is a fit pilot to be entrusted with the helm of our ecclesiastical ship, and capable of steering her through the whirlpool of controversy into which the Oxford fanatics have so recently cast her. We confess ourselves to be amazed that senators, peers, and other escutcheoned worthies, should congregate under the nose of a man whose capacity is precisely in an inverse ratio to his presumption. That ladies, befripped with French tawdry and other foreign bagatelles, should resort to his synagogue to exhibit their tuckers of *broad point* and their shawls of *genuine Cashmere*, we are not much surprised, since St. Paul’s Church, Knightsbridge, is a capital place for such an exhibition, the area being large and the galleries capacious; but that men, with brains in their occiputs and honesty in their hearts, should congregate within

the walls of such a collegiate bazaar, where foreign novelties are *exhibited*, not sold, (except it should be those patents of privilege endorsed with a priest's absolution,) we are utterly at a loss to conceive.

We believe, in our consciences, that if the great Hooker were now alive, he would blush at being so frequently quoted to favour the views of those whom he must unhesitatingly pronounce to be non-evangelical churchmen. He would repudiate their doctrines and disavow their homage. His spirit, as traced in his writings, did not confirm the theological theses of our modern "Korah and his company," but was diametrically opposed to them. Hooker was no admirer of the Romish church nor of any of its extravagances. His works prove this. The *Ecclesiastical Polity*, throughout the whole course of its argument, goes entirely to discredit popish observances. That work must satisfy any reader that its great author never could have tolerated the pranks daily played in the *celebrated* church near Belgrave-square. Pick out extracts, and you may prove what you like from any author. By this legerdemain mode of quoting, you might prove from the Bible that Moses hanged himself, and Judas divided the Red Sea. There is no spiritual alliance betwixt the doctrines of Hooker and those of our Knightsbridge incumbent. Those of the first were evangelical, those of the last are—what you will.

Mr. Bennett's writings would lead to a very different conclusion from that evidently intended by the *Ecclesiastical Polity*. His observations upon "another objection still prevailing, which is, perhaps, the real one contained in all the rest—I do not like it," we can only characterize as impertinent. To describe the dislike of conscientious Christians to monkish ceremonies which they in their hearts consider worse than desecrations of God's temple, as "being totally unworthy of any one who confesses himself to be a member of Christ's holy Catholic Church," is an insult to every one whose honest convictions direct him to worship God after the fashion of his ancestors, and in a manner recognised by the hierarchy of these realms for the last hundred and fifty years.

Must we be "totally unworthy" of our Christian profession, because we choose to renounce the contemptible ceremonies which Mr. Bennett and his ecclesiastical freemasons would impose upon us as ritual obligations? Are we to sit on bare boards in our houses of prayer only because they did so some three hundred years ago? We may as well discard our carpets and strew rushes on our floors, because the drawing-room of my Lord Chancellor was so covered in the year 1591.

Alas! when will our Christ-Church graduate give over his indications of approaching senility? When once his voice goes, he will say, with a merry wag of the fifteenth century—"For my voice, I have lost it with hallooing and singing of anthems;" and in order to vindicate his grey hairs from the hallucinations of his middle age, we can fancy him taking up the fat man's parable—"The truth is, I am only old in judgment and understanding; and he that will caper with me for a thousand marks, let him lend me the money, and have at him."

We are told, by the author of "Principles of the Book of Common Prayer Considered," at the thirty-third page of his thirteenth *lecture-sermon*—that "there are three rulers and guides of our habits and actions, two of them false guides, the third alone faithful—public opinion, private judgment, and the Church." It is, however, intended to be made evident in this very ostentatious volume, that the only *faithful guide* of our "habits and actions," is St. Paul's Church, Knightsbridge. If the author does not mean his own church as representing the ecclesiastical system of this country, then he condemns it altogether; since the true Church, turning her back upon those follies which he nurses into petulant and brawling life, is followed as a faithful guide by the vast majority of Christian worshippers, dissenters only excepted, and those who are drawn by a magnetic attraction towards Rome, and disposed to be guided by her formularies. To talk of the Church by a miserable figure of speech—a contemptible synecdoche—under which a trumpery pile in the vicinity of Belgrave-square claims to be at once her model and type, is about as preposterous a folly as to call a paltry

erection of the Primitive Christian Methodists the house of God only because His sacred name is there taken in vain under pretence of doing him service.

Mr. Bennett should state distinctly what he means by the Church before he talks of her discipline and the obligations of her members. He does not do this, but baits his theological hook with a name in order to catch those gudgeons who are rapacious enough to swallow any mouthful, if seasoned with the veritable

“Apostolic salt,  
Which popish parsons for its powers exalt;  
Keeping the souls of sinners sweet,  
Just as our kitchen salt keeps meat.”

Poor man! He affects to sneer at the newspapers; but take heed, Mr. Bennett, lest you bite against a file. You may scoff at your betters. Those nasty wasps who fold up their stings in newspapers, sting with a vengeance if you only touch their tails—don't you, then, attempt to squeeze them into amenity, for fear you should press out all their excoxiating secretions.

Before he concludes, our author, by way of immortalizing the name of Bennett, gives his own portrait, and we must do him the justice to say he draws it to the life. “And some, too,” he says, “will have a mind of their own,” (and among these he is a very prominent personage,) “neither listening to what is said one way or the other; but *chalking* out their own plans, and considering every question by the *little light* that is within their own intellects,” (it is impossible here to mistake the original,) “will neither believe nor acknowledge anything to be right but what is brought within their own *compass*.” Here he stands before us, bands, surplice and all, as like as the crab to its own mother. There are some who have a *mind of their own*;—so has he—a mind like a drum, void of substance, but full of noise and wind. He is continually thumping this drum to prove how *empty* it is, and how sonorous its rub-a-dub. Then he “*chalks* out his own plans and considers every question by the *little light* that is *within his own intellects*.” The light is here so little that he is continually groping in the dark.

Now follows Mr. Bennett's peroration, in which there is neither reason nor *music*, so that we leave it untouched.

We have been severe upon this weak production, not because it is weak, but because we think it mischievous. Many other persons, whose *bore* of mind just corresponds with Mr. Bennett's *barrel*, are aping his follies. The tribe, indeed, is small, but it is noxious. Folly, like other maladies, is contagious, and we feel ourselves called upon to prevent its spreading. Mr. Bennett's productions possess no high literary qualities, but many defects of the worst kind. Their author is a feeble thinker, a false reasoner, a dull writer, a pitiable divine; and to these disqualifications he superadds the most deplorable ignorance of his accidence. We have not a word to say against his motives for preaching or publishing, as we do not pretend to penetrate them. He may, perhaps, intend well. He may be an amiable man—so is many a simpleton. It is not his goodness we question, but his wisdom. We repeat, he may be an amiable man, but he is not a *wise* one: he may *intend* to do good, but he *does* evil. Such is our judgment, and, as conscientious Christians, we are bound to arrest this evil if we can. So far as Mr. Bennett has registered his own weaknesses, he has challenged public scrutiny and the public award of approval or condemnation. We give ours against him without any qualification whatever. We think he has not been contending in the cause of God, however he may have deceived himself. He has our good wishes, however. We wish him less presumption, and more modesty. We wish him wiser, even though, in his plenary possession of Christian humanity, he can find no room to be better. And he shall have our prayers, for we think he needs them, as well as our good wishes, albeit that he "fasts twice in the week."

We now take leave of the author of "Principles of the Book of Common Prayer Considered," hoping that he will in future forbear to palm upon our "household of faith" the nostrums of the empiric for the prescriptions of the physician.



## POSTSCRIPT.

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AN event has recently occurred in Mr. Bennett's church, unparalleled, we venture to say, since the period of our glorious Reformation. A Christian priest has been there denounced by a reverend, but most uncharitable, and therefore most unchristian brother, as an apostate, which he is not, having only advanced one step farther in the same path which his accuser appears to be pursuing. He has thus been defamed in the house of God, as we think to the scandal of the Church, if not to his defamer's damage. Such abominations really ought to be proscribed. The time is gone by when a petulant functionary of our Lord's "Beautiful House" may assail with impunity the character of a man, only because that man has conscientiously exercised his free will in taking an unhappy journey from Knightsbridge to Rome. The public voice will be raised, more or less loudly, against so arrogant and portentous an assumption of ecclesiastical privilege. It is really monstrous that such an act of spiritual tyranny should be tolerated in this Protestant land. If anything was wanting to convince us of Mr. Bennett's Roman *Catholicity*, his solemn denunciation of Mr. Chirol from the pulpit of St. Paul's Church, Knightsbridge, has filled up the void, and completed our convictions. None but himself, save a minister of the Pope, would presume to commit such an act of ecclesiastical despotism.

We have read the reverend preacher's sermon containing the libel of apostacy upon his late curate, together with that gentleman's reply, he being reverend no longer; and our opinion certainly is, that he is much the more candid man. *He* has sacrificed his prospects to the delusive promptings of a weak but upright conscience; his reviler, on the contrary, holds the temporalities of two churches, with a conscience the

while resting in most *unisonous* repose under the consecrated burden. He has taken from Paul to pay Barnabas, and has thriftily established a debtor and creditor account against both. There is wisdom in this, though it is worldly wisdom; there is policy in it, though it is worldly policy; there is gain in it, though it is worldly gain; still, we censure neither the wisdom, the policy, nor the gain. They are, each and all, legitimate temporal issues, and we trust their possessor will live to enjoy them: we do, however, protest against the scandal of making them the instruments of abuse in any form or under any modification whatever.

We hold the language of Mr. Bennett's sermon to be unworthy of the pulpit. It is indecently coarse, uncharitably severe, and unbecomingly vituperative. The reverend Censor stigmatizes his once *dear* brother, the late twin of his catholic bosom, as a *traitor* and an *apostate*; declares that he is *for-sworn*; that he is "lost to everything honourable and just;" that "he has plunged recklessly, and with judicial blindness, into the depths of sin, *the fruits of which eternity only can disclose.*"

This, we presume, is a gentle mode of enunciating Mr. Bennett's *Catholic* commination. It is, truly, shocking enough anywhere, and abominable everywhere, but much more so in the house of God. No words can measure its exorbitant impropriety. And this man is a Christian minister! He further says—with reference to that ill-used person by whom he has raised himself to such unenviable notoriety—"Let the *stain* be now *washed out*. Let us *purge* it, and *cast it from us*, as the *offscouring of filth*, by which we have been *polluted* for a time, *as by God's will.*" It is by God's will, according to this gifted divine, that he and his flock have been *polluted by the offscouring of filth!* We need make no further comment on phrases so gross and intemperate, not to say blasphemous. The grossness of the abuse sufficiently confirms the weakness of the cause it was employed to bolster. Whatever might have been Mr. Chirol's offences, the pulpit was the last place in which they should have been so inquisitorially examined and abused. But this calumniated gentleman denies both Mr. Bennett's facts and his conclu-

sions; and we are bound to confess, that the declared culprit appears to us, after reading his vindication and his accuser's charge, to be the more respectable, as he certainly is the more gentle, man of the two.

In this ill-assorted composition, called "Apostacy," it will appear that its reverend author has not improved either in his grammar or in his logic, since he so sadly scandalized the parts of speech in "Principles of the Book of Common Prayer Considered." He commences his more recent specimen of bad divinity as follows:—"The links and bands by which society is held together, order preserved, and the duties of life carried on, are so very minute and delicate, that in many cases they are imperceptible, just as in the human body the fibres, muscles, and nerves, by which the actions of the limbs are regulated, are imperceptible. And yet, minute and imperceptible as they are, the health and vitality of the whole system depends upon their accurate preservation. All are intertwined and laced in, one with another, like network. You cannot displace one portion of the network without displacing it all; you cannot make a rent in one part of it, without lacerating it all. It is a ravelled mass of infinitely various interests, objects, hopes, fears, pursuits. Take hold of the mass, and attempt to unravel it, and wheresoever you lay your hand, you tear holes, and cut, and wound, and destroy it."

At the very outset our author trips like a mule that has not yet learnt his paces. "The links and bands by which society is held together, order *is* preserved, and the duties of life *is* carried on," &c. These links and bands, he continues to say, "are so minute and delicate, that *in many cases* they are imperceptible, just as in the human body, the fibres, muscles, and nerves, by which the actions of the limbs are regulated, are imperceptible, and yet, minute and imperceptible as they are," (qy. the links and bands of society?) "the health and vitality of the whole system depends upon their accurate preservation. All are intertwined" (qy. the links and bands of society?) "and laced in one another like network. You cannot displace one portion of the network, without displacing it all;" (qy. all the links and bands of society?) "you

cannot make a rent in one part of it," (qy. the links and bands of society?) "without lacerating it all. It is a ravelled mass" (the links and bands of society, beyond question) "of infinitely various interests, objects, hopes, fears, pursuits," *ad finem*.

Now in this dim and confused web of words and thoughts, the two dominant ideas strike so hard against each other, that both are shattered to pieces, and nothing is left us to "gather up" but their discordant elements. If "the links and bands of society" are to be taken as the figure running through this dislocated paragraph, then these links and bands "are intertwined and laced in one another like network—you cannot make a rent in one part of it without lacerating it all." If, however, "the fibres, muscles, and nerves of the human body," constitute the subject of Mr. Bennett's proposition, then it is predicated of these fibres, muscles, and nerves, that they are "a ravelled mass of infinitely various interests, objects, hopes, fears, pursuits." Alas! that such a writer should be permitted to put the bandage of Dr. Pusey's divinity over any eyes but his own! He squints logically—that is, he looks awry—if he does not physically; so that it is hard to tell what he aims at while framing the links and bands of society into CATHOLIC *network*.

We do not take our judgment to be a harsh one, when we say that it would disgrace any national school, except the national school of St. Barnabas; in which we presume it will be found, according to the Roman maxim, that "Ignorance is the mother of devotion."

"But," Mr. Bennett goes on to say, "upon what basis or groundwork is this tangled mass bound together?" First, he calls "the links and bands of society a network," which is not necessarily *tangled* any more than are the fibres, muscles, and nerves of the human body; then he calls them a "tangled mass." But in truth society is not so, either literally or figuratively. It is an organized community, composed of many parts, indeed, but all distinct and subservient, working out the grand aims for which society exists. Of those parts, it is true, some are infirm, some healthy; nevertheless, all tending to the one great end—namely, human

benefit. That the end is not attained in its plesary accomplishment, depends upon causes too minute and varied to be evolved in this brief disquisition.

Mr. Bennett proceeds to exhibit his definition of faith, drawn out, in the course of exemplification, into sundry particulars, finally arriving at his conclusions as the royal *domesticiary* is reported to have done when he discovered that *fleas* were not *lobsters*. Our reverend etymologist—having looked through Mr. Newman's theological microscope, which that honest gentleman left behind him when he went piously over to the scarlet gentlewoman dwelling under the protection of a Roman bishop—represents Christian Faith as being a mere common cypher. The author of "Apostacy" is certainly indebted to the author of "tract ninety" for his new view of Faith, which is a view so narrow that it has hardly breadth enough to render it perceptible. It is the mere circumference of a circle, having neither extension, beginning, nor end.

Mr. Bennett tells us, *faith* is mere *trust*. By such sort of trust, a man figures on a December Sunday upon the ice in Hyde-park, is deceived by the treacherous solid which cracks under his heels, and he is most deservedly soused into the muddy liquid beneath. Our author exemplifies this doctrine of pseudo-catholicism by the trust we reciprocally exercise as mutually dependent agents. You have, as he very sapiently observes, faith in your physioian, your lawyer, your cook; still, in spite of his *dictum*, though we assent to its truth in the concrete, we will ask, if, in all cases, a man would be disposed to trust his wife to the one, his purse to the other, or the key of his wine-cellar to the last? Though physioians and lawyers may be in general honourable men, and cooks honest women, there are certainly many of the first, and more of the last, the very reverse of both; yet have their patients, clients, and dupes that faith in them which Mr. Bennett indicates as representing our faith in God. Such faith is surely altogether beside St. Paul's definition—that it is "the evidence of things not seen." This is the inspired apostle's view. Our uninspired priest's view shows it to be the evidence of things seen—physic, parchments, and bread and

butter. Which is right, St. Paul or Mr. Bennett? If the latter, then the former could not have been inspired, and was therefore an impostor.

But can our Knightsbridge divine be really in earnest when he puts our faith in man and our faith in God on precisely the same footing? Faith in God is truly trust, but it is something more; it is that trust involving conviction, which our faith in man rejects. No patient, for instance, is convinced that the physician can cure his malady; no criminal is convinced that the lawyer can secure him from the hulks or the drop; no sybarite is convinced that the president of his kitchen will never spoil his sauce. And such trust or faith as this your English Catholics—as they call themselves, *par excellence*—demand from erring and infirm humanity towards the great God of the universe;—that we are to believe in Him as we believe in our doctors, attorneys, and *femmes de cuisine*. This sort of teaching may do well enough, perhaps, for St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, but if the bread of life there prepared is made of such chaff as this, we should not be surprised to find shortly a spiritual famine in that most fashionable neighbourhood. Before Mr. Newman winnowed his grain, and took it over to Rome, he did occasionally mix up some corn with his husks; but he is now casting all the former to dogs, and has left only the latter to Mr. Bennett and his co-functionaries, who are perpetually undergoing the purgatory of manducation for the benefit of those who are unable to perform this natural duty for themselves.

We are now about to approach the most reprehensible part of the Knightsbridge preacher's "Apostacy." We have read it with the calmest attention, and can arrive at no other conclusion than that he holds marriage and Holy Orders to be sacraments. If he denies our conclusion to be just, we must beg him to state his real views in more intelligible English. We can be expected to give no other interpretation to his words than that which they obviously import. In page 5 he puts marriage and baptism in immediate juxtaposition, as if they were alike co-essential and co-ordinate. Having next pointed out the mystical nature of baptism, its sacramental character, the sacred obligation of this covenant, ratified by

the blessed Trinity, and thus, solemnly binding upon all believers—he says, “the like with marriage.” He draws a minute, though clumsy parallel, showing that the one has all the sacramental features of the other. His language is, indeed, throughout so perplexing and involved, that frequently his similitudes have no perceptible resemblance. No doubt the intention is to insinuate a spiritual equality between the two rites; the one being “an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace ordained by Christ himself;” the other decidedly not. Thus it is that the party, of whose ecclesiastical aims the sermon now under our notice is, in a measure, the avowed exponent, embraces every opportunity of raking from the dust of oblivion the fragments of an exploded system, to hurl them against the fair citadel of our faith, now so admirable in its proportions and so beautiful in its symmetry. They are continually, but covertly, rasping the vitals of our Protestant constitution, and exciting them into active inflammation by this insidious, but dangerous, attrition.

With reference to Mr. Bennett's non-natural exposition of marriage we may observe, as a singular fact, that in Roman-catholic countries, where this covenant is held to be a sacrament, the matrimonial bond is practically less binding than in any other countries upon earth, whether civilized or savage. In France, Spain, and Italy, the marriage tie is continually ruptured without a stigma being attached either by political or spiritual teachers. In Christian countries only, where the rite of marriage is *not* held to be a sacrament, nuptial pledges are maintained inviolably. We speak not of exceptions, as they only confirm the rule.

From page five to seven, we have holy orders united with baptism and marriage in the category of sacraments. The former is definitely exhibited as a sacramental rite. Mr. Bennett's words expressly are “the sacramental rite of holy orders.”

At page 6 we read, “Holy Orders is the *taking up of our individual baptism*, and becoming baptized in the baptism with which Christ was baptized—*blood*, and *drinking of the cup* out of which Christ drank—*tears*.” Now, is not this an absurd confounding of shadow with substance? For the

sake of producing a resemblance betwixt Holy Orders and one of our universally recognised sacraments, the author of "Apostacy" contemplates a figurative baptism of blood, and a *figurative* drinking of the cup of tears, in order to work out a parallel between the visible sign of the true sacrament and a mere metaphorical sign of the false. In the Lord's Supper, we have actually the cup presented; but in Holy Orders there is no "outward and visible sign" sacramentally exhibited, except in the morbid imagination of our incumbent of St. Paul's Church, Knightsbridge, who sees in Holy Orders a baptism of *blood* and a Eucharist of *tears*, while no true churchman distinguishes either the one or the other.

Again, our Christ-Church divine tells us that "Holy Orders is the *taking up of our individual marriage.*" Here, again, marriage and Holy Orders are *taken up*, placed with baptism upon a Roman *tripod*, and kneaded together into a *catholic crotchet*, for the sake of those who patronize the *choral service* of St. Paul's Church, Knightsbridge. But, with all the twaddle about marriage, in "Apostacy, a Sermon," &c., we would ask its author—who has actually worked his argument into such timid ambiguity, that it has expired of surfeit—if he really believes what he writes? If he does, we pity him; if he does not, we commend him to Pope Pius IX., with our very best compliments.

We shall now close our strictures with a few remarks on Mr. Bennett's implied representation of the Lord's Supper. We understand him to maintain the actual bodily presence of Christ in that sacrament. How otherwise are we to interpret the following sentence?—"Can we understand anything so fearfully dreadful as—this *eating with his mouth the body, and drinking with his lips the blood, of his crucified Redeemer,*" &c. Why use such extraordinary phrases, if he did not intend to imply some extraordinary meaning? Why confound a natural and simple idea with a non-natural and complex? Why puzzle little wits with big words, if they are really to go for nothing? If neither transubstantiation nor consubstantiation was in the writer's mind when he inscribed the words last quoted, it behoves him at once explicitly to declare it. We shall never believe him until he does.



His statement, literally expounded, is untrue. We unequivocally deny that the communicant *eats with his mouth* the body, and *drinks with his lips* the blood, of his crucified Redeemer. He *eats with his mouth* and *drinks with his lips* those "creatures of bread and wine" exclusively, which represent the body and blood. The whole form of consecration shows it—nay, the very words express it—"Grant that we, receiving these thy creatures of *bread and wine*, according to thy Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be *partakers* of his most blessed body and blood." It is hence clear that the *typical*, not the *actual* body and blood, are eaten at the Lord's Supper. In our "Catechism," the "thing signified" in this sacrament is declared to be "the body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed *taken*" (not eaten) "and *received* by THE FAITHFUL," &c. If the body of Christ was actually eaten, it would be actually eaten by the *unfaithful* as well as by the faithful, all of whom would alike manducate and swallow it.

Again, it is affirmed in our Catechism, that the benefits whereof we are partakers in the Eucharist are, "a strengthening and refreshing of our *souls* by the *body* and *blood* of Christ, as our *bodies* are by THE bread and wine," not bread and wine generally, be it observed, but THE bread and wine especially consecrated and there present to represent Christ's blessed body and blood.

The rest of this publication—grossly unbecoming, as delivered from a place dedicated to God's service—contains further scarcely anything but the most unworthy abuse of poor, unhappy Mr. Chirol, whom we consign to public sympathy, leaving Mr. Bennett to his own compunction.

THE  
C O N G É D' E L I R E ;

OR,

THE PRESENT  
MODE OF MAKING ENGLISH BISHOPS,

CONSIDERED IN ITS BEARINGS UPON THE CONSCIENCES  
OF THE CLERGY,  
AND THE UNION OF CHURCH AND STATE.

BY

CHRISTOPHER BENSON, M.A.,

CANON OF WORCESTER, AND LATE MASTER OF THE TEMPLE.

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THE  
C O N G É D' E L I R E .

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THE *Congé d'Elire*, or permission to elect, is a well-known official document proceeding from the Crown in answer to a humble supplication made, or supposed to have been made\*, by the Dean and Chapter upon a vacancy occurring in their see, and in which they ask "leave and licence to elect another Bishop or Pastor." In the *Congé d'Elire* that leave is granted, and no restriction or condition expressed or implied with regard to their choice but this—"that they elect such a person for their Bishop and Pastor as may be devoted to God, and useful and faithful to the Sovereign and the Realm." So far all is clear; but this permission to elect according to their own good pleasure is accompanied by a "Letter Missive," not only naming and recommending to them a particular individual, but requiring them "to proceed to their election according to the laws and statutes of this

\* It was stated at Hereford that no supplication whatever had been made.

realm." This is in effect a command to elect the person recommended and named; for, unless they do so, they become subjected by the laws and statutes of the realm to a punishment so severe as to deprive them, if not of life itself, yet of almost every thing that can make life valuable in a worldly point of view. When the election has been thus made, a similar mandate is issued by the Crown to the Archbishop of the province, "requiring and strictly commanding him, by the faith and allegiance by which he stands bound to the Sovereign, to confirm the said election and to consecrate" the Bishop elect. This rite of consecration demands, for its due celebration, the presence and participation of the Archbishop, or his substitute, and two other Bishops. Disobedience to the mandate in any one of the three, subjects them to the same penalties as disobedience to the Letter Missive.

Much has lately been said about the violation of the consciences of Bishops, Deans, and Canons, by thus compelling them, under the terrors of a Præmunire, to elect, confirm, and consecrate such persons as may be nominated to a vacant diocese by the Crown, even though the appointment may appear to them to be contrary to the best interests of religion, the Church, and the realm. Considering all the circumstances of the case, I cannot help thinking that the complaints made are somewhat exaggerated.

It is scarcely possible, in the first place, for any man to have been ignorant of the condition upon which he accepted the situation he holds in our Ec-

clesiastical Establishment. He was bound, and so must be pronounced, to have made himself fully aware, when he became a Bishop, Dean, or Canon, of the severe penalties denounced against him by law should he refuse to confirm such nominations as it might please the Sovereign to make. He may have clutched his preferment, too thoughtless of the consequences such a refusal entails ; but he cannot with any fairness urge that he was unacquainted with these consequences, or plead that the unpleasant duty has come upon him by surprise. He ought to have inquired and reflected upon what he might be called upon to do, before he placed himself in the situation which demands the doing of it.

2. It is equally unreasonable for any dignitary to plead that he conscientiously objects to the power now lodged in the Crown of enforcing the appointment of its nominees, and deems it inconsistent with the first and inalienable privileges of the Christian church. If so, his conscience ought to have dictated to him the propriety of refusing the Bishopric, Deanery, or Canonry he holds, or of resigning it so soon as he embraced his present opinion, and thus avoiding the appearance of sanctioning a state of things which from his heart he condemns. For the acceptance of such stations is not compulsory : it is rather notorious that, in almost every instance, they are either anxiously sought or thankfully received. Whoever, therefore, has accepted or retains his spiritual preferment, under the law as it now exists and has for ages existed, must be understood to have virtually

declared that he does not conscientiously object, as a general principle, to the Sovereign's prerogative of nominating and enforcing the election and consecration of such persons as he or she may think fit and proper for the Episcopate. There can have been little honesty in the minds of those who took their places in the Established Church, with a conscience determinately averse to the terms upon which they were to be held, and who have continued to enjoy their honours and emoluments notwithstanding such terms. They ought at least to have openly protested against the conditions imposed, before they accepted the proffered dignities. It would then have been in the power of the offerer to withdraw his offer, or, if he persevered in his appointment, to know his man and be prepared for his future conduct.

3. There is, however, another case, and of a very different kind, which may be supposed, and must next be examined. A man may neither be ignorant of, nor in conscience opposed to, the conditions under which he accepted and keeps his preferment. He may, in fact, have received, and still keep it, under the full persuasion that his conscience would never be disturbed: for, though the Crown has the power, he may have conceived that it would never exercise its prerogative in favour of any one against whom any solid objection could be raised. Yet in some particular instance this persuasion may prove unfounded, and the person nominated be such, that the deliberate judgment of the dignitary tells him he is utterly unfit for the episcopal office. Is it not then a positive

violation of the conscience of that dignitary to enforce upon him, by such heavy penalties, the election of that nominee as fit and proper for the office to which he is named? Perhaps not. Perhaps the whole process of the election is of such a nature as clearly to show that no responsibility does, or was ever intended to, rest upon those who are called electors, for the acts they have to perform in agreeing to certain documents, which the legislature has thought desirable, but yet not pronounced essential, to give full effect to the Crown's nomination of a Bishop. Now, if this be so, the duty of going through the form of an election may, like many other legal duties, be an exceedingly unpleasant one; but it can scarcely be said to violate a man's conscience, which I think, in all its conclusions, acts upon the ground of being responsible for the act to be performed. The question is, at any rate, worth an inquiry; and, in order to understand what the law really means by the course now pursued in the appointment of Bishops, it will be expedient to consider how it came into its present state.

Blackstone informs us, that spiritual benefices at first were universally donatives, but that the nomination to bishoprics, an ancient prerogative of the Crown, was wrested from Henry the First, and seemingly conferred on the Chapters belonging to each See. By means, however, of frequent appeals to Rome, and other canonical devices, it was eventually vested in the Pope. To check the increasing evil of these and other papal usurpations, the statutes of Præmunire were framed,



and the severest penalties enacted against every encouragement of the papal power, upon the just but now neglected consideration, that all “such encouragement is a diminution of the authority of the Crown, and robs it of that obedience which constitutionally belongs to the King alone.”

In the reign of Henry the Eighth, the penalties of Præmunire were not only extended to more papal abuses than before; but, “in order to restore to the King *in effect* the nomination of vacant bishoprics, and yet *keep up the established forms*,” it was enacted by statute, that if any Dean or Member of a Chapter should refuse to elect, or any Bishop to consecrate, the person named by the King, they should fall within the penalties of the statutes of Præmunire. It is clear, from the phrase printed in italics, that Blackstone considered the mode prescribed for the election and consecration of Bishops to have been intended only to comply with the usual forms, and not to confer upon the persons involved in those acts any discretionary power. Bishops and Chapters are looked upon—and it is the same in many other cases—as the instruments for carrying the laws into effect, and as little answerable for the propriety of the act in which they are engaged as is the officer who executes a writ he knows to be unjust, or the agent who inflicts a punishment awarded by the judge, but which he thinks to be undeserved.

This view of the case is borne out by the words of the statute itself. It professes to have been framed to determine what was not before plainly and cer-

tainly expressed, namely, “in what *manner* and *fashion* Archbishops and Bishops should be elected, presented, invested, and consecrated.” Their election is to be by the Dean and Chapter inserting in the proper document the name of the Crown’s nominee, and no other; and, to show that this kind of election is a mere compliance with custom, and not meant to confer any discretion or substantial privilege of judging of the nominee’s fitness, the Crown has reserved to itself the power, if the electors merely “defer or delay their election above twelve days,” of nominating and presenting at its liberty and pleasure, and by its letters patent under the Great Seal, such a person as it may think fit and convenient for the episcopal dignity. In other words, it may either appoint the same person already nominated, or another in his place, and that without any further reference to the Dean and Chapter—a course implying most decidedly that they are appealed to only in their official character. This statute of Henry the Eighth was repealed in the succeeding reign, that of Edward the Sixth. Among other reasons for the repeal, the following is assigned: that the elections of Bishops by Deans and Chapters “be in very deed no elections, but only by a writ of *Congé d’Elire* have colours, shadows, and pretences of election, serving, nevertheless, to no purpose, and seeming also derogatory and prejudicial to the King’s prerogative royal, to whom only appertaineth the collation and gift of all Archbishoprics and Bishoprics, and suffragan Bishoprics within his dominions.” In no stronger or more definite and intelligible words

could the view taken by the ruling civil and ecclesiastical powers of that time be declared than by these; and it is difficult to conceive how they can be otherwise interpreted than as stating their conviction that the statute of 25 Hen. VIII., c. 20, contemplated Deans and Chapters as responsible for nothing more than a formal obedience to the royal mandate, and did not regard their "shadow of an election" as including their conscientious approval of the royal nominee. Nor is this interpretation at all disturbed by the subsequent restoration, under Elizabeth, of that mode of electing Bishops still in use: for the statute 1 Eliz. c. 1, s. 7, merely declares, that "An Act made in the 25th year of Henry VIII., entitled 'An Act for Electing and Consecrating Archbishops and Bishops within this Realm,' shall be revived." It assigns no reason for preferring that act to the statute of Edward the Sixth upon the same subject.

But suppose the preceding statements and arguments either to be, or to be esteemed by some individual Dean or Canon to be, incorrect—suppose him still to conceive himself in conscience bound to decline taking any part in the election of any one he deems unfit for the Episcopate, however perseveringly recommended by the Crown—what is the course which such an individual should pursue? The answer to this question is not, I think, very difficult. No doubt it would be his duty to represent, through the legitimate channels of communication with his Sovereign, modestly and respectfully, but also clearly and fully, the nature and extent of his objections to

the meditated appointment. This he should do, because a minister, in the multiplicity of his engagements, may have been overruled by the solicitations or deceived by the misrepresentations of the powerful friends of the candidate. Unless, however, he does this modestly and respectfully, it is not probable that those in authority *will*; and, unless he does it clearly and fully, it is not possible that they *can* properly understand and maturely weigh the force of the objections urged. If, after all, the objections urged produce no impression—if the Crown, acting by its responsible adviser, firmly refuses to withdraw the offensive nomination, the matter now assumes a very different aspect. The Dean or Canon is no longer at liberty to assume that the person selected has been chosen in haste or in error of judgment. He is bound to conclude that the minister has thoroughly examined the state of the case, and is as conscientiously persuaded that the person named is fit and proper, as the Dean or Canon may be that he is improper and unfit. It is, likewise, to be presumed that the Sovereign has acquiesced in the views of the minister. Here, then, is conscience against conscience—that of the Dean or Canon, or the whole cathedral, against that of the Crown and the responsible advisers of the Crown. Who, then, are to yield? Those in whose hands is vested the royal prerogative of nominating and being responsible for a fit and proper appointment to the Episcopate, or those whom the law plainly regards as only the channel through which it is expedient, but by no means necessary, that the election should be made? I confess

that, in such circumstances, there appears something which makes resistance to the Sovereign's will an assumption of superiority of judgment in those who refuse officially to sanction his choice, that ought, if possible, to be avoided ; especially by persons holding stations which entail upon them the legal obligation of acting in a very different manner. Now that there is a method of avoiding this unseemly opposition cannot be denied : for if, after all, a Dean or Canon cannot reconcile it to his conscience to forward, even by an official act, the election of the nominee, he may resign his station, and it is almost certain that the Government would do every thing in their power to facilitate the arrangement in favour of a step taken upon such laudable grounds. But, if an obstinate contest for victory over the Sovereign's nomination be raised, that Sovereign's honour and authority require that the opponents should either be treated with contempt, or not permitted to escape with impunity by the guardians of the Crown and its dignity. It is true that the contumacious Deans or Canons may be supported in their adverse opinion by even a majority of the Bishops ; but the Bishops are not the representatives of the clergy, as the existence of a lower house of convocation proves. There may even be added to the Bishops a majority of the clergy ; but both together are not the representatives of the laity of the Church, for the canons of both together do not make a law for the people, unless and until they are confirmed by the civil legislature. Nor is a majority, though it may wisely be allowed to carry the day in

matters of ordinary business in society, of sufficient weight to constrain any individual to act against his conscience in cases where the law confides to him the privilege of thinking, and binds upon him the obligation of acting for himself. In those cases, every one, whether subject or Sovereign, must weigh reasons, not numbers—the authority, and wisdom, and impartiality of those with him, against the same qualities in those who oppose him. He must then finally decide according to his best judgment upon the whole.

It will be seen that the observations just made refer only to the official acts of Deans and Chapters ; and it may be asked, why the ministerial acts of Bishops in the matter have been left unnoticed? The reason is, because the cases are so different that they call for a separate consideration. Between merely consenting to put the Chapter seal to an appointment made by the Crown, and the duties of those who consecrate to his spiritual office the individual so appointed, the distinction is manifest and important. These latter duties are performed by the ordaining Bishops, not merely as agents for carrying into effect the law of the land, but also as ministers of Christ and stewards of the mysteries of God. In that character it is required that they be found faithful, first of all and above all, to Christ and to God. Those duties are also performed in a solemn gathering together of two or three in Christ's name, that is, in one of those assemblies of which he has expressly declared that he is there in the midst of them, beholding and judging how far their hearts approve or con-

demn the deeds of their hands and the words of their tongues.

Now let us consider these deeds and words. The two presenting Bishops are commanded, when they bring the person about to be consecrated to the Archbishop, to pronounce that he is a "godly and well-learned man." If they do not truly believe him to be such when they so speak, they are guilty of one of the worst iniquities of seducing spirits—that of speaking a lie in hypocrisy, and in the very presence of that heavenly King whose ambassadors they are. Now, as the term godly implies a good life, so does the term *well*-learned imply, not only learning, but well-applied learning, so as to comprehend good doctrine. The Bishops presenting must, therefore, be conceived to believe that the Bishop elect is both holy in his conversation and sound in the faith—not himself liable to the vices he says he will correct in others, or holding himself erroneous and strange doctrines, which he promises to drive away. If they believe not this of him, and yet join in his consecration, they are guilty both of calling him a godly and well-learned man, whilst their consciences contradict their tongues, and of laying hands in haste upon one seeking the ministry of the Gospel. The guilt of this latter act is great: for, when the Archbishop and Bishops present lay their hands upon the elect Bishop, the Archbishop says what all of them are, of course, supposed to say with him, "Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Bishop now committed to thee by the imposition of *our* hands."

Assume this to be no more than a prayer. The prayer of faith it cannot be; it cannot be offered up in the belief of its acceptance and fulfilment, if they who utter it are persuaded that the person for whom it is offered is unfit and improper for the office he undertakes. And the prayer that is not of faith is sin; for it is a mere mockery of religion to pray that God's blessing and Holy Spirit may attend upon that rite of episcopal consecration which we have performed, and which our hearts tell us has not been performed according to God's will, or in a manner to come within the promise of His grace.

Such being the things to be done by the consecrating Bishops, and such the place and circumstances attending them, it is difficult to understand how any rightly disposed believer in Christ should consent to be a partaker in them without the full approbation of his conscience. Long usage and the example of others make no good precedent here. The law's voice has no claim to rule over the Gospel here. It is exactly one of those cases in which, be the consequences what they may, we ought to obey God rather than man.

What, then, are those Bishops to do who sincerely object to any of the Crown's episcopal appointments? It may be stated in reply, that they are, of course, fully justified in taking all honest steps to avoid being called upon in cases of what are, in their opinion, objectionable consecrations. For their comfort, it may also be added, that, in the peculiar circumstances of the Established Church, it is scarce possible to ima-



gine that the Crown would ever be found making, or at least persevering in, an appointment so universally condemned as not to have three Bishops who agreed to the fitness of the person named. Ignorance, intolerance, party spirit, want of due examination, and many other causes may often raise a vigorous and extensive opposition; but, except it be thoroughly well founded, there will always remain so many concurring Bishops as to relieve the dissenters from being compelled to join in the consecration. At the same time, it well becomes those who desire the office of an English Bishop to be careful how they allow the temptations of a seat in the House of Peers, the title of Lord, an ample revenue, or any other worldly advantage, so congenial to our fallen nature, to prevail with them to accept the station, if they dread the consequences it may possibly entail. I cannot, moreover, help saying, that any remarks which may be made upon the hardship or injustice of reducing the sacred rite of consecrating a Bishop to a mere formal act might be made with a better grace, if Bishops themselves had not already reduced to a similar formality the participation of Presbyters in the equally sacred rite of the ordination of Priests. Both practices are of long standing, but that cannot justify them. Both are liable to grave, the latter to still graver objections than the former. For the reduction of the consecration of Bishops to a mere formality is according to law. On the other hand, the reduction of the ordination of Priests to the same state is directly

contrary to the injunctions, and in open defiance of the penalties, of the 35th Canon, and is therefore absolutely condemned by what is the Clergy's law.

One more question still remains to be discussed ; and that is, whether the law prescribing the present mode of making our Bishops ought to be changed. The answer to this question depends much upon the nature of the change proposed.

Now it is evident that the royal grant to the Dean and Chapter to elect for their Bishop a person devoted to God, accompanied, as it is, by a Letter Missive, both naming and enjoining the election of one particular individual, is a mere fiction of law. It professes to give a free permission to elect, of which it was never intended to allow the exercise. So far, it has the form of a lie. It is so far free, however, from the guilt of a lie, that the verbal permission to elect was never meant to deceive, nor could deceive any one who gave to the subject a moment's thought. There is nothing, then, so morally wrong in the law as to demand, on that ground, its abolition ; and hence the propriety of any alteration, whether in form or substance, must be determined by considering whether its advantages or disadvantages preponderate.

Let us suppose, then, that by the proposed alteration there was to be vested in Deans and Chapters a real power of electing for their Bishop such a person as they thought, or might be pleased to say they thought, most fitted for the situation—would such a power of appointment be likely to be better exercised, or be more satisfactory, even to the clergy themselves,

than that which now prevails? What are Deans and Chapters? They are a mere handful of clergymen, not gifted, in general, with any mental or moral qualifications superior to those of their brethren. Neither do they possess any legal or ecclesiastical claims to be the representatives of a diocese. Having in their hands the episcopal appointment, it requires but little knowledge of the world to perceive that the mitre would be regarded as one of their pieces of preferment. Being the best in their gift, the Dean would look to it as the right of his office; we Canons, as due to, what all estimate too highly, our superior merit. The consequence would be variance, emulation, and strife, ending in votes given from partiality or personal disappointment, rather than with a genuine anxiety for the success of the most deserving candidate. Together with all this, we must remember how the small number of electors would open the door for influencing votes by sundry kinds of promises from the powerful friends of an aspirant, or the aspirant himself. In short, we should have a repetition of the tricks, intrigues, and vices of Popish conclaves, with no better selection of Bishops than before. If you propose to mitigate these evils by compelling the Chapter to return three or four names, out of which the Crown shall select one, you would gain little or no benefit. The Chapter might return no names but those of its own members (and you could scarce with justice prohibit altogether their insertion), which would create far more general and deserved disgust than any royal nomination has ever done.

If from the Chapters you propose to transfer the unrestricted election to the whole body of the diocesan clergy, you then fall into the evil practices of councils instead of conclaves. Of such practices the tumults, the scandals, the injustice, the alternate anathemas of contending parties, and the imperious conduct of the president of the Council of Ephesus, afford a sad but too sure an example. The private character, the public doctrine, the opinions of each candidate, in every part of his life, would be openly and severely treated by the leaders of those opposed to him. The followers of those leaders, resting indolently upon their authority, either altogether unsupported or supported only by partial extracts from the candidate's writings, or misstatements of facts, would act in the same way. When at last the election was settled and declared, the Bishop elect would come into his diocese, not merely against the wishes and perhaps in defiance of some reasonable objection of a portion of those over whom he was placed, but into one where the feelings of dissatisfaction had been exasperated by the bitterness of controversy and the disappointment of an unsuccessful struggle for victory. This is no imaginary picture of what would occur. Look at the late transactions about the See of Hereford, and there learn, from what has been done in a hopeless struggle for a clerical veto, in opposition to the Crown's known prerogative, what may be expected if the reality of such a veto, or a free episcopal election were to be intrusted to the clergy at large. Did all, whether defending or opposing Dr. Hampden, form their judgment from a

thorough perusal and careful examination of his writings and the circumstances in which he had been placed? Was there no party spirit, no personal partiality or dislike, no hopes, no disappointments connected with the course they severally pursued? The statements made, the letters written by, and concerning, various individuals, both before and since the contest, give such an answer to these inquiries as is far from being so favourable as might be wished. The contest, indeed, it is to be hoped, will now be closed. Dr. Hampden is Bishop elect and confirmed, with every prospect of being soon consecrated, and every probability of being in thought, word, and deed, as a Bishop, what he has for some years been in his less dignified, but, perhaps, even more influential and important stations—his professorship of divinity and his parochial cure. If so, he enters the Diocese of Hereford with as little fear of his dishonouring his office as any of those who before him have been appointed without a murmur of dissent. But then how much blighted must be the feelings with which he begins to act, conscious, as he must be, that he rules in the midst of some who have been his open adversaries, and, by being so, without retracting their censures, have constrained others to array their numbers and strength on the opposite side as his friends. Such is his position, and such, I believe, would be the position of every succeeding Bishop, were the choice of their pastor submitted to the arbitration, either negative or positive, of the clergy at large.

We must not forget, in thus speaking of the Bishop,

the danger which would arise of a general deterioration of character, and diminished attention to their duties, amongst the clergy themselves. Already is the Church so divided into hostile theological parties, differing alike in matters of doctrine and of discipline, as to afford an opportunity to the enemies of all ecclesiastical establishments to urge how little even the best of them are able to secure one great end for which they are supported—religious truth and unity. The evil would, I fear, be aggravated if the episcopal election were placed in the hands of the clergy. For the qualifications of the future Bishop would then necessarily employ much of the thoughts of all parochial ministers, because so much interested in the manner in which he would employ his authority, and the principles upon which his government would proceed. Hence the persons likely to be proposed as candidates for the appointment would become the centres round which rectors, vicars, and curates of similar sentiments on religious and ecclesiastical subjects would gather. Between these parties there would be perpetual and sharp controversies about one man's temper and character, another man's orthodoxy, and the Tractarian or Low Church principles of a third; and by such controversies the minds of the clergy would be more and more distracted from their higher and holier duties as the period of a vacancy in the See appeared to draw nigh. When at last the vacancy occurred, the turbulent, and active, and unscrupulous would have much chance of overpowering the honest and the peaceful; and motives quite as

impure as now operate, and means as offensive as are now taken to obtain the patronage of the Crown, would prompt and effect the final choice.

Hitherto the parochial clergy of England, though not so firmly united as to have their full influence upon the national religion, have dwelt peaceably with each other, dutifully to the civil government, and profitably to the people under their care. Without disparagement to the zeal, learning, and efforts of Bishops, Deans, and Canons, they may be said to have been the main support of the reformed religion, and the most generally useful, because the most widely extended, part of our ecclesiastical establishment. Turn them into the electors of a richly endowed member of the House of Lords, and their character will be changed. Therefore, for the sake of their religious usefulness, their quiet homes, their freedom from temptation to multiply parties and add virulence to party spirit, I would deprecate their being empowered to dispose of such great prizes as Bishoprics in this country now are.

I have spoken of the Bishoprics as great prizes, because it is a fact that, in a worldly point of view, they are such prizes as to make it mere folly to require the Crown to surrender its power of an absolute appointment. Twenty-six members of the House of Lords; palaces, lands, and revenues amounting to between one and two hundred thousand pounds a year; an official control over the professional proceedings of ten thousand Incumbents; a right of interference, at times, with their incomes, by the ap-

pointment of Curates, the assignment to them of stipends, and insisting upon the building of parsonage houses ;—these are a few of the powers and privileges belonging to our Bishops. They do not belong to them, however, as chief pastors of the Church of Christ, but as chief rulers (spiritual lords lieutenant, as it were) in the various dioceses of the Church of England : they rest not upon any law of the Gospel, but upon the laws of the realm. Were all these episcopal Lords to unite, they might often, in one House of Parliament, carry or reject measures of a most important civil character, affecting both the liberties and properties of the subject and the honour and authority of the Sovereign. Their houses and lands also are secured to them by the State, and not by the Church, and all their legal power of enforcing discipline and regulating the affairs of parishes, the repairs of churches, and other matters bearing upon the pockets and persons of both laity and clergy, is given or confirmed to them by sundry statutes. Is it not most unreasonable to require the Crown to give up or submit its constitutional right of appointing these officers to the will of the very men from whom they must be chosen, and over whom they are to rule? Might not the magistrates in each county with equal propriety demand the election of their own lord lieutenant? or the barristers that of the judges of the courts to which they belong? But where then would be those prerogatives and that due influence of the supreme governor in the state, which now in so great a measure enables the Crown to preserve the consti-



tution, in which we so often glory, from ruin, and turn the scale alternately against aristocratical and democratical attempts at encroachment? But, above all, it is a want, at once, of common decency and common sense, and an absolute insult, to urge the Crown, by legal proceedings and by clamorous claims of a spiritual nature, to share with the clergy the highest and most important civil privilege it enjoys, that of constituting, according to its own estimate of what is for the public good, the Upper House of Parliament. It would be an equal want of common sense and common regard for his duty to the Crown, were any minister to advise or acquiesce in the surrender of any part of a civil prerogative of such inestimable importance.

It comes at last then to this. You must first strip the Bishops of their seats and votes among the Peers, of their lordly titles and revenues, and of their legalised power over the proceedings and purses of parochial ministers; you must, moreover, strip those ministers of the incomes, the authority, and the immunities secured to them by law as a portion of that Establishment which the state, whilst it sanctions their endowments, claims authority to regulate and superintend, before you can expect that the government and legislature will intrust the clergy or the Chapters with any positive, or even negative power of controlling episcopal appointments: for there are not, as far as I am aware, any means of modifying the nominations of the Crown so as to meet the clerical claims and yet maintain the royal prerogative. Were three indivi-

duals, or any greater number, to be named out of whom the selection should be made, it would evidently be as easy to name three or more individuals as one, to whom the clergy might with, or without, just reason object; and thus the alleged grievance of interfering with conscience would continue unreformed. This also the Parliament might do. It might, and I think wisely, change the terms of the *Congé d'Elire*, so as to make it no more than a permission to elect the person nominated by the Crown. Or it might abolish altogether the present colour of an election and confirmation, and place both in the absolute power of the Crown by Letters Patent under the Great Seal. But the most serious part of the whole business must still remain unchanged; I mean the compulsory duty of consecration: for it is not easy to conceive how any body of legislators could venture to dispense with that sacred rite; or, if they did so, how any one could be found willing to accept the name of Bishop and act without it. In a word, you must separate the Church from the State, and that in a far wider sense than most people are inclined to solicit the separation, before you can fairly claim for it the disposal of its own offices, the enactment of laws for its government, and the independent regulation of its affairs. You must cease to be the endowed Ecclesiastical Establishment, before you can demand the exercise of rights which belong only to voluntary religious communions, and to those only so long as their doctrines, institutions, and arrangements appear to the ruling powers to be, according to their best

judgment, not inconsistent with truth, righteousness, and peace.

The following, therefore, are the questions which, in conclusion, it becomes every one to determine in his own mind :—Do the benefits of our established church preponderate over the restraints and inconveniences to which, in consequence of being established, it is subject? Is sound religion, both in faith and practice,—are the genuine doctrines and the genuine holiness of the Scriptures so fully taught, and so efficiently preached and promoted by the ministers of Christ, throughout the length and breadth of the land, that the union of Church and State ought, notwithstanding the anomalies, difficulties, and submission to compulsory duties which it entails, to be preserved, rather than hazard by its dissolution those evils, the occurrence of which it is easy to foresee, but whose number and extent it is impossible to calculate? If so, then is it an act both of wisdom and piety to submit, as far as a good conscience will allow, to that authority which the one has so long exercised over the other, and which it cannot properly part with so long as the union remains. If it be otherwise, if the establishment and endowments of the Church under the sanction of the state be not conducive to the “wealth, peace, and godliness of the people committed” by our liturgy to the Sovereign’s as well as the clergy’s charge, then let the strong, bright, and golden chain of emoluments, honour, and authority be broken at once, and the Church be left, without her dower and legal claims, to work the work

of Him that made her, in freedom and alone. But, before any man presumes to decide upon a change from "ills he knows to those he knows not of," let him examine and weigh well the subject in all its bearings, and then let him devoutly and sincerely pray that he may not only form a conscientious (for upon that we may deceive ourselves) but a right judgment, in this as well as in all other things upon which the honour of Christ's name and "the increase of his government" throughout the world depend.



**THE ROYAL SUPREMACY**  
**OVER**  
**THE CHURCH,**  
**CONSIDERED AS TO ITS**  
**ORIGIN AND ITS CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITS.**

**LONDON :**  
**GILBERT AND RIVINGTON, PRINTERS,**  
**ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.**

# THE ROYAL SUPREMACY

OVER

## THE CHURCH,

CONSIDERED AS TO ITS

ORIGIN, AND ITS CONSTITUTIONAL LIMITS;

BEING

AN EXPANSION OF THE AUTHOR'S FORMER TREATISE  
ON THE SUPREMACY QUESTION,

OCCASIONED BY THE CLAIMS RECENTLY PREFERRED IN THE NAME OF  
THE CROWN IN REFERENCE TO

## EPISCOPAL PROMOTIONS.

PRECEDED BY A DEDICATORY EPISTLE

TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M.P. P.C.

FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, &c. &c.

BY THE

REV. G. E. BIBER, LL.D.

Τοῦτο τοῦς μὲν ἐκκλησιαστικοῦς κανόνας παραλύει, τὰ δὲ ἔθνη ἀναγκάζει βλασφημεῖν καὶ ὑπονοεῖν, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ θεῖον θεσμόν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἱμφορίας καὶ προστάσιος αἱ καταστάσεις γίνονται.—ATHANAS. *Epist. Encycl. ad Episc. c. ii.*

LONDON:

FRANCIS & JOHN RIVINGTON,

ST. PAUL'S CHURCH YARD, AND WATERLOO PLACE.

1848.





TO THE RIGHT HON.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M.P. P.C.

FIRST LORD OF THE TREASURY, ETC.

MY LORD,

WHEN, little more than a twelvemonth ago, I did myself the honour of inscribing to your Lordship my treatise on the Supremacy Question, I pleaded, in apology for the liberty so taken by me, two points,—first, the share which your Lordship has had in placing the Church in a position at once anomalous and injurious; secondly, the notoriously bold character of your Lordship as a statesman.

That the circumstances which have occurred since, are of a nature to add tenfold strength to both those pleas,—that the injustice of the position in which the Church is placed has been immeasurably aggravated,—and that the course pursued by your Lordship has been one of unprecedented boldness,—few men will, I think, venture to deny.

Men, my Lord, who love and reverence the Church as God's ordinance, are compelled, by the necessity of the case, to regard your Lordship in the light of a bold oppressor of the Church; charity constrains some of them, at least, to believe that you are so unintentionally and unconsciously; that you have been overtaken by the human infirmity of attributing to your own peculiar theory of the Church—from the preoccupation of your

mind by political subjects, necessarily an imperfect one,—the same infallibility which has hitherto been monopolized by the Pope in support of his extravagant claim to absolute lordship over God's heritage.

Among those who take this charitable view of the course pursued by your Lordship, the humble individual who now addresses you desires to be reckoned. And since charity is a great prompter of candour, and men who themselves are bold, are ready to excuse boldness in others, I trust I shall have your Lordship's forgiveness, if I venture, with as much brevity and plainness of speech as I can command, to place before your Lordship the aspect in which the late transactions appear to those who do not share your Lordship's somewhat modern theory of the Church, but view her in the light in which she has been viewed by churchmen ever since Christ conferred upon His Apostles the commission expressed in the words: "As my Father hath sent Me, even so send I you."

If that view be correct, your Lordship has set at nought the Divine Head of the Church, the Lord Christ, invisibly represented in the Church by God the Holy Ghost,—inasmuch as your Lordship has insisted that the gifts of the Holy Ghost for the work of her different ministries,—the conveyance of which, ministerially, by the Church, is, according to the solemn injunctions of Holy Writ, not to take place without careful inquiry,—shall be dispensed by her ministers (so far as they have power to do so) without inquiry, at the dictation of your Lordship, as First Lord of the Treasury.

If that view be correct, your Lordship has robbed the temporal Chief Ruler of the Church, the Sovereign of these realms, of the highest and most sacred attribute of Her Royal Office and Dignity,—inasmuch as your Lordship has insisted that the prerogative “given to godly Princes by God Himself,”—for the exercise of which, more than for any other act of the royal power, the Sovereign is directly and personally responsible to God,—belongs to the Sovereign only in name, but in reality to your Lordship as First Lord of the Treasury.

The bare suspicion, my Lord, of your having claimed the right to dictate to the Sovereign in the exercise of her prerogative, and the power to control God the Holy Ghost in the distribution of His gifts,—for the high-handed maintenance of the political system of which your Lordship is the personal exponent, must, one should think, be keenly painful to one who professes, and I doubt not sincerely, to be a friend and patron of true religion, and who has proved himself a strenuous asserter of the royal prerogative. And if any thing can add to the sting which this suspicion cannot but leave in your Lordship’s mind, it must be the reflection that you, the great political representative of the house of Russell,—you, the zealous advocate, the fearless champion of civil and religious liberty,—should find yourself in the strange position of having revived, or threatened to revive, the antiquated enactments of the greatest monster of bigotry and tyranny that ever sat on the English throne; in the strange position of having threatened to enforce upon unoffending churchmen, who were prevented by

conscientious scruples from complying with your peremptory commands, the barbarous penalties of mediæval legislation;—penalties, permit me to add, my Lord, which, by a more than curious coincidence, you yourself and your colleagues have distinctly incurred by your unconstitutional tamperings with the Papacy.

Great wrongs, my Lord, if persisted in, entail great retributions; if acknowledged, they demand great reparations. In the heat of party conflict, they are often heedlessly and unconsciously committed; their acknowledgment is not unfrequently the fruit of cool reflection superinduced by their successful accomplishment.

It is the hope that a dispassionate reconsideration of the course recently pursued towards the Church by your Lordship, may dispose you to an examination of the false position in which the State and the Church are placed towards each other, and to that act of reparation to which the Church is eminently entitled at your Lordship's hands, that has emboldened me once more to address you, notwithstanding the distance which intervenes between your Lordship's exalted rank and my humble station.

In that hope, I have the honour to subscribe myself, with profound respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble and obedient Servant,

G. E. BIBER.

ROEHAMPTON,  
May 1, 1848.

## PREFACE.

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A TWELVEMONTH had not elapsed since the appeal made by the Author of the following pages to the British sense of justice on behalf of the grievously oppressed Church of which it is his happiness to be an humble minister, when circumstances occurred than which none could have more strikingly illustrated both the despotic character which the Supremacy has assumed since its transfer from the hands of royalty to those of the representative of the democracy,—and the imperative necessity of adopting some such measures as those suggested by him, for a constitutional exercise of that supremacy, if the Church of England is to be saved from a state of degradation similar to that to which the Greek Church has sunk down by her servile submission to the Cæsaro-episcopate of the Low Empire.

In the controversy and agitation excited by the nomination of Dr. Hampden to the see of Hereford, the Author religiously abstained from taking any part; feeling as he did, that as far as the question was a personal one, a satisfactory solution of it was possible only in the regular course of adjudication by competent authority. But when afterwards the judicial power of

the highest ecclesiastic authority, to inquire into, and adjudicate upon, the canonical fitness of the nominees of the Crown for the Episcopal office, before conferring on them the spiritual power and commission of that office, was peremptorily denied, the question ceased to be a personal one; it became a great constitutional question, on which it is open to the humblest lay or clerical member of the Church, who has made the Constitution of the Church his study, to offer his opinion. Nevertheless, the Author of the following pages, deeply engaged at the time in other literary labours, would hardly have resumed his pen on this subject, had he not been urged, in terms which scarcely admitted of a refusal, to publish a second edition of the treatise published by him last year, on the Supremacy Question. This was all that he contemplated, when he took up his pen; but he soon found that in order to do justice to the questions connected with Episcopal promotions, on which he had but slightly touched in his previous publication, it became necessary, not only to recast the old materials, but to make most extensive additions. In this manner the present volume has arisen, in which all the historical information on Church Synods contained in the pamphlet on the Supremacy Question is incorporated; while the few matters which were extraneous to the main argument on the Synodal power of the Church and the Episcopal office are omitted; and to the last-named subject all the prominence is given which is called for by recent occurrences.

The author has thought it right to offer this expla-

nation to the public; and he has now, in conclusion, only to express his fervent hope, that all who value the character of our Church, and the truth and grace of Christ, whereof she is the witness and dispenser, will unite together in claiming for the Church that liberty of legislating for herself, and administering her own affairs, in submission to the temporal Sovereign personally, as God's Minister, which is enjoyed absolutely, and without such submission, by every other religious body in the community. Above all, his hope and prayer is, that the Church may be preserved from the ruin and disgrace which must come upon her, if any portion of her sons should be tempted, by the hope of gaining a party advantage within the Church, sinfully to betray the spouse of Christ into the hands of a constitutionally godless democracy.



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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE construction which has recently been put by the Prime Minister upon the Royal Supremacy over the Church,—which has been acted upon by the Ecclesiastical Judges in the Archbishop's Court,—which has been supported by the pleadings of the law-officers of the Crown in the Court of Queen's Bench,—and which has neither been affirmed nor denied by that court, the opinions of the Judges being equally divided,—is either correct, or it is not correct.

If it is not correct, it is evident that the law is painfully uncertain in a matter touching not only the dearest and most sacred interests which men can have upon earth, but their eternal interests, which are inseparable from the preservation of "the good deposit," the *παρακαταθήκη*<sup>1</sup>, committed by the Apostles to their successors in the government of the Church; and not only that the law is painfully uncertain, but that there exists, in hands extremely unfit to be entrusted with it, a fearful power of intimidation and coercion contrary to the law.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Tim. i. 14.

In that supposition the Church has an indisputable right to demand, that the law shall be clearly defined, and protected from the possibility of being overruled by an exertion of arbitrary power.

If, on the contrary, the construction put upon the law is correct, it is equally evident that the Church has for the last three hundred years been subject,—without knowing it, never having been made to feel it,—to an intolerable tyranny, wholly subversive of the character of the Church as a spiritual institution, which derives its commission from the Lord Jesus Christ, and its powers from the Holy Ghost.

For, if that construction is correct, the Church is placed in the following position.

1. The individual who has fought his way in political conflict to the leadership of the majority in the House of Commons, and thereby, in due course of parliamentary warfare, to the position of First Lord of the Treasury,—whoever he may be, and whatever his creed, Presbyterian or Independent, Quaker or Baptist, Methodist or Irvingite, Papist or Socinian, Jew or Infidel,—is, by virtue of his political office, entitled to exercise the Royal Supremacy over the English Church; he is, to all practical intents and purposes, “Supreme Governor of the Church.”

2. This “Supreme Governor,” for the time being, “of the Church,” can cause any person he pleases, being in priest’s orders<sup>2</sup>, to be elected to any bishopric

<sup>2</sup> That is, supposing him willing to abide by the universal rule and custom of the Church. But if he should see fit to set that custom aside, to appoint a deacon, (which, by the way, has actually been

or archbishopric that may fall vacant during his tenure of office. His causing the name of the party to be inserted in the "letter missive," is proof sufficient to the Dean and Chapter of his entire fitness for the episcopal office. They have no right to ask questions or raise objections; if they fail to elect, they are guilty of a violation of the law so gross, that they forfeit thereby not only all their public offices and emoluments, but their private chattels and estates, and place themselves beyond the protection of the law.

3. The said "Supreme Governor," for the time being, "of the Church," can force the Archbishop, under the same penalties, to "confirm" the "election" of the party so appointed; that is, to cause proclamation to be made for all objectors to appear, and state their ob-

done, though upon a different nomination,) or a layman, or a Jesuit, or a Rabbi, there is no opportunity for any one to oppose his will, or even to prove the fact, under the law as at present interpreted. Nor is the supposition that such a thing might happen, far-fetched. There is now in Germany a rapidly increasing sect laying claim to the Christian name, into which a Jew may be received, without baptism, and without the confession of any distinctively Christian doctrine; he has only to declare himself a "friend of light." If a Jew of that description, a man of "large and liberal" ideas,—the Rabbi for instance who on a late occasion volunteered his testimony to the superlative fitness of a clergyman for a Christian bishopric,—should have an eye to a vacant See, Baron de Rothschild being First Lord of the Treasury, there is no reason why the doctrinal exclusiveness of the Church of England should not receive a salutary correction by the insertion of his name in the "letter missive." It would puzzle both the Attorney-General and the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench to point out a remedy in such an event, under the existing state of the law as propounded by themselves.

jections ; and when such objectors do appear, and offer to state their objections, then to refuse to hear them, to silence them, and to pronounce them contumacious for non-appearance ; the object of that process being to satisfy the world at large, and the Church in particular, that the party so elected and confirmed, is a person of unimpeachable character and sound doctrine, in all respects fit and proper to fill the office of a Bishop in the Church of God.

4. The said "Supreme Governor," for the time being, "of the Church," can compel the Archbishop and two Bishops with him, or else six Bishops without an Archbishop, to use the solemn office of Consecration, with invocation of the Holy Ghost, being the form appointed by law for making the person so "elected" and "confirmed" a Bishop, in the same manner as if they knew, and in their hearts believed, him to be a most fit and proper person ; and that, although they may believe and know him to be a person most unfit<sup>3</sup> for so high and holy an office ; again under pain of forfeiting all their public and private property, and of losing their civil state.

5. The said "Supreme Governor," for the time being, "of the Church," can thus constrain the clergy and laity of the diocese to which his nominee is appointed, to accept him for their Bishop ; and, if not to consider him, at least to receive and to obey him, as their

<sup>3</sup> The Attorney-General expressly stated, that supposing the Archbishop knew the party, of his own personal knowledge, to have committed perjury, he would still be bound to consecrate him, under pain of *præmunire*.

spiritual pastor, made an overseer of the flock by the Holy Ghost; and if the clergy and laity, or any of them, should remonstrate against such appointment, the "Supreme Governor" is entitled to rebuke them for interfering impertinently in matters with which they have no concern.

Such is, according to the definition propounded, and the practice adopted, recently, the nature and extent of the Royal Supremacy over the Church.

It would be a mere waste of words to *argue*, that the position in which the Church is placed by these interpretations of the law, and this high-handed stretch of the prerogative, is an intolerable position. The facts speak for themselves.

Either the Church must renounce all claim to her spiritual character; she must unblushingly allow, that her professed allegiance to Christ her Divine Head, is nothing more than an empty phrase; her imposition of hands, with invocation of the Holy Ghost for the gifts of the ministry, nothing more than a dumb unmeaning show; that she is, like the army, the navy, or the new police, a mere "department" of the State, —or she must lift up her voice, in remonstrance and protest, against the desecration put upon her highest offices, and the mockery levelled at the most sacred objects of her faith, at her belief in Christ's Headship over her, and the presence and effectual operation within her of the Holy Ghost.

Nor is the Church the only party pinned upon the horns of a dilemma, by the recent legal decisions and assumptions of power. The very advocates of the

principle which has prompted these proceedings,—of whom it is but charitable to hope, that in their deadly aggression upon the vital principles of the Church, they intended not so much to gratify their hatred against the theory of the Church, as their predilection for their own opposite theory,—are in as imminent danger as the Church herself, of incurring the reproach of the most shameless hypocrisy, if they do not bestir themselves to put an end to the anomalous position in which the Church is at present exhibited.

Either the advocates of the principle, commonly called the principle of “religious liberty,” must renounce all claim to sincerity and consistency; they must unblushingly admit that their professed respect for religious convictions and scruples is the merest pretence, a clap-trap argument, which may very well answer the purpose of special pleading against the Church, as the asserter of positive and definite doctrines, but which it would be ridiculous to view in a serious light, and to act out into its consequences; that, by “liberty of conscience” they mean, not only an unlimited licence of opinion to themselves, but the right of trampling upon all those whose opinions are obnoxious to them,—they must either admit this, or else they must be the first to contend for the emancipation of the Church from a thralldom so deeply degrading to her character, and so directly subversive of her faith.

To maintain that the religious convictions, the conscientious scruples, of the members of the Church, of her ministers, of her Bishops, are to be silenced by the

dictation of the individual,—a surd in theology,—who happens to represent for a time, on the Treasury Bench of the Commons' House of Parliament, the preponderating sentiments of a motley assemblage of every imaginable form and shade of belief and unbelief,—is to set up a system of spiritual despotism, far surpassing the iniquity and the tyranny of the Papacy, as she exhibited herself before the world in the darkest and worst of times. For when the Papacy demands that all the world should keep silence before her, she at least offers to those, of whose minds and consciences she exacts unquestioning compliance, a definite, tangible system, to which they may mould themselves, with the prospect of being allowed to rest in it, as in an unchangeable system. But the political creature and organ of the predominant party in a popular assembly has no such definite, tangible system to offer to men's acceptance; he is the exponent of a mere negation in faith, and even in this negation, by the very nature of his position, necessarily as unstable as the unstablest of all sublunary things, the *aura popularis*, proverbially is. His claim to acquiescence on the part of the Church in his dictation, amounts in fact to a demand upon the convictions and consciences of Churchmen, to hold themselves ready to perform, like soldiers on drill, at the shortest notice, any evolution for which the word may be given by the officer in command.

The assertion of such a claim is as inconsistent with the advocacy of the principle of "religious liberty," as submission to it would be with the principles of the Church. Both parties, therefore, have, though on



grounds widely different, an equally strong interest, the interest of truth and consistency, in extricating themselves from the false position in which they are placed towards each other.

That false position evidently arises out of the relation which has long subsisted between the Church and the State. It is, therefore, only by going back to the first principles upon which the relation between Church and State is founded, that we can trace the evil to its root.

When that relation assumed the form, which in theory, and according to the letter of the law, it still has, the State was in its corporate capacity identical with the Church. The State has undergone a most important transformation; and the consequence is, that the relation in which the Church and the State stand to each other, must be modified, if the connexion between them is to be preserved, and to be made actually, as originally it was intended to be, a blessing to both.

The great link on which that connexion depends, is the Royal Supremacy over the Church; the grounds, therefore, on which that Supremacy rests, and the principles by which its exercise ought to be regulated, will form the main subject of the inquiry contained in the following pages, in which it is proposed to show:—

1. What are the abstract principles upon which the Supremacy of the temporal power over the Christian Church is founded;

2. What has been, historically, the development of the Supremacy of the temporal power over the Christian Church, both in the world at large, and in this country in particular ;

3. What are the alterations which, in course of time, the character of the temporal power has undergone, and what have been the consequences to the Church of those alterations in the character of the temporal power ;

4. What are the modifications in the exercise of the Royal Supremacy, rendered necessary by the altered character of the temporal power, in order to free the Church from oppression, and to restore her to a state of internal consistency, and of efficient action, both upon her own members, and upon the general mass of the people.

Each of these points will be separately treated of in the following pages.

## CHAPTER I.

THE THEORY OF THE SUPREMACY OF THE TEMPORAL  
POWER OVER THE CHURCH.

THERE is, there always has been, there always will be, in the world a great controversy on the origin of power; some tracing the authority of rulers upwards to the appointment of God, others looking downwards, and recognising in the will of the multitude the fountain of all power. With the intricacies of this controversy the Christian is not embarrassed; he recognises no authority except that which is from above. His perplexities arise from the difficulty of adjusting the action of two powers which, both derived from God, are perfectly distinct in their nature, their character, and their purpose.

The one is the power of the kingdoms of this world; its nature is essentially earthly; its character is coercion by fear; its purpose, to preserve order, to maintain justice between man and man, to protect men's persons and their property, and by these means to secure for all, as creatures of this world, the greatest possible amount of happiness.

The other is the power of the kingdom of heaven; its nature is essentially heavenly; its character is sanctification by love; its purpose, to restore man to a state of holiness, to bind man and man together in the fellow-

ship of Christ, to build up men in the life of Christ and in the hope of their eternal inheritance, and by these means to prepare them, as creatures of another and a better world, for a state of everlasting felicity.

The former, the temporal power, whose weapon is the sword, God establishes by giving to that sword power and success; He continues to uphold it by the protection of His providence, in a regular transfer of authority from hand to hand; except on particular occasions, when the overruling hand of His providence is manifested by His "putting down one and setting up another."

The latter, the spiritual power, whose weapon is the word of God, God established in the first place by giving to that word power and success; He continues to uphold it by the operation of His holy Spirit, in a regular transmission of authority which has the promise of the co-operation of that Spirit, from hand to hand; nor is there in His revealed word any ground to believe, that any change will take place in the commission on which that authority rests, and which was originally conferred in these terms: "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

As long as these two powers continue to act in separation from each other, the course of both is simple; and equally simple the course of individuals subject to

their sway. The principle, "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," is of easy application, while the spiritual power stands altogether aloof from the kingdoms of this world, and the temporal power does not intermeddle with the things of the kingdom of heaven.

But the application of this principle becomes more difficult, when, either from an instinctive sense of the antagonism between this world and the kingdom of heaven, or through jealous fear of the effects which the growing influence of the spiritual power over the minds and hearts of men may produce upon its institutions, the temporal power is led to interfere with the action of the spiritual power. When Cæsar is not content to claim the things which are Cæsar's, when he requires obedience in things belonging unto God, it then becomes the duty of the individual Christian, and of the Church collectively, to be mindful of the second part of the rule, "to render unto God the things that are God's," and to decide between the conflicting claims of the two powers upon the principle of "obeying God rather than men."

Conflict is not, however, the only form which the encounter of the temporal and the spiritual power in the course of their action upon the world may assume. The bearers of the temporal power are, as much as other men, subject to the influence of the spiritual power, and, when once brought under that influence, amenable to the eternal principles of grace and truth in which the spiritual power takes its origin, and for the maintenance and propagation of which it is esta-

blished. It may, therefore, and sooner or later it necessarily will happen, that the bearers of the temporal power acknowledge themselves, in their personal capacity, subject to the spiritual power.

In this case there arises necessarily great danger of confusion between the two powers, and of consequent encroachment on the part of one power over the other; either by an assumption on the part of the spiritual power of a supremacy over the temporal power, which it has no right to claim, and cannot claim without violating its own fundamental principles, because the kingdom in which it bears rule is not of this world; or else by an intrusion of the temporal power into the action of the spiritual power, by which that action is vitiated, the internal government of the Spirit being disturbed, if not altogether supplanted, by the external constraint of earthly power, and the obedience of persuasion and of love changed into an obedience of fear and compulsion.

In either of these two events both powers, the spiritual as well as the temporal, will receive serious injury. The spiritual power will be depraved,—if it assume a supremacy over the temporal power, by the earthly character of the rule which it bears,—if it surrender itself to the temporal power, by the earthly character of the rule to which it is subject. The temporal power will be embarrassed,—if it submit to the assumed supremacy of the spiritual power, by the interference of that power,—if it attempt to overrule the spiritual power, by the inherent difficulties of a task for which it does not possess the necessary qualifications.

With this twofold danger in view, the great problem is, how the two powers can be made to act together without mutual disturbance or injury, if once they are, by the personal allegiance of the bearers of temporal power to the principles on which the spiritual power is founded, brought into such close contact, that it is impossible for them to continue to act in separation from each other. To solve this difficult problem, it is necessary to pay strict attention to the limits by which the two powers are separated from each other, and to take care, that neither of them shall transgress those limits in the course of their co-operation.

The initiative of this co-operation must, in the nature of things, proceed from the temporal power; because the temporal power is chief in all things appertaining to this world, and is, therefore, in the first instance free to decide, (under responsibility to that God by whom it is ordained,) whether, within the reach of its dominion, the action of the spiritual power shall, or shall not, be left unnoticed; and, if noticed, whether it shall be obstructed by persecution, or recognised and promoted by protection and assistance. The last-named conclusion is that which must be adopted by the temporal power, whenever the bearer of that power has become personally amenable to the principles on which the spiritual power is founded, and for the maintenance of which it is established.

According to those principles, the principles of the Christian faith, he who is convinced of their truth, and adopts them for the rule of his life, is bound to place himself and all that he has, at the service of Christ;

an obligation which is increased and strengthened in proportion to the magnitude of the earthly possessions, powers, or interests committed to his stewardship. A temporal ruler, on being converted to the faith of Christ, is thereby made aware, to an extent to which he could not be aware of it before, as, on the one hand, of the nature of his power as a trust committed to him by God, so, on the other hand, of the importance of that trust, which, though its primary purpose is confined to this world, yet involves incalculably higher interests, as the spirit in which it is administered may either greatly impede, or greatly advance, the operations of the spiritual power for promoting the kingdom of Christ in the hearts of men.

The temporal ruler who is converted to the faith of Christ, the Christian Sovereign, lies therefore under the weight of a moral necessity to use his utmost endeavours for the promotion of the kingdom of Christ within his dominions. At the same time the earthly power which he wields, is totally unfit to be employed in such a service, even if it could be lawfully diverted from its primary and necessary purpose; all that he can do, is to call in the spiritual power, to whose hands the advancement of the kingdom of Christ upon earth is committed, and to afford to that power, for the action which properly belongs to it, the largest field and the freest scope which his own temporal power enables him to place at its disposal. In doing this, two precautions are necessary to be observed.

In the first place, in assigning to the spiritual power in his dominions the important position of an esta-



blished clergy, the Christian Sovereign necessarily invests it with an extensive social influence, and endows it with considerable worldly means; and as he does so for a specific purpose, it is not his right only, but his duty, to reserve to himself such control over the administration of the trust so committed by him to the spiritual power, as will enable him to prevent the misapplication of that influence and of those means to other purposes than that for which they are given; and it is the more necessary that he should jealously guard this right, and be diligent in the performance of this duty, as the influence and the wealth entrusted to the spiritual power will, through the infirmity of man's nature, not fail to act as strong temptations to the holders of the spiritual power, to turn from the exercise of their high vocation to the selfish enjoyment of the worldly privileges and advantages attached to it. Hence the necessity of the reservation to himself, on the part of the Christian Sovereign, of the chief government of the estate ecclesiastical, in the establishment of the Christian Church within his dominions.

In the next place, in securing to the Christian Sovereign this supreme control, or chief government over the estate ecclesiastical, care must be taken that this control or government be not extended from those things which the Sovereign has power to give, and the application of which he has therefore an inalienable right to control, to those things which he never gave, and never could have to give, and over which, therefore, he can never have any just or lawful claim to exercise authority. The essentially spiritual trust trans-

mitted in the Church from the Apostles downwards, the ministry of the word and the stewardship of the mysteries of grace, is as inalienably vested in the spiritual power, as the chief government of all the concerns of this world in the temporal power; and this inalienable character of its trust the spiritual power is bound the more jealously to guard, and to maintain its own exclusive right to administer it, as again it is in the nature of man's infirmity to consider the possession of temporal wealth and dominion, as a title to arbitrary and presumptuous conduct in matters spiritual. Hence the necessity of limiting the chief government over the estate ecclesiastical, so as to except from its operation the "ministration of the word and sacraments," as things sacred, with which the temporal power has no call, and no right to intermeddle.

From the foregoing development of the principles, upon which the claim to supremacy on the part of the temporal power over the Church rests, the following corollaries are deducible:—

1. The temporal power has not of itself, and by virtue of the authority committed to it in this world, any claim to exercise a supremacy or chief government over the Church.

2. The claim of the temporal power to such supremacy or chief government, is founded on the submission of the temporal power to those principles of eternal grace and truth, of which the Church is the witness, and in which her spiritual power takes its origin.

3. The temporal power, though converted to the

principles of the Church, and by consequence invested with supremacy over her, is nevertheless debarred from all interference with the administration of the spiritual trust committed to the Church.

4. If the temporal power transgresses the limits by which its supremacy over the Church is circumscribed, the Church is not only entitled, but bound to protest against, and by all lawful means to resist, such encroachment; and to suffer persecution rather than to abandon her trust.

5. If the temporal power ceases to profess the faith, on the adoption of which its claim to supremacy over the Church is originally founded, that claim becomes *eo ipso* extinct, and the Church reverts to the same position, of a spiritual power wholly independent of the powers of this world, in which she was before her connexion with the temporal power.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE HISTORY OF THE SUPREMACY OF THE TEMPORAL POWER OVER THE CHURCH IN THE CATHOLIC WORLD.

DURING nearly three hundred years after the visible establishment of the Christian Church upon earth by the miraculous outpouring of the Holy Ghost on the day of Pentecost, no question arose, or could arise, respecting the supremacy of the temporal power over her. The temporal power, being wedded to other religious systems, had neither right nor inclination to superintend or control the action of the spiritual power over the Church; the Church had not, as such, any existence *de jure* in the social system: her members were subject to the laws of the commonwealth; their incorporation with each other might, as a matter of fact, fall under the notice of the ruling power, and might be regarded by it either with favour or with disfavour; but still the power could deal with its Christian subjects only in their individual capacity. Accordingly, we find the fortunes of the Church exceedingly variable during the first three centuries. Sometimes the temporal power suffered her to pursue her course unnoticed; allowing the spiritual power to put forth its message of truth, and to accomplish its

conquests of grace, undisturbed; on the same principle of neutrality on which the philosophers had free permission to speculate upon questions of natural religion, and all the different idolatries of the pagan world were admitted within the precincts of pantheistic Rome. During these intervals of quiet the Christians fulfilled their various duties as citizens, on the principle of "rendering unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's;" while as members of the Christian Church, they exercised the mysterious privileges, and performed the sacred duties, attached to that state.

But at other times the temporal power showed considerable jealousy of the influence which the action of the spiritual power within the Christian Church exercised upon the world at large, by the numerical increase of the Church, and by the control which it had over her members. The decided preference given by Christians to the commands of the spiritual over those of the temporal power, in any casual conflict between the duties which they owed to both; the resistance which Christian principles frequently opposed in private life to the corruptions of paganism and the licence of the times; and, above all, the spiritual warfare which the Church carried on against the dumb idols of the heathen world, and which caused a sensible diminution of the honours and emoluments which their temples had been accustomed to receive,—all or any of these causes operated every now and then to arouse the attention, and to awaken the jealousy, of the temporal power; a jealousy which human enmity, visibly, and the malice of Satan, invisibly, fanned into the open

flame of persecution. At such times of trial it was the simple duty of Christians, on whom personally the wrath of the persecutors alighted, to suffer patiently and steadfastly, even unto death, for the testimony of the truth; and the duty of the Church, to give to her suffering members all the support and comfort in her power, and to exhort and encourage all her members to like fortitude of confession and of martyrdom.

An end was put to this precarious state, and the first step taken towards the public recognition of the Christian Church, by the famous Edict of Milan. That document<sup>4</sup> proceeds upon the principle of religious neutrality on the part of the State<sup>5</sup>; it recognises a supreme Deity enthroned in heaven, on whose favour the rulers of the earth and their kingdoms are dependent<sup>6</sup>; it assigns, as the motive of the edict, concern

<sup>4</sup> Copies of it have been preserved by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* l. x. c. 5; and by Lactantius, *de Mort. Persecut.* c. 48. The former is evidently the more correct, as the copy of Lactantius not only wants the preamble, but has suffered several contractions and mutilations.

<sup>5</sup> This is generally accounted for by the supposition that Constantine's own mind was not, at this period, made up respecting the truth of Christianity. But this can scarcely have been the case; not only because his adoption of the cross as his military standard is anterior to the edict of Milan, (*Euseb. de Vita Constant.* l. i. c. 28—31,) but because the whole of his conduct immediately after the publication of the edict shows him to have viewed Christianity as the only true religion. The probability is, that he could not obtain the concurrence of Licinius without a compromise; or that the public adoption of Christianity and repudiation of paganism all at once, was considered too abrupt a measure in the then state of the public mind.

<sup>6</sup> The expressions used, occurring as they do in a public document, afford a remarkable specimen of latitudinarian indefiniteness: "In order that the Deity, *whatever it may be*, may from its heavenly throne be propitious to us, and to all that live under our rule." The reading '*ὅ τι κττέ ἐστὶ θεϊότης καὶ οὐρανοῦ πράγματος*,' is manifestly corrupt;

for the public weal, which requires above all other things a proper regulation of religious matters. The preamble asserts, that "liberty of worship is not to be withheld, but that it is to be left to every one's judgment and conscience, to order his religion according to his own opinion;" and in the text, after granting the free exercise of the Christian religion, a reservation is introduced, to the effect, that not only Christians, but men of all religions, are to have entire liberty of worship. With these exceptions the edict is exclusively occupied with that which is evidently its main object; viz. to secure to the Christian Church a legal existence in the empire. To this end the profession of the Christian faith is declared to be lawful, and all the conditions by which former edicts of toleration were clogged, are wholly abrogated; the Christians are recognized in their corporate capacity, as represented by their synods<sup>7</sup>, and as such declared capable of holding property<sup>8</sup>; and further it is ordered, that

and the corresponding passage in Lactantius, "*Divinitas in sede cælesti*," seems to point out "*θειότης ἐξ οὐρανόθεν ἰδρύματος*," as the proper reading.

<sup>7</sup> The restitution is ordered to be made "*τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῆ σώματι αὐτῶν καὶ τῆ συνόδῳ*," or, as Lactantius gives it, "*Christianis, id est corpori et conventiculis eorum*."

<sup>8</sup> That the Christians had at former periods been permitted to hold property for corporate purposes, is evident from the appeal made to Aurelian on the part of the orthodox bishops, to eject Paul of Samosata from the cathedral church at Antioch, of which, notwithstanding his deposition by the synod, he retained possession. It need hardly be observed, that this interference of Aurelian has nothing to do with the Supremacy question; it was a simple application to the civil power on a question of disputed title to certain property; and Aurelian showed both his wisdom and his impartiality, by suspending his decision until

churches confiscated during the late persecutions shall be restored to them free of all charge; the emperor himself undertaking to indemnify the present holders of such property, who might have acquired it by gift or purchase from the government.

Such are the principles, and such the provisions, of the public act, whereby the temporal power which bore sway in the whole of the then civilized world, and the spiritual power which was lodged in the Christian Church, were first brought face to face with each other, on a footing of mutual and friendly recognition. But it was not, in the nature of things, possible for the Church to remain in the negative position assigned to her by the edict of Milan. As the Church bears witness of one God and one Lord, so she admits only of one faith: she can enter into no compromise, involving an acknowledgment of other "religious opinions" as entitled, equally with the faith proclaimed by her, to the acceptance of mankind. She is bound to warn the world, that every other doctrine but her own is founded in falsehood; that every other form of worship but that whereof God has committed the ministration to her hands, is vain and sinful; not only not acceptable, but positively offensive, to God. To this

he had taken the opinion of the Italian bishops, who were not mixed up with any local animosities, as to the merits of the case on theological grounds.—(See Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 27—30.) But although in this instance the Christians ventured to invoke the aid of the secular arm for the protection of their rights against a refractory member of their own body, such a course would, generally speaking, have been extremely hazardous; more frequently it happened that their churches and other properties were taken from them by wholesale confiscations.



her obligation the Church proved faithful in those early days of her acknowledgment by the State, and that not only against unbelieving Jews and idolatrous pagans, but against the various heretical and schismatical communities which, placing themselves in rivalry with the Church, called for the repeated interposition of authority in matters, not of discipline only, but of doctrine, and thereby furnished the opportunity for the further development of the connexion between Church and State, for which the edict of Milan, as a transition measure, had paved the way.

The growth and numerical importance of those communities was greatly promoted, and their natural tendency to place themselves in rivalry with the Church greatly aggravated, by the very circumstance which seemed, and in many other respects really was, so favourable to the progress of Christianity, namely, its recognition and adoption by the State as the only true religion. No sooner was the supreme ruler of the State impressed with the truth of Christianity, and, by consequence, with the wickedness of idolatry, than it became his duty to exert his power for the promotion of the former, and the extinction of the latter. Accordingly, taking for the pattern of their Ecclesiastical administration the example of the Kings of Judah, the Christian Emperors proceeded to enact various laws against paganism. Constantine closed the heathen temples, and prohibited their sacrifices<sup>9</sup>; and after a temporary revival under the apostate Julian and the

<sup>9</sup> Theodor. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 21; Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. x. Lex. 2; cf. Legg. 4—6.

latitudinarian Valens<sup>10</sup>, paganism received its death-blow by the severe enactments of Theodosius the Great<sup>11</sup>, though subsequent legislation attests its lingering existence for some time longer<sup>12</sup>. The merely nominal profession of Christianity by multitudes, who were driven from paganism into the Church by these measures, and the ambitious and worldly views to which the endowments, dignities, and privileges annexed to her offices by the liberality of the Emperors<sup>13</sup> gave rise, deteriorated the spiritual character of the Church, and afforded ample scope for the development, and the extensive spread, of the various heresies, the germ of which is traceable to the apostolic times<sup>14</sup>. Meanwhile, the Church having become a State establishment, the decisions on matters of doctrine, adopted for the defence and maintenance of "the faith once delivered to the Saints," involved, as a matter of necessity, the tenure of the endowments and dignities which the State had bestowed upon her; and upon this ground, as well as on account of the interest in the peace of the Church, and the truth of her doctrine, which the ruler of the State could not but feel, after the Church had become a State institution, and her faith, nominally at least, the faith of the great mass of the people, the State claimed a right of taking cognizance of the disputes by which the Church was agitated. Nor was this claim in

<sup>10</sup> Theodor. Hist. Eccl. l. c.

<sup>11</sup> Theodor. Hist. Eccl. l. c.; Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. x. Legg. 7—12.

<sup>12</sup> Cod. Theodos. l. c. Legg. 13—25.

<sup>13</sup> Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. l. iii. c. 17.

<sup>14</sup> Acts xx. 29, 30; 1 Cor. xi. 19.; 2 Pet. ii. 1; 1 John ii. 18, 19.

the first instance called in question on the part of the Church; on the contrary, the protection of the temporal power was invoked both by the different parties within the Church, and by the communities which separated from her on the assumption, common to all heresies and schisms, that they were the true Church.

It was thus in the course of the various conflicts naturally arising out of the great religious convulsions of the times, that the Supremacy of the temporal power over the Church was gradually established. An attentive consideration of the circumstances, under which this took place, and of the relative position of the spiritual and temporal powers at that important juncture, especially during the reign of Constantine, is therefore an important link in the historical part of the argument.

The first interposition of Constantine in the internal affairs of the Church, which took place in the very same year in which the edict of Milan was published, originated in an appeal made to the Emperor by the Donatists against Cæcilian, bishop of Carthage<sup>15</sup>. The

<sup>15</sup> The whole of the circumstances connected with this appeal are repeatedly detailed, and various documents relating to it are quoted, by St. Augustine in his different writings against the Donatists; see especially:—*Breviculus collationis cum Donatistis*; *Ad Donatistas post collationem*; *Contra litteras Petiliani Donatistæ*; and *Epistolæ xliiii., liii., lxxxviii., xciii., cv.*, edit. Benedict. Compare also *Excerpta et Scripta Vetera ad Donatistarum historiam pertinentia*, in the Appendix to the ix<sup>th</sup> vol. of the Benedict. ed. of St. Augustine; *Optatus Milevit. de schism. Donat. l. i.*; *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. x. c. 5—7*; and the account of the councils held at Rome and at Arles in the matter of Cæcilianus, in *Labb. Concil. t. i. pp. 1425—32*; and pp. 1445—86.

points connected with this appeal, which concern the present inquiry, are the following :

1. That the Emperor Constantine claimed jurisdiction in causes and over persons ecclesiastical, and that on the express ground of his responsibility to God. "I think it most unmeet," he says in one of his missives for the convocation of the council of Arles, "that such contentions and divisions should be kept from me, which may perchance move the Most High God upon such provocation to visit with punishment, not only human kind, but myself also, to whose charge, by His heavenly decree, the government of all things upon earth is committed. For I cannot feel true and perfect security, nor hope to obtain blessing and prosperity by the ever-ready goodness of Almighty God, except I know that all are worshipping the most holy God in brotherly concord, with the due worship of the Catholic religion <sup>16</sup>."

2. That in the exercise of this jurisdiction, Constantine felt himself bound to be guided by the advice and decision of the bishops of the Church in Synod assembled; but that he reserved to himself the right of selecting for the hearing of any cause such bishops as he thought fit; that he issued to them his orders for the holding of the synod, in the place and at the time appointed by himself; that he made provision for their conveyance to the place of meeting, and for their maintenance during the time of their attendance; and that

<sup>16</sup> See the letter of Constantine to the Vicarius Africae, in August. Opp. ed. Bened. t. ix. App. p. 21; Labb. Concil. t. i. p. 1445.

he required them to report to him the result of their proceedings.

3. That although Constantine was unwilling to come to a decision in an ecclesiastical cause without the synodal advice of bishops,—an unwillingness which he proved by appointing a larger council, composed of other bishops, to be holden at Arles, for the revision of the cause, when the Donatists appealed to him against the decision of the first council convened at Rome in this matter,—yet nevertheless, on a second appeal of the Donatists to him from the decision of the council at Arles, he did himself revise the whole case, summoning the parties to appear before him, and gave his decision; thus exercising a supreme jurisdiction in causes ecclesiastical, superior to the bishops and their synods<sup>17</sup>.

4. That although Constantine assumed the power of ordering the bishops to meet synodically, of determining of what bishops the council should be composed, and of appointing the subjects on which it was to decide, this exercise of his authority did not deprive the bishops of the independent synodical power which they had always possessed. This point is made apparent in the affair of Cæcilianus by the fact, that the council of Arles, although called by Constantine solely for the purpose of revising the judgment of the Roman

<sup>17</sup> From the statement of Augustine, it would appear that Constantine himself considered this as an encroachment upon the episcopal jurisdiction. "*Eis cessit, ut de illa causa post Episcopos judicaret, a sanctis antistitibus postea veniam petiturus.*"—August. Ep. xliii. Be this as it may, the conduct of Constantine at a subsequent period shows, that he learned by degrees to be less scrupulous.

council in the cause of the Donatists, did nevertheless deliberate, and enact Canons, upon a variety of other subjects connected with the order of the Church.

5. That Constantine was not content with having the solemn judgment of two synods recorded against the Donatists, and with confirming that judgment after a personal hearing of the case, but that he proceeded penally against the Donatists, by the confiscation of their churches. The ground on which he did so, is distinctly assigned by St. Augustine; the punishment was directed against the act of schism, which, as a breach of the unity of the Church<sup>18</sup>, the emperor, who considered himself the guardian of the Church, and of her internal peace, felt it incumbent on him to restrain by civil pains and penalties.

Thus it appears, that notwithstanding the principle of religious neutrality professed in the edict of Milan, the essential features of the Supremacy of the temporal power over the Church were *de facto* established, by the spontaneous action of the former, and the acquiescence and co-operation of the latter, within a few years<sup>19</sup> of the public recognition of Christianity by the

<sup>18</sup> *Ille Imperator, says St. Augustine, primus constituit in hac causa, ut res convictorum, et UNITATI PERVICACITER RESISTENTIUM, fisco vindicarentur.*—August. Ep. xciii. In the same way, in the epistle in which he directs the Bishop of Rome to hold the council there, Constantine himself says: Μηδὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιμέλειαν λανθάνει, τοσαύτην με αἰδῶ τῇ ἐνθέσμῳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπονέμειν, ὡς μηδὲν καθόλου σχίσμα ἢ διχοστασίαν ἐν τινι τόπῳ βούλεσθαι με ὑμᾶς καταλιπεῖν.—Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. x. c. 5.

<sup>19</sup> The Edict of Milan was published in the year 313; the council of Rome, in the Donatist cause, was held in the same year; that of Arles in the year 314; and the final verdict of the emperor was given within a year or two after.

sovereign power of the Roman empire; a fact which is the more surprising when it is considered, that the sovereign power was divided between two chief magistrates, one of whom was as hostile to Christianity as the other was favourable to it; that the one who favoured Christianity and assumed the Supremacy over the Church, was only a catechumen, and therefore not, properly speaking, a member of the Church; and that the constitutional powers of the State were, and for a long time continued to be, composed of a majority, at least, of persons addicted to the system of paganism.

In reality, the Christian Church had become an *imperium in imperio*; Constantine was at the head of both these *imperia*, employing the wealth and power which the larger empire placed at his disposal, to the promotion of the interests of the smaller empire within it; ruling over the former by right of conquest, and over the latter on the ground of identity of religious conviction.

In the sequel of Constantine's reign, and especially after the defeat and death of his pagan colleague in the administration of the empire, the principles which had been elicited in the first instance by the appeal of the Donatists, received further confirmation and development; the Supremacy strengthened its stakes, and enlarged its borders; and the reign of the first Christian sovereign did not pass off without leaving facts on record, strikingly illustrative of the dangers which attend the connexion of the Church with the State, and of the extreme nicety with which the

questions arising out of that connexion require to be adjusted.

Theoretically, indeed, the distinction between the temporal rule over the Church, which belonged to the emperor as a Christian sovereign, and the spiritual rule inalienably vested in the episcopate, was made and maintained. Without urging the observation of Constantine on this subject, reported by Eusebius, to which it has been attempted to attribute a different meaning<sup>20</sup>, there is abundant proof of it in the measures adopted, and the expressions used, by Constantine in the exercise of his Supremacy. Thus, in the circular which he issued to all the churches of the empire, for the promulgation of the decrees of the Council of Nicæa, he says, that "he considered it ought to be his chief aim to see all the blessed multitudes of the Catholic Church united in the maintenance of one faith, of love unfeigned, and of one uniform worship of Almighty God;" evidently assuming the care for this unity of doctrine and discipline to be within the province of the temporal power; but, at the same time, he adds, that "it was impossible to arrive at a firm and permanent settle-

<sup>20</sup> "I too," Constantine is reported to have said, addressing the bishops, "am a bishop; but you are set by God as bishops over the internal affairs of the Church, I over her external affairs."—Euseb. de Vit. Constant. l. iv. c. 24. The impugnors of the ecclesiastical Supremacy of the temporal power render the words, *τῶν εἰσω τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, "them that are within the Church," i. e. orthodox Christians; and, *τῶν ἐκτός*, "them that are without," i. e. pagans and heretics; an explanation which is manifestly forced, and does not accord with the position which Constantine practically assumed. Compare Euseb. de Vita Constant. l. i. c. 44.



ment of these matters, without having an assembly of all, or at least the greater part, of the bishops, for the discussion of the several points connected with our most holy religion;" and thereby acknowledges the authority of the Church, synodically represented by her bishops, in matters not only of faith but discipline, both of which, as is well known, came under consideration at the Nicene Council<sup>21</sup>. And in his epistle to the Alexandrian Church respecting the condemnation of the Arian heresy, he attributes the convocation of the council to a suggestion from God<sup>22</sup>, claiming for himself a Divine direction in his government of the Church; while, on the other hand, he distinctly recognises the decision of the assembled bishops as God's own verdict; "that which was determined by the three hundred bishops, is nothing else than the mind of God, especially since the Holy Ghost, indwelling in the minds of such and so great men, manifested the Divine will<sup>23</sup>."

The respectful tone in which Constantine expressed himself towards the bishops of the Church in the earlier part of his reign, was not always maintained. Soured by the frequency and violence of the ecclesiastical disputes, which disturbed his dream of universal pacification, he assumed in later years occasionally a tone of considerable asperity. A remarkable instance

<sup>21</sup> Euseb. de Vita Constant. l. iii. c. 17—20; Socrat. Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 9.

<sup>22</sup> Ὑπομνήσει Θεοῦ συνεκάλεσα εἰς τὴν Νικαίῶν πόλιν τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Ἐπισκόπων.—Socrat. Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 9.

<sup>23</sup> Socrat. l. c.

of this is on record in his epistle for the convocation of the Council of Tyre, which was, in fact, nothing more than a packed jury of bishops for the condemnation of Athanasius. "If any one," he says, in evident allusion to the Patriarch of Alexandria, who might well decline to place his character at the mercy of a synod convened at the suggestion of the Arian party, and composed in its interest, "should still attempt to set at nought our command, and refuse to attend, I will send from hence a commissioner, who shall by imperial mandate expel him; and so teach him, that the decrees of the sovereign, issued in the interest of the truth, are not to be resisted<sup>24</sup>."

The indignity and injustice of thus compelling the Patriarch of Alexandria by menaces, to plead his cause out of his own patriarchate before an assembly of bishops to whose competency he had good reason to object, was, however, not the only encroachment upon the just rights of the Church, connected with the convocation of the Council of Tyre. The right which the emperor assumed to select what bishops he chose for constituting the council, at once destroyed all the guarantees, both for the maintenance of the orthodox faith, and for the protection of private character, which the original system of synodical Church government afforded<sup>25</sup>. The epistle itself contains

<sup>24</sup> Euseb. de Vita Constant. l. iv. c. 42.

<sup>25</sup> It should, however, be remembered, that this right had been before assumed and exercised by the emperor, in the matter of the appeal against Cæcilian; see above, p. 27. The difference lay in this, that in that case the selection was a fair one, acquiesced in by

evidence that the selection was made at the suggestion of those with whom the whole proceeding originated; that is, of the declared and relentless enemies of Athanasius; and so grievous and manifest was the injustice, that the imperial commissioner who presided over the council, himself was induced, by the remonstrance of the suffragans of Athanasius, who attended without being summoned, and of Alexander, the Bishop of Thessalonica, to suggest a different composition of the synod<sup>26</sup>.

The appointment of this officer, a layman selected by the emperor, for the purpose of presiding over the council, and regulating its proceedings, was another encroachment upon the freedom of the Church's internal government. The terms in which the emperor announced this appointment, were not very complimentary to the bishops convoked to Tyre; he was "to superintend all that was done" at the synod, and "especially to see that good order was maintained";<sup>27</sup> and if the synod had consisted of independent bishops, representing the true mind of the Church, it would scarcely have submitted to so offensive an innovation. But the bishops of the Arian or Eusebian faction, who had obtained the very convocation of the synod by court intrigues, were not in a situation to find fault with an imperial mandate; and accordingly the task

both parties; whereas, in the latter case, the manifest unfairness of the selection provoked the remonstrance of the injured party, and caused the right of the emperor to select the bishops, to be called in question.

<sup>26</sup> Athanas. Apol. c. Arian. c. 77—81.

<sup>27</sup> Euseb. de Vita Constant. l. iv. c. 42.

of protesting against this violation of the constitution of ecclesiastical synods devolved upon Athanasius<sup>28</sup>, whose vindication of the immunities of the Church was afterwards supported by the solemn verdict of the synod of Alexandria; the whole proceedings of the Council of Tyre being quashed, for this reason among others, that its proceedings were conducted and controlled by the officers of the civil power. "How dare they," exclaims the synodical letter of the Alexandrian council in a tone of indignation, "call that a synod, over which the *Comes* (the imperial commissioner) presided, at which the *Speculator* (the commissioner's messenger) attended, and instead of the deacons, the *Commentariensis* (the commissioner's secretary) introduced us into the Church<sup>29</sup>!" A passage which clearly proves, that in those days the Church claimed, and under ordinary circumstances was permitted to exercise, her own independent jurisdiction by synods presided over by the proper ecclesiastical authorities, and waited upon by their own ecclesiastical officers. But although the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the synods, which were at the same time Church courts, was maintained, and recognized by the emperor in its distinct character<sup>30</sup>, the independence

<sup>28</sup> Athanas. Apol. c. Arian. 9.

<sup>29</sup> Athanas. *ibid* c. 8.

<sup>30</sup> Constantine himself distinguished between the ecclesiastical and the civil jurisdiction, threatening, after Athanasius had succeeded in establishing his innocence, to subject his false accusers to the operation of the latter instead of the former: Μηκέτι λοιπόν κατὰ τοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς δημοσίους νόμους, αὐτόν με δι' ἑμαντοῦ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀκροασόμενον. — Athanas. Apol. c. Arian. c. 68.

of those tribunals was materially impaired by the assumption of supremacy over the Church on the part of the temporal power. And that not only by the right of regulating their action, which the emperor assumed, but by the appeals which he allowed to be made to himself, from the decisions of the ecclesiastical tribunals; appeals resembling the appeals to the Privy Council from our Ecclesiastical Courts, and the *appels comme d'abus* to the *Conseil d'état* in France. In the case of Cæcilian, it has already been noticed, that two such appeals were lodged; one from the decision of the Council of Rome, the other from that of the Council of Arles; and that the emperor, having in the first instance ordered the case to be reheard before another synod, did, on the second appeal, himself undertake its final adjudication. In the course of the proceedings which arose out of the animosities of the Arian faction against Athanasius, such appeals were repeatedly made by both parties; and the emperor was thus, by common consent, invested with the character of supreme judge in causes ecclesiastical. The abject manner in which Athanasius was forced to solicit the emperor's protection against the oppressive proceedings of the Council of Tyre, and the strange justice which Constantine dealt, banishing Athanasius from his See, while he quashed the proceedings of those whom he himself had appointed as his judges<sup>31</sup>, afford a melancholy illustration of the mischievous tendency of an uncontrolled interference of the tem-

<sup>31</sup> Athanas. Apol. c. Arianos, c. 9, 86, 87.

poral power with the affairs of the Church ; an interference the more pernicious in this case, because, although in point of form the question turned upon the guilt or innocence of Athanasius respecting certain crimes laid to his charge, substantially the struggle was for one of the most vital verities of the Christian religion : whether the asserters or the deniers of the divinity of Christ should have the ascendancy in the Church, and lay down her rule of faith, was the real point at issue. A still more direct aggression upon the authority of the Church to decide controversies of faith, was the right which Constantine assumed to grant certificates of orthodoxy to the leaders of the Arian party, upon personal examination of their doctrines<sup>32</sup>, and the demand which he made upon Athanasius for the restoration of the Arians to the communion of the Church, threatening him with deposition from the patriarchate in case of refusal<sup>33</sup>; the emperor thus superseding, by his own personal judgment and will, the sentence of an œcumenical synod, and the spiritual jurisdiction of the episcopate. So dearly was the Church made to pay for the protection which, for a time, Constantine gave to the cause of orthodoxy ; and so soon did the measures of persecution, which after the Council of Nicæa the emperor adopted against the heretics condemned by its decrees, recoil upon the Church herself ; mea-

<sup>32</sup> Athanas. ad Episc. Æg. et Lib. c. 18 ; ad Serapion, c. 2 ; Apol. c. Arianos, c. 84 ; Euseb. Cæs. Ep. ap. Athanas. de Decr. Nic. ad fin.

<sup>33</sup> Athanas. Apol. c. Arianos, c. 59.

asures which were not confined to the execution of the canonical sentence of deposition of the heretics from their offices by the arm of the civil power, but included the banishment of their persons, and the burning of their books, the very possession of these being made a capital offence<sup>34</sup>.

On a review of all these circumstances, it appears without doubt, that although the power of the episcopate to convene ecclesiastical synods was not taken away by any direct enactment, although the episcopal rule and jurisdiction over the Church was allowed in ordinary cases to pursue its course unmolested, yet a supreme right of intervention and decision was claimed and exercised by the temporal power under Constantine, and that in matters affecting the faith, as well as in mere matters of discipline; a right which, in the absence of all guarantee against an arbitrary and tyrannical exercise of it on the part of the emperor, was of a most dangerous character, and rendered the maintenance of the true faith, and the preservation of real Church discipline, extremely precarious, both being dependent on the personal views, and even the caprices, of the monarch, and on the direction which the uncertain tide of court favour might at any time take for or against evangelic truth and apostolic order.

With a view fully to appreciate the deep injury which the Church thus received by the first interference of the temporal power with her affairs, it must

<sup>34</sup> See the second Epistle of Constantine in Socrat. Hist. Eccles. l. i. c. 9; Theodor. Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 20.

not be overlooked, that in addition to all the casualties of adverse influence to which the Church was exposed, a settled principle, naturally inherent in the temporal power, and essentially hostile to the best interests of the Church, was brought into play from the very first rise of the supremacy; the principle, namely, of compromising the truth for the sake of external peace. It is in the very nature of things, indeed, that a temporal governor should desire to avoid and to suppress what may prove the occasion of strife and dissension among those over whom he is set to rule: to maintain peace and quietness among mankind, is to a right-minded ruler justly the highest object of his ambition. But Christianity, although essentially a religion of peace, never seeks, never admits peace, except on the foundation of truth; and whenever that truth is denied or called in question, it is the nature of Christianity, not to make men to be at peace, but on the contrary to set them at variance with each other<sup>35</sup>. This being the case, it cannot but happen that the principle of the temporal power, which tends to secure peace, above all, and at any cost, must frequently come into direct conflict with the principle of the Church, which will hear of no peace at the expense of truth; and as, moreover, it is but natural, that those who are chiefly conversant with the affairs of this world, should often

<sup>35</sup> "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; and a man's foes shall be they of his own household."—Matt. x. 34—36.



have but a very imperfect apprehension of the vital importance of certain propositions of truth, the probability is, that unflinching perseverance in the defence of the true faith on the part of the Church, will often appear to those who wield the temporal power, in the light of an obstinate spirit of contention for mere words and empty abstractions; and that, consequently, the temporal power will look with disfavour on those who stand forth as faithful champions of the truth. So it came to pass in the days of Constantine. From the first cognizance which he took of the dispute between Alexander the patriarch of Alexandria, and his heretical presbyter Arius, to the measures into which he was betrayed against Athanasius, and of which he appears afterwards to have repented<sup>36</sup>,—in fact throughout the whole course of his dealings with the Church in the exercise of his supremacy,—it is clearly apparent that the emperor was far more concerned for the restoration of outward peace, than for the maintenance of the truth against the aggressions of heresy; and that his personal opinions, and his disposition and conduct towards the different parties engaged in the controversy, was greatly influenced by the annoyance which he felt at any renewal of hostilities occasioned by the uncompromising assertion of the truth on the part of the orthodox portion of the Church<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>36</sup> See the letter of his son in Athanas. Apolog. c. Arianos, c. 87.

<sup>37</sup> See the letter of Constantine to Alexander and Arius, in Euseb. de Vita Constant., l. ii. c. 64—72; and his letter to the synod at Tyre, *ibid.* l. iv. c. 42.

After this critical examination of the nature, extent, and character of that supremacy which followed as a natural consequence upon the first adoption of Christianity by the temporal power, it will be unnecessary to pursue the details of its gradual consolidation and extension. The Church grew sensible of the danger which threatened her independence, and occasionally asserted the dignity of her heavenly mission against the rude dictates of earthly dominion; an aged saint like Hosius might venture to protest against the intrusion of temporal rule into spiritual affairs<sup>38</sup>; a bold saint like Ambrose might set an imperial mandate at defiance<sup>39</sup>, and even dare to repel from the sanctuary the blood-stained hand of the autocrat of the world<sup>40</sup>; for a time the power of legislating for the Church, and of administering her discipline, continued in the hands of the synods; diocesan and provincial synods at least

<sup>38</sup> See the spirited remonstrance by which Hosius replied to the repeated solicitations and menaces of Constantius, who wished to engage him on the side of the Arians: "Desist, I pray thee, and remember that thou art a mortal man. Fear the day of judgment, and against it keep thyself pure. Intrude not thyself into Church matters, (*μὴ τίθει σεαυτὸν εἰς τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά,*) nor do thou give us commands concerning them; but rather learn thou those matters of us. To thee God has committed the empire, to us He has entrusted the Churches; and as he who encroaches upon thy power, resisteth God's ordinance, even so beware thou, lest arrogating to thyself those things which belong to the Church, (*τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἔλκων,*) thou also become obnoxious to a heavy charge. 'Render,' it is written, 'unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's.' Neither, therefore, is it lawful for us to rule upon earth, nor hast thou, O emperor, authority over the offering of incense."—Athan. Hist. Arian. ad Mon. c. 44.

<sup>39</sup> Sozomen. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 13.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. c. 25.

were convened by the sole authority of the ecclesiastical rulers<sup>41</sup>; the appointment of the bishops, too, remained in the hands of the clergy, not unfrequently influenced by the will of the laity, spontaneously, and at times tumultuously, expressed<sup>42</sup>. But in spite of all this, the preponderance of the temporal power in the administration of the Church advanced steadily; the episcopate became more and more subject to the absolute dictation of the imperial will, or the imperial caprice, the effects of which were often severely felt by the more exalted prelates, especially those of the imperial residence, whose appointment was not unfrequently determined by court influence<sup>43</sup>: the ordinary synods, convened at regular periods, received the formal recognition of the law, and their action was thus incorporated with the civil constitution, while extraordinary synods and general councils were convoked by the emperors<sup>44</sup>, their proceedings conducted under

<sup>41</sup> See Labbæi *Concilia passim*; comp. Concil. Antioch. can. xx. Labb. t. ii. p. 593; Concil. Carthag. iii. can. ii. Labb. t. ii. p. 1399.

<sup>42</sup> See, for instance, the elections of Ambrose, Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 30; of Nectarius, *ibid.* l. v. c. 8; of Chrysostom, *ibid.* l. vi. c. 2; of Sisinnius, *ibid.* l. vii. c. 26; compare Concil. Laodic. can. xii. et xiii.; Labb. t. i. p. 1533; Concil. Antioch. can. xvi. xix. xxiii.; Labb. t. ii. pp. 592—596.

<sup>43</sup> See, for instance, Socrat. Hist. Eccles. l. ii. c. 7, 26, 37; l. vii. c. 29, 40; Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. l. vii. c. 8.

<sup>44</sup> The second œcumenical Council, held at Constantinople, A.D. 381, was called by the Emperor Theodosius the Great; Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 8; Epist. Synod. ad Theodos. Aug. ap. Labb. t. ii. p. 1123;—the third œcumenical Council, at Ephesus, A.D. 431, by the Emperors Theodosius the younger and Valentinian; Socrat. Hist. Eccl. l. vii. c. 34; *Sacræ Imperatoris ad Cyrill. Alexandr. et ad*

imperial superintendence and control<sup>45</sup>, and their decrees submitted to the emperor for his ratification<sup>46</sup>;

*Episcopus metropolitanus provinciarum* ap. Labb. t. iii. pp. 980—985; *Epist. Synod. ad Theodos. et Valentin.* Aug. ap. Labb. t. iii. p. 1097;—the fourth œcumenical Council, at Chalcedon, A.D. 451, by the Emperor Marcian; see the imperial mandates, Labb. t. iv. pp. 837—840; 844—848; and the acts of the Council generally;—the fifth œcumenical Council, at Constantinople, A.D. 553, by Justinian; see his mandate addressed to the Synod, Labb. t. vi. 20—26;—and the sixth and last œcumenical Synod, also at Constantinople, A.D. 680, by Constantinus Pogonatus; see the letters of convocation to the patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople, Labb. tom. vii. pp. 613—622. For other instances of Synods convoked by imperial mandate, and regulated by imperial control, see Labbæus *passim*.

<sup>45</sup> The Council of Ephesus was attended for this purpose by an imperial commissioner; Labb. Concil. t. iii. p. 989; and pp. 1277—1281.—The proceedings of the council at Chalcedon were regulated by a commission of lay moderators, appointed by the emperor, and composed of officers of state and other men of senatorial rank, whose names are given in the acts of the council, Labb. t. iv. pp. 849, 1193, 1356, 1444, &c. &c.; at one of the sessions the emperor himself presided; *ibid.* p. 1470.—And at the third council of Constantinople the emperor directed the proceedings in person during the first eleven sessions, and again in the concluding session; Labb. t. vii. pp. 628, 636, 641, 649, 737, 741, 748, 753, 800, 809, 877, 1048; being attended throughout by a staff of his principal officers of state, from whom he afterwards appointed a commission of moderators for the conduct of the less important business of the council during the intermediate sessions; *ibid.* pp. 940, 941, 973, 1005, 1025, 1036, 1045.

<sup>46</sup> See the Synodal Epistle of the Constantinopolitan Synod to Theodosius, Labb. tom. ii. p. 1123;—the Synodal Epistles of the Synod of Ephesus to Theodosius and Valentinian, Labb. tom. iii. pp. 1101, 1188; the imperial rescript, *ibid.* p. 1320; and the imperial decree against Nestorius, *ibid.* p. 1729;—the imperial session of the council of Chalcedon, in which the emperor in person gave his sanction to the determinations of faith adopted by the synod; Labb. tom. iv. p. 1461—1514; and the edicts confirming the acts of the council, *ibid.* pp. 1781—1785;—lastly, the whole proceedings of the third council of Constantinople, in which the emperor took a personal part, (see the

lastly, the legislative power, which of right appertained to the Church as represented in her synods, was largely usurped by the emperors, who in ecclesiastical as well as in civil matters promulgated their decrees in all that plenitude of authority which they were accustomed to exercise, as absolute rulers both in Church and State<sup>47</sup>.

This subjugation of the Church under the temporal sway of the emperors, produced opposite effects in the two great divisions of the Christian world. In the East, where the power of the emperors continued for a much longer period, the Church sank down into a state of the most abject servility, from which not even the change from believing to infidel masters could arouse her, and which is equally exemplified in her degradation under Mahometan rule, and in her acephalous existence as a passive tool in the hands of the great Slavonian despot. In the West, on the contrary, where the imperial power soon fell into decay, and after a short struggle vanished altogether, the sway which it had exercised, paved the way for the hierarchical pretensions of Rome. The influence of the inferior clergy and of the laity had been gradually annihilated by the

preceding note,) and affixed his signature to its decrees by way of ratification, Labb. t. vii. p. 1080; and generally the acts of the xviii<sup>th</sup> session, p. 1048, seq.

<sup>47</sup> See Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. tit. xi. De Relig.; Extrav. de Episc. Judic.; Legg. Novell. l. i. tit. xxiv; l. ii. tit. xx.; l. iv. tit. ii.; Cod. Justin. lib. i. tit. 1—8; Novell. Const. iii. v. vi. xvi. lviii. lxxvii. lxxix. lxxxiii. cxxiii. cxxx. cxxxiii. cxxxvii. By the Novell. Const. cxxxi. c. 1, the canons of the first four œcumenical Councils are made the law of the empire.

excessive domination of the temporal power; when that power itself died out, the bishops of the Church remained the natural leaders of the social system, and among them the Roman bishop assumed all the importance which belonged not only to his ancient patriarchal pre-eminence, but to his position as chief dignitary (which in process of time and during the disorders of the barbarian invasions he had become) of the chief city of the western part of the world. The temporal supremacy of the Pope over Christian princes rose upon the ruins of the imperial power, of which it was in fact the continuation. The barbarian conquerors had no other power than that of the sword at their disposal; and in the organization of their new states and kingdoms they were obliged, notwithstanding their physical superiority, to receive the law at the hands of the ecclesiastic hierarchy, which found it expedient, for the maintenance of its ascendancy, to rally round the common centre of the Roman patriarchate.

But as the encroachments of the imperial power upon the just liberties and inalienable rights of the Church had prepared the way for the Papal supremacy to be erected upon its ruins, so the intolerable abuse made of the latter caused after a time a reaction, by which the spiritual power not only lost its usurped supremacy, but the autonomy of the Church was altogether swept away, in a large portion of western Christendom. The episcopate itself became extinct, and the episcopal powers were assumed by the civil magistrates, under whose auspices the resistance against the usurped power of Rome had been organized. The

effect of this could be no other than to deprive the Church of her essentially ecclesiastical character, and to reduce her to the level of a mere state establishment. It is truly curious to see, how at this present moment the inconveniencies necessarily resulting from such a state of things are becoming apparent: while in the land where Calvinism was cradled, the most reckless persecution is set on foot against the clergy of the national Church by a demi-infidel democracy which has grasped the supreme political power, and with it the pseudo-episcopate annexed to it<sup>48</sup>, the land of Lutheranism exhibits the singular spectacle of an enlightened and well-intentioned monarch labouring, with indifferent success, to restore to the Church a power, the possession of which becomes to him a daily greater source of embarrassment<sup>49</sup>.

Such have been the consequences in the Christian world at large of the want of clear and definite prin-

<sup>48</sup> See the account of the recent occurrences in the Canton de Vaud, in the *English Review*, vol. iv. pp. 512—522: vol. v. pp. 513—518. Compare also the extraordinary appointment of an avowed Pantheist to a chair of theology, by the radical government of Berne; *English Review*, vol. vii. pp. 500—506.

<sup>49</sup> See the steps taken by the King of Prussia for the reorganization of the Evangelic Church, by the convocation of a general synod of deputies from all the Protestant Churches in his kingdom; (*English Review*, vol. vi. p. 203—212;) and especially the terms in which the king speaks of the supremacy vested in his crown: "That ecclesiastical supremacy," he says, "which I have not assumed, but which has been transmitted to me by my ancestors, on whom it devolved in consequence of the Reformation, and which, as I have more than once declared, *I am determined to use in such wise, that the Evangelic Church may by her own inherent life rise to a state of independence, and of long-lost unity.*"—*English Review*, vol. vi. p. 208, note.

principles for the regulation and limitation of the control which the temporal power, when converted to the Christian faith, naturally and rightfully exercises over the affairs of the Church; first, encroachment of the temporal power upon the spiritual; next, usurpation of the supreme temporal power by the spiritual; and, lastly, a conflict between the two, by which for the last three centuries Europe has been, and still is, convulsed; the spiritual power labouring in some countries to maintain and to consolidate its usurpation, while in other countries the spiritual power has been swamped altogether, and become an inefficient and embarrassing appendage to the temporal government.



## CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF THE SUPREMACY OVER THE ENGLISH  
CHURCH, FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ACT OF  
SUBMISSION.

THE history of the Supremacy in this country presents a remarkable and striking contrast to the history of its rise and progress in the world at large; a contrast which deserves to be noted more particularly at a time when the connexion between Church and State is deprecated, not only by the enemies of the Church, but by many of her members. To those who look for the severance of that connexion as for a great social improvement to be achieved, it may be far from useless to be reminded, that that connexion is coeval both with the Christianity and with the civilization of this land; that the proposed separation would strike at the root of a principle which, through all the changes through which this country has passed, both by foreign invasion and by internal commotions, has ever been a fundamental principle of our social life; that no experiment can be conceived more directly opposed to the whole of our past history, no experiment, therefore, if there be any continuity in the life of nations as well as of individuals, more hazardous to the national welfare. And those who are, through faithful attachment to the

Church, no less than through loyalty to their Sovereign, opposed to the idea of such a separation, who desire to preserve a connexion which sets upon the national life of England the stamp of religion, may derive no small encouragement from the thought, that the principle for the maintenance of which they are concerned, is a principle which has already withstood the shock of ages and the storms of many changes; that, looking at the providential dealings of God with this land and nation from the earliest ages, they may confidently inscribe on their banner the motto: "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder."

The accounts transmitted to us of the introduction of the Gospel into Britain, lose themselves among the uncertain legends of the remotest antiquity; it is, however, quite certain that Christianity had found entrance, both among the conquered and among the free tribes, before the close of the second century<sup>50</sup>; nor is there any reason to doubt the truth of the ancient tradition, according to which Britain was the first country of all, in which a national profession of Christianity was made<sup>51</sup>. Of the relation in which, during the British times, the temporal and the spiritual powers stood to each other, no direct evidence exists in the scanty records of those times. The civil constitution of the British tribes, though monarchical in name, seems in reality to have been in a great measure democratic; and on it the municipal organization of the Roman law was engrafted in those districts which were for a

<sup>50</sup> Tertull. adv. Jud. c. vii.

<sup>51</sup> Usser. Brit. Eccles. Antiq. c. iii. p. 40.

time subject to the Roman empire. Under these circumstances the royal power could not but be extremely limited, both in the State and in the Church; and as the Christian hierarchy in all probability succeeded to the powerful influence which the Druids had exercised over the national affairs of the Britons, the ascendancy which the spiritual power, wielded by the bishops of the Church, appears to have possessed, is easily accounted for. The few transactions which are recorded, seem to indicate that the episcopate habitually intermeddled with the civil government of the kingdom, and that temporal interests were discussed and decided in the assemblies of the Church; that in fact, the political assemblies of the nation and the synodal assemblies of the Church were confounded together. Among the objects for which councils were convened, the histories mention the settlement of the succession to the throne, the coronation of kings, and at other times the infliction or removal of penances for deeds of violence committed by the contending chiefs, in the vindication of their own, or the usurpation of each other's rights<sup>42</sup>. On the other hand, it appears that synods convened for the settlement of purely ecclesiastical questions, and even for the decision of controversies of faith, partook of the character of popular assemblies, and that the maintenance of orthodoxy depended not so much upon the opinion and the votes of the bishops of the Church, as upon the

<sup>42</sup> Matth. Westmon. Ao. 465; Labb. Concil. tom. v. p. 695; Spelman Concil. t. i. p. 61; Labb. t. vi. pp. 507—510; Spelman, t. i. pp. 62—64.

impression which the arguments and the eloquence of the champions of the true faith produced upon the minds of the assembled multitude<sup>53</sup>. There are traces of the exercise of a royal supremacy in the convocation of synods<sup>54</sup> and in the appointment of bishops<sup>55</sup>; but it is evident, also, that the bishops possessed an independent power of convoking synods, and that they exercised it not unfrequently for the purpose of proceeding by ecclesiastical censures against the king himself, and other chief men of the land<sup>56</sup>.

Meagre as this information is, and wholly insufficient to determine, with any degree of accuracy, the respective limits of the temporal and the spiritual power, it is nevertheless sufficient to establish the fact,

<sup>53</sup> See the proceedings of the Council at Verulam, at which Germanus and Lupus attended by invitation from the orthodox party in Britain, for the purpose of confuting the Pelagian heresy. The victory of truth over error is attributed to the ability and the eloquence of the two prelates from Gaul: the assembly was attended by an immense multitude of men, with their wives and children; and in the expressive language of the historian, "*populus arbiter vix manus continet, iudicium tamen clamore testatur.*"—Beda Hist. Eccl. l. i. c. 17; cf. c. 21.

<sup>54</sup> Mention is made of a council called by Aurelius Ambrosius, at Stonehenge, date uncertain; see Spelman Concil. t. i. pp. 60, 61.

<sup>55</sup> The bishops, it appears, did homage to Arthur on his accession; and the king's uncle was appointed to the metropolitan see, which took its name from him, his predecessor Dubritius having resigned.—Labb. Concil. t. v. p. 695; Spelman Concil. t. i. p. 61.

<sup>56</sup> Maurice, king of Glamorgan, and subsequently Guidnarth, a British prince, were excommunicated by synods called for this purpose by the Bishop of Llandaff.—See Labb. Concil. t. vi. pp. 507—510; Spelman Concil. t. i. pp. 62—64: compare also the accounts of the later synods in Wales, Labb. Concil. t. xi. pp. 564—568. 861. 981. 1279. t. xii. p. 11; Spelman, t. i. pp. 381—386. 429. 502, 503. 570. 625, 626.

that the primitive British Church was a national establishment, that the royal power, and the voice of the laity generally, exercised considerable influence over it, while, at the same time, it preserved the distinctive attributes inherent in the Church by virtue of her divine commission. For a short period this state of things was interrupted in those parts of the island in which the Saxon invaders effected their settlements; the holders of the temporal power being pagans, the fury of persecution was let loose upon the Church. After a time, however, the labours of the Roman missionaries in the south and east, and those of the British and Irish missionaries in the north and west of England, converted the new population to the faith of the original inhabitants; and as the efforts of the missionaries were directed in the first instance upon the kings and chiefs, the Anglo-Saxon Church also assumed, from the very beginning, the character of a national Church and a state-establishment. King Ethelbert of Kent, to whom Gregory the Great himself wrote on the occasion of his conversion, to bespeak his royal good offices in support of Augustine's mission<sup>57</sup>, and who interested himself in the abortive attempt made by Augustine to obtain the submission of the British bishops to his metropolitan jurisdiction<sup>58</sup>, convened, was personally pre-

<sup>57</sup> *Tota mente cum eo vos in fervore fidei stringite, atque adnissum illius virtute quam vobis Divinitas tribuit adjuvate; ut regni sui vos ipse faciat esse participes, CUJUS VOS FIDEM IN REGNO VESTRO RECIPITIS ET FACITIS CUSTODIRI.*—Gregor. M. Ep. l. ix. Ep. 60.

<sup>58</sup> *ADJUTORIO USUS ÆDILBERTI REGIS convocavit ad suum colloquium episcopos sive doctores proximæ Brittonum provinciæ.*—Beda Hist. Eccl. l. ii. c. 2.

sent at, and in all probability presided over, a mixed synod of clergy and laity, held at Canterbury in 605, in which the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul near Canterbury was endowed, and the abbot appointed by the king<sup>59</sup>. In the synod of Whitby, convened A.D. 664, for the settlement of the Easter controversy, Oswy king of Northumberland presided, and after hearing the bishops on both sides of the question, pronounced in favour of the Roman custom, by virtue of his royal authority, without putting the matter to the vote<sup>60</sup>. Of the councils, the record of whose proceedings has been preserved, there are not many, and those for the most part unimportant, which were convened and directed by the sole authority of the ecclesiastical power; by far the largest number of them were convened by royal authority, and in most instances the king was present in person, and directed the proceedings<sup>61</sup>. The two most important synods, of an exclu-

<sup>59</sup> Labb. Concil. t. vi. p. 1351; Spelman, t. i. pp. 126, 127.

<sup>60</sup> Bede Hist. Eccl. l. iii. c. 25; Labb. Concil. t. vii. pp. 505—512; Spelman, t. i. p. 145—150.

<sup>61</sup> The following is a list of the councils convened before the Norman conquest by royal authority; the councils at Canterbury and at Whitby, already mentioned; the council in which the so-called ecclesiastical laws of King Ina were enacted A.D. 692; the councils of Beaconsfield, A.D. 694, and of Berkhamstead, A.D. 697, called by Withred, king of Kent; the council of Osterfield, A.D. 701, by Alfrid, king of Northumberland; the council near the river Nidde, A.D. 705, by Osred, Alfrid's successor; the councils of Cloveshoo, A.D. 742 and A.D. 747, by Ethelbald, king of Mercia; the two councils held A.D. 787, one in Northumberland, by King Alfwald, the other at Calcuith in Mercia, by King Offa; two councils held at Verulam in the years 793 and 794, by the same king; the councils

sively ecclesiastic character, during the Anglo-Saxon period, are the synods of Hertford and Hatfield, held by Archbishop Theodore, in which the doctrine and discipline of the English Church was settled; the latter adopting the determinations of faith of the first five œcumenical synods, and of the Roman synod of the year 649, by which they were recapitulated and confirmed<sup>62</sup>; the former settling the limits of episcopal jurisdiction<sup>63</sup>, and providing for the convocation of

of Beaconsfield, A.D. 799, of Cloveshoo, A.D. 800, and of Calcuith, A.D. 816, by Kenulph, king of Mercia; two councils at Cloveshoo, A.D. 822, and A.D. 824, by Bernulph, king of Mercia; the council of London, A.D. 833, by Egbert, king of Wessex, and Witglaph, king of Mercia; the council of Kingston, A.D. 838, by Egbert and his son Ethelwulf; the council of Kingsbury, A.D. 851, by Bertulph, king of Mercia; the council of Winchester, A.D. 855, by Ethelwulf king of Wessex, Buthred king of Mercia, and Edmund king of East Anglia; the council of London, A.D. 886, by King Alfred; the council of Gratley, A.D. 928, by King Athelstan; the council of London, A.D. 944, by King Edmund; another council of London, A.D. 948, by King Edred; two councils, place unknown, in the years 964 and 969, and a council in London, A.D. 970, by King Edgar; the council of Kyrtington, A.D. 977, by King Edward the Confessor; the councils at Ænham, A.D. 1009, and near the river Humber, A.D. 1012, by King Ethelred; two councils at Winchester, A.D. 1021, and A.D. 1032, by King Canute.

<sup>62</sup> The synod of Hatfield was held in the year 680; Labb. Concil. t. vii. p. 597; Spelman, t. i. pp. 168—170; Beda Hist. Eccl. l. iv. c. 17, 18.

<sup>63</sup> The synod of Hertford was held in the year 673; Labb. Concil. t. vii. p. 553; Spelman, t. i. pp. 152—154. The ninth canon laid down the principle, that the episcopate should be increased in proportion to the number of the faithful; but as the concurrence of the temporal power was necessary to effect that measure, the council contented itself with the simple assertion of the principle, with the significant addition: *sed de hac re ad præsens silemus.*

synods twice in every year<sup>64</sup>. The distinction between the civil and the ecclesiastical power is clearly recognised in the decrees of the council of Beaconsfield, by which the patronage of all ecclesiastical preferments, including, according to one copy of the decrees, the suffragan bishopricks, was put into the hands of the metropolitan, to the exclusion of all lay patrons, and of the king himself<sup>65</sup>; and in the council of Berkhamstead the independence of the Church was expressly affirmed, with the recognition, however, of the obedience due to the king<sup>66</sup>. An attempt to introduce the appellate jurisdiction of the Roman see was resisted by the synod of Osterfield<sup>67</sup>; and the decrees, framed and imported by legates from Rome, which were adopted

<sup>64</sup> The provision for the convocation of two annual synods is repeatedly reiterated in subsequent councils, which seems to indicate that from time to time this part of ecclesiastical government fell into disuse.

<sup>65</sup> The synod of Beaconsfield was held A.D. 694; Labb. Concil. t. viii. pp. 77—80; Spelman, t. i. pp. 189—191.

<sup>66</sup> The synod of Berkhamstead was held A.D. 697; Labb. Concil. t. viii. pp. 99—104; Spelman, t. i. pp. 194—198. The first canon says: "LIBERA SIT ECCLESIA, fruaturque suis judiciis et redditibus, seu pensionibus. Pro rege preces fiant, MANDATISQUE EJUS NON COGENTE NECESSITATE, SED EX SPONTE OBDIUNTO."

<sup>67</sup> The synod of Osterfield was held A.D. 701, in the matter of the appeal which Wilfrid, Archbishop of York (or Lindisfarne), had made to the Roman see; when the king and the Archbishop of Canterbury concurred in declaring his recourse to Rome an aggravation of his original offence.—Labb. Concil. t. viii. pp. 105—110; Spelman, t. i. pp. 200—202; Eddius Vita S. Wilfridi, c. 45. Both on this, and on a subsequent occasion, King Alfrid of Northumberland plainly repudiated the notion of a jurisdiction belonging to the see of Rome over the affairs of the English Church.—Labb. Concil. t. viii. p. 116; Spelman, t. i. p. 203.



by the council of Calcuith, and by another council in Northumberland, contain no concession to Rome, though they inculcate in strong terms the subordination of the temporal to the spiritual power<sup>68</sup>.

The only point on which the authority of the Roman see was recognised in England, was the archiepiscopal dignity. The right which every Church undoubtedly possesses, to regulate the ecclesiastical organization of its missions<sup>69</sup>, and which Gregory the Great exercised

<sup>68</sup> These councils were convened by the kings of Mercia and Northumberland, A. D. 787, upon the application of the papal legates. The xi<sup>th</sup> decree is a kind of homily, addressed to kings and princes on the duties of government, charging the bishops to reprove them faithfully and fearlessly, and exhorting the temporal rulers, "*ut obediant ex corde cum magna humilitate suis episcopis*;" it deduces from the text, "The priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts," (Mal. ii. 7,) the inference, that priests are not subject to secular jurisdiction; it claims for the episcopate a parity of honour and power with royalty, "*sicut reges omnibus dignitatibus præsumt, ita et episcopi in his quæ ad Deum attinent*;" and warns kings and princes, "*ut ecclesiam Dei, quæ est sponsa Christi, omnes honorent in facto, nec injustum servitutis jugum ei imponant, nec superbiant in sæculari potentia.*" At the same time the bishops are in the x<sup>th</sup> decree prohibited from deliberating on secular affairs in their ecclesiastical synods. These were the first councils in England at which legates from Rome attended, but they were held under royal authority. In the Northumbrian council the king's subscription stands first, and after it that of his prelates; in the Mercian council the Archbishop of Canterbury's subscription precedes that of the king: the legates did not subscribe their names at all. The only mention of the Roman Church is in the 1st decree, which adopts "the Apostolic and Catholic faith of the six (œcumenical) synods approved by the Holy Ghost," with the addition "*sicut tradita est nobis a Sancta Romana ecclesia.*"—Labb. Concil. t. viii. pp. 631—644; Spelman, t. i. pp. 291—302.

<sup>69</sup> This right is exercised in a precisely similar manner by the Archbishop of Canterbury, as Primate of all England, in the settlement of

by furnishing Augustine with a scheme for the settlement of the episcopate in England,—a scheme which, however, was never carried out,—led naturally to a canonical dependence of the metropolitan of England on the bishop of Rome; and the pall which was annexed to the archiepiscopal dignity, served as a useful symbol of this kind of hierarchical subordination. On two occasions, especially,—in the disputes respecting the see of York or Lindisfarn, which arose between Wilfrid and Theodore, and in the proceedings connected with the erection of Lichfield into an archiepiscopal see,—Rome found an opportunity, which was not neglected, of asserting its claim to superior ecclesiastic jurisdiction. In the former case, the English princes and prelates challenged their right of free deliberation on the question in hand <sup>70</sup>; in the latter case, the Roman see was supported by the power of Offa, the king of Mercia, at whose request the archbishoprick of Lichfield was created, and afterwards by that of his successor Kenulph, at whose request it was abrogated <sup>71</sup>. And as

our colonial bishopricks; and the reservation of his jurisdiction over the bishop of Gibraltar, whose diocese lies in great part, and over the Anglican bishop at Jerusalem, whose diocese lies altogether, beyond the British dominions, bears a close analogy to the proceeding of Gregory the Great in the instructions which he gave to Augustine.

<sup>70</sup> For the proceedings in this cause, see Labb. Concil. t. vii. pp. 601—606; t. viii. pp. 105—110. 115—120; Spelman, t. i. pp. 157—163. 200—203; Beda Hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 19; Eddius Vita S. Wilfridi, c. 29—33. 48—58.

<sup>71</sup> It was in connexion with the thorny business of abridging the jurisdiction of the metropolitan see of Canterbury, by the creation of the archbishoprick of Lichfield, that the first papal legates made

in the act of abrogation the English primate also, whose privileges had been invaded by the creation of the archbishoprick of Lichfield, concurred with heart and soul, there was no one to protest against the violent and arrogant language in which Athelard, the Archbishop of Canterbury, cashiered, in the name and by the authority of Pope Leo III., both the acts of King Offa, and those of Leo's predecessor Hadrian <sup>72</sup>.

On a review of the ecclesiastical transactions during the four and a half centuries which intervened between the settlement of the Romish mission under Augustine and the Norman conquest, it evidently appears that the Saxon sovereigns wielded the royal supremacy

their appearance in England. See the acts of the council of Calcuith, Labb. Concil. t. viii. pp. 631—644; Spelman, t. i. pp. 291—302; Matt. Paris, in Vita Offæ, p. 25. The documents relative to the abolition of the archbishoprick of Lichfield will be found in Labb. Concil. t. ix. pp. 152—155. 175, 176. 271—274; Spelman, t. i. pp. 320—326.

<sup>72</sup> After branding the proceedings of King Offa, in the matter of the see of Lichfield, by the expression "*cum maxima fraude*," the Archbishop goes on to vindicate his own jurisdiction in the following terms: "*Ego Athelardus archiepiscopus cum duodecim episcopis, ex præcepto Domini Apostolici Leonis Papæ, unanimo consilio totius sanctæ synodi præcipimus IN NOMINE DEI OMNIPOTENTIS et omnium Sanctorum illius, ET PER EJUS TREMENDUM JUDICIUM, ut nunquam reges, neque episcopi, neque principes,*" ["ecclesiastical commissions" were unknown in those days,] "*neque ullius tyrannicæ potestatis homines honorem metropolitanæ sedis minuere, VEL IN ALIQUANTULA PARTICULA DIVIDERE præsumperint. . . . Si quis vero . . ausus sit TUNICAM CHRISTI SCINDERE, et unitatem ejus sanctæ ecclesiæ dividere, SCIAT SE ESSE ETERNALITER DAMNANDUM, nisi ante mortem, quod inique contra sacros canones fecit, eidem ecclesiæ digne satisfecerit.*"—Labb. t. ix. p. 271; Spelman, t. i. p. 324. It must be remembered, however, that the council at which this language was held, was an exclusively ecclesiastical synod, at which the archbishop had it all his own way.

over the Church with a much firmer hand than their British predecessors. Notwithstanding the decree of the council of Beaconsfield, if indeed that decree included the appointment of bishops among the rights exclusively reserved to the metropolitan<sup>73</sup>, it is evident from the histories, that as a matter of fact the selection and appointment of the bishops<sup>74</sup>, and of the metropoli-

<sup>73</sup> The language of the decree is as follows: "*Regis est comites, duces, optimates, principes, præfectos, judices, sæcularesque statuere; Metropolitani vero Archiepiscopi est, ecclesias Dei regere, gubernare, EPISCOPOS, abbates, abbatissas, cæterosque prælatos eligere, statuere, firmare, admonere, ne quis de ovibus Christi, scilicet æterni pastoris, aberrret.*" Another copy of the acts of the synod omits the important word 'EPISCOPOS,' and reads: "*Regis personæ est, principes, præfectos, seu duces sæculares statuere; Metropolitani episcopi est ecclesias Dei regere, gubernare, atque abbates, abbatissas, presbyteros, diaconos, eligere, statuere, et sanctificare, firmare, et amovere, ne quis ovis de ovibus æterni pastoris erret.*"—Labb. t. viii. pp. 80. 78; Spelman, t. i. pp. 192. 190.

<sup>74</sup> In the kingdom of Northumberland, Wilfrid, Chad, and Egbert; in the kingdom of Wessex, Agilbert, Wina, Eleutherius, and Aldheim; in the kingdom of Mercia, Trumhere; in the kingdom of Essex, Cedd and Wina; in the kingdom of East Anglia, Felix, during the Heptarchy; and afterwards Swithin and Dunulf—are instances of bishops of whom it is expressly stated that they were promoted to their sees by royal appointment; and many more, of whom it is not expressly stated, were no doubt appointed in like manner. Even those bishops, of whom the histories state that they were appointed by councils, would in many instances owe their preferment substantially to the royal choice. To what extent the kings had at an early period succeeded in getting this power into their hands, we may conclude from the fact, that in the middle of the seventh century, Wulfer, King of Essex, sold the bishoprick of London to Wina, who had been expelled from the see of Winchester. But not only in the appointment of bishops, not unfrequently in their deposition also, and in the change, subdivision, and consolidation of their dioceses, the royal power was exerted, sometimes in an arbitrary and oppressive manner.

tan himself<sup>75</sup> rested with the sovereigns whenever they chose to exercise a control over it; and in many instances it is on record, that the appointment of bishops to vacant sees formed part of the business transacted at the synodal assemblies of the kingdom, over which the king presided. With regard to these, it appears that they were of two kinds, general councils of the clergy and laity, convened by royal authority, and synods of the clergy only, both diocesan and provincial, convened by the sole authority of the bishops and metropolitans. With the exceptions before noted, the proceedings of the latter seem to have been confined to the adjudication of causes, and determination of matters, of an ordinary description,—in fact, to the despatch of the current business of the Church. All causes of greater importance, and all matters of Church legislation, as well as administrative measures by which any great change was effected in the order of the Church, were deliberated and decided upon in the great national councils, to which both the principal nobility and officers of state, and also clergy of all

<sup>75</sup> The first instance of interference on the part of the royal power with the appointment of the Primate, occurred during the interregnum which took place after the death of Deusdedit in 664. The kings of Kent and Northumberland then agreed to send Wigard, a priest of the diocese of Kent, to Rome for consecration; but he happening to die at Rome, Pope Vitalian took the appointment into his own hands, and sent over Theodore. After the union of the seven kingdoms of the Heptarchy, the increase of the royal power over the Church became apparent by its more frequent interference with the appointment of the Primate; as in the case of Athelred, promoted by King Ethelred; Odo, by King Edmund; Dunstan, by King Edgar; Robert, and, after his deposition, Stigand, by King Edward the Confessor.

ranks<sup>76</sup>, but especially the bishops, were summoned. These assemblies answered in some respects to the Parliaments of later times, and the fact that by them all the great Church questions were determined, of itself proves the entire fusion of the Church with the State in the Anglo-Saxon times. Those assemblies were as much representations of the Church, clergy and laity together, as they were representations of the body politic, and the king presided over them, so far as they were political councils, by virtue of his sovereignty, so far as they were ecclesiastical councils, by virtue of his supremacy. This becomes much more strikingly apparent after the consolidation of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy into one monarchy, when the ecclesiastical laws were promulgated by authority and in the name of the several kings<sup>77</sup>. Of some of these

<sup>76</sup> It appears that presbyters were frequently present, both at the mixed and at the purely ecclesiastical synods, and their subscriptions are in some instances attached to the acts; but whether they had any voice and vote in the debate, or attended and subscribed merely in the character of witnesses, it is difficult to determine. Wake is of the latter opinion; see "State of the Church and Clergy of England," ch. v. pp. 137—159.

<sup>77</sup> See the ecclesiastical laws of King Alfred, Labb. Concil. t. xi. pp. 553—562; Spelman, t. i. pp. 354—375; those of King Alfred and of Guthurn the Dane, Labb. t. xi. pp. 562—564; Spelman, t. i. pp. 375—379; those of King Edward the Elder, and of Guthurn the Dane, Labb. t. xi. pp. 713—716; Spelman, t. i. pp. 390—395; those of King Edmund, Labb. t. xi. pp. 837—842; Spelman, t. i. pp. 419—427; those of King Edgar, Labb. t. xi. pp. 915—932; Spelman, t. i. pp. 443—476; those of King Ethelred, Labb. t. xi. pp. 1079—1082; Spelman, t. i. pp. 530—533; those of King Canute, Labb. t. xi. pp. 1257—1276; Spelman, t. i. pp. 538—569; those of King Edward the Confessor, which were afterwards adopted by William the Conqueror, Labb. t. xi. pp. 1387—1394; Spelman, t. i. pp. 619—625.

laws it is expressly recorded, that they were promulgated in the national councils, and with their sanction<sup>78</sup>; and it is highly probable that this was the case with them all. The national councils were in those days the only medium for their effectual publication; and as in the preamble it is generally mentioned that they were drawn up with the advice of the king's chief councillors, both lay and ecclesiastical<sup>79</sup>, there is reason to believe that the councils gave to them both the sanction of their authority, and the necessary publicity throughout the land. At the same time, their promulgation, as laws ecclesiastical, under the names of the respective kings, is the most conclusive evidence of the settlement and recognition of the royal supremacy over the Church<sup>80</sup>.

The history of the Church in Britain during the period between the Norman conquest and the Reformation, though furnishing abundant materials for the chronicler of events, affords but little that may serve to illustrate the principles on which the relations of the Church to the State were founded. The temporal power assumed at the beginning of this period, and too

<sup>78</sup> Labb. Concil. t. xi. pp. 562. 837. 840.

<sup>79</sup> Labb. Concil. t. xi. pp. 556. 714. 841. 915. 917. 1079. 1257. 1263. 1267. 1272.

<sup>80</sup> Among the evidences of the existence and extent of this supremacy may also be mentioned the fact, that the kings on their accession expressly confirmed both the liberties and the metropolitan jurisdiction of the see of Canterbury. Two documents of this nature, one of King Edgar, the other of King Canute, will be found in Labb. Concil. t. xi. pp. 890. 1090; Spelman, t. i. pp. 432. 533.

often during the course of it, the character of a lawless usurpation. William of Normandy supported his questionable claim to the English crown, not only by the avowedly carnal weapon of the sword, but by a pretended spiritual weapon, the Papal grant of a kingdom of which the bishop of Rome had no right to dispose. The hypocrisy with which the Conqueror thus endeavoured to cloke his forcible occupation of a throne to which he had no sufficient title, was avenged upon one of his descendants in the fourth generation, who was obliged in good earnest to recognize that temporal supremacy of the Pope over the kingdom of England, which William had ascribed to him for a merely colourable purpose, and certainly with no intention that it should ever be substantially acknowledged. In other instances, too, disputed successions and schemes of usurpation induced the holders of, or aspirants to, the temporal power, to recognize for the nonce the extravagant claims which the spiritual power during this period systematically put forth, and which none were in reality less disposed to concede to it, than the very sovereigns who by their insincere and short-sighted policy afforded the most plausible opportunities for their assertion. The Church ceased to be, in the eyes of the temporal rulers, a divine institution to be employed by them for the spiritual welfare of their people; they considered the spiritual power as a dangerous rival if it were suffered to be in the ascendant, and as a useful tool if it could be mastered by force or fraud; the wealth of the Church, which by the liberality of the nation and of its rulers during



the Anglo-Saxon times had become very considerable <sup>41</sup>, presented a constant temptation to the rapacity of unscrupulous and often needy kings; and the power of appointing to ecclesiastical offices, which the Saxon kings had enjoyed, and which their Norman successors claimed, instead of being exercised for the purpose of selecting the fittest men to serve God in His Church, was constantly abused for the purpose of diverting into the royal exchequer the rich revenues attached to the ecclesiastical dignities.

Such was, in substance, and on the whole, the unrighteous position which the temporal power assumed and sought to maintain towards the Church. But what contributed yet infinitely more to give to the relations between Church and State, at this period, a lawless and unprincipled character, is the fact, that in the Church too, not her legitimate power, the Episcopate, but an usurped and tyrannical power, the Papacy, prevailed, and not only made head against the usurpations and encroachments of the temporal power upon the rights and liberties of the Church, but sought to rob the temporal power of its own just and inalienable rights. Hence it is, that, instead of an endeavour on the part of the legitimate powers in Church and State to adjust the limits of their respective authority, the history of this period presents the struggle of two

<sup>41</sup> According to the survey of Domesday-book, nearly one-half of the lands of England had become ecclesiastical property; and being exempt from the burdens which pressed upon the property of the laity, the share of the Church was far the more valuable of the two.

usurping powers against each other, carried on with the most reckless indifference to the character of the means employed by either for the accomplishment of its unhallowed ends.

To follow out the details of this contest, would be altogether foreign to the purpose of these pages; it will suffice briefly to indicate the leading changes which took place in the constitution and government of the Church, in order to render intelligible the course which events took, when a reaction in the public mind against the long-continued and foul corruption demanded, and the evil passions of the Sovereign, overruled by an all-wise Providence for holy ends, favoured, a return to the original purpose for which the Church was instituted by her Divine Founder, and to the true principles of her relation to the State.

The most important change in the government of the Church, connected with the Norman conquest, is the exercise of the legatine power in England, which was a virtual recognition of the supremacy of the Roman see. Upon one previous occasion only had legates been sent to this country<sup>82</sup>; the real business on which they were sent, was the erection of Lichfield into an archiepiscopal see, while the ostensible object of their mission was to elicit on the part of the Churches of Britain an expression of concurrence in the doctrine and general discipline of the Church Catholic; and this was managed, as appears from their own report

<sup>82</sup> See above, note 71.

to Pope Hadrian<sup>83</sup>, by negotiation with the Saxon kings, by whom the two councils at Calcuith and in Northumberland were convened, for the purpose of receiving the communication from the bishop of Rome. This communication was in the nature of a brotherly exhortation; neither in form nor in substance did it contain any assertion of supremacy, nor did the legates lay claim to any power to convoke synods in the name of the Pope. Now, however, the case was very different; the Papal legates exercised a power of convocation, and a jurisdiction in the synod, directly by the Pope's authority, though in the first instance with the concurrence, and indeed by the desire, of the king, who had his own ends to serve<sup>84</sup>, and who, confident in the sturdiness of his own will, saw no danger in using the Papal pretensions as an instrument for the consolidation of his recently acquired power. But the precedent being once established, the Roman see took care it should not again be lost sight of; and in order to obviate the objections which were from time to time raised against this intrusion of a foreign jurisdiction into the affairs of the English Church, the Pope had recourse to the ingenious device of investing the Archbishop of Canterbury with the legatine power. The additional importance which this gave to the metropolitan, proving exceedingly useful in the many

<sup>83</sup> Labb. Concil. t. viii. pp. 631, 632; Spelman, t. i. 292, 293.

<sup>84</sup> "*Operam dante rege, says the English annalist, ut quamplures ex Anglis suis honoribus privarentur, in quorum locosux gentis personas subrogaret, ob confirmationem scilicet sui, quod noviter acquisierat, regni.*"—Roger de Hoveden, ao. 1070.

conflicts between the royal and the ecclesiastical power, the archbishops were not unwilling to be invested with the character of Papal commissaries; but the practical effect was, that the metropolitan authority became subservient to the assertion and maintenance of the Romish usurpation. By the influence thus acquired, the Papacy contrived by degrees to arrogate to itself the most important rights, both of the crown and of the metropolitan, whose authority, like that of the episcopate at large, lost its independent character, and became simply ministerial to that of the Pope.

Among the encroachments of this period, those which had reference to the appointment of bishops are particularly to be noted, not only on account of the magnitude of the power, both for good and for evil, which the appointment of the chief pastors of the Church at all times involves; but more especially also on account of the questions which have recently arisen upon this point, and which cannot be rightly understood or satisfactorily settled, without a knowledge of the law as it originally stood, and of the modifications which it underwent in process of time under the influence of the Papacy.

Of the different proceedings by the concurrence of which the appointment of a bishop is completed in a Church established by the State, there are two concerning which there cannot reasonably be any doubt or dispute, as to the power to whose competency they belong. These are, investiture and consecration. The former, by which the bishop is put in possession of the

temporalities of the see to which he is appointed, is rightfully dependent on the temporal power; because it is the temporal power which annexed them to the see in the first instance, and which maintains and defends them in the exercise of its general guardianship of all property within its dominions. Consecration, on the contrary, which is a purely spiritual act, conferring upon the person consecrated apostolic authority, belongs no less rightfully to the spiritual power. It is an act done by virtue of the commission of Christ to his Apostles<sup>85</sup>, and in the name of the Holy Ghost; and is therefore an act which the temporal power is neither authorized nor qualified to perform, or to command its performance: which can be performed by them alone to whom the power of conveying the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands with prayer, has been transmitted from the Apostles, and who are personally and eternally responsible for their exercise of that power.

But while it is clear that the endowments of the episcopate, whether temporal or spiritual, can in the nature of things be bestowed only by the power that has possession of, or control over, those endowments,—that is, the temporal endowments by the temporal power, and the spiritual endowments by the spiritual power,—the right of determining the individual upon whom those endowments are to be conferred, is a matter concerning which questions may fairly arise and be lawfully debated between the two powers.

Considering the great importance of the episcopal

<sup>85</sup> John xx. 21—23. Matt. xxviii. 18—20.

office, when viewed in its essential character, as the stewardship of that commission which Christ gave to His Apostles and their successors, for the edification of the Church and the salvation of mankind, it was to be expected that the different parties who were in any way interested in the welfare of the Church, or responsible for it, would put forward their claim to take part in the selection of those on whom the office was to be conferred. These were, in the first instance, only the clergy and people, who were to be subject to the rule of the new bishop; and the bishops, and especially the metropolitans, on whom devolved the duty and responsibility of his consecration. To satisfy the reasonable claims of both these parties, recourse was had to a method similar to that adopted by the Apostles themselves in the appointment of the seven deacons; the people elected, subject to the approbation of the metropolitan and the bishops of the province. When the Church became a State establishment, the temporal power, in its twofold capacity, both as the founder and guardian of the temporalities annexed to the different sees, and as the political representative of the people, and guardian of their interests, assumed, and was allowed to exercise, considerable influence over the elections, the manner and degree of which varied at different times<sup>86</sup>. But upon whatever footing, and in whatever hands, the right of election was placed, that election still remained subject to the approbation of the metropolitan and the bishops of the province; a

<sup>86</sup> See above, notes 42 and 43.

fact clearly attested by the canons of the first general council, held shortly after the union between the temporal and the spiritual power had been effected. By those canons it is provided, that a new bishop should be ordained by all the bishops of the province, or at least three of them personally present, the rest signifying their concurrence in writing, and the whole proceeding being subject to the decision of the metropolitan<sup>87</sup>; and, in the event of this rule being infringed, it is decreed, that any one being made a bishop without the consent of the metropolitan, was not to be accounted a bishop at all<sup>88</sup>. This provision was afterwards frequently appealed to in provincial councils<sup>89</sup>; and finally was incorporated in the body of the Canon

<sup>87</sup> Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι. Εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτο, ἢ διὰ κατεπίγουσαν ἀνάγκην, ἢ διὰ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, ἐξ ἀπαντος τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένους, συμπήφων γινομένων καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ συντιθεμένων διὰ γραμμάτων, τότε τὴν χειροτονίαν ποιῆσθαι· τὸ δὲ κύρος τῶν γινομένων δίδοσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ.—Concil. Nic. Œcum. i. can. iv. Labb. Concil. t. ii. pp. 34—36.

<sup>88</sup> Καθόλου δὲ πρόδηλον ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι εἴ τις χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ μητροπολίτου γένοιτο ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἢ μεγάλη σύνοδος ὥρισε μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον.—Concil. Nic. Œcum. i. can. vi. Labb. Concil. t. ii. p. 36.

<sup>89</sup> Even before the Nicene Council (ao. 325) the provision is found in canon xii. of a council held at Laodicea; Labb. Concil. t. i. p. 1533. It occurs afterwards in can. xix. of the Council of Antioch, ao. 341; Labb. Concil. t. ii. p. 593;—in canons iv. and vi. of the sixth Council of Carthage, ao. 419; Labb. Concil. t. iii. p. 450;—in canons v. and vi. of the second Council of Arles, ao. 452; Labb. Concil. t. v. p. 3;—in canon x. of the fifth Council of Orleans, ao. 549; Labb. Concil. t. v. p. 1379;—and in canon xix. of the fourth Council of Toledo, ao. 633; Labb. Concil. t. vi. pp. 1457-8. It is also comprehended, canon xvi., in the collection of African canons; Labb. Concil. t. iii. p. 505.

Law<sup>90</sup>. Besides this general provision, rendering the consent of the metropolitan and his suffragans indispensable to the validity of an episcopal promotion, the ancient canons contain specific regulations as to the inquiry to be instituted by the metropolitan before giving his consent. One of the canons of the third Council of Carthage, held in the year 397, provides, that in the event of an objection being raised, the inquiry should not be gone into by the three bishops who might consecrate when there was no opposition; but by the addition of one or two, or, as others read, two or three bishops, a court of inquiry was to be formed in the diocese to which the new bishop was to be ordained. The business of this court was, first of all, to investigate the character of the opposers; and, after that, the subject matter of their objections: and no consecration was to take place till the bishop to be ordained had been found clear of the charges brought against him, at a public hearing<sup>91</sup>. A similar provision was made by the Emperor Justinian, in one of his constitutions, and embodied with the civil law of the

<sup>90</sup> Decret. Grat. Dist. lxiv. cc. 1. 5. 8.

<sup>91</sup> *Illud est statuendum, ut quando ad eligendum episcopum venerimus, si qua contradictio fuerit oborta, (quia [sæpe] talia facta [tractata] sunt apud nos,) non præsumant ad purgandum eum, qui ordinandus est, tres tantum [jam]; sed postulentur ad numerum supradictorum [unus vel duo] duo vel tres; et in eadem plebe cui ordinandus est, discutiantur primo personæ contradicentium: postremo illa etiam quæ objiciuntur, pertractentur. Et cum purgatus fuerit sub conspectu publico, ita demum ordinetur.*—Concil. Carthag. iii. c. xl.; Labb. Concil. t. ii. p. 1405. The same canon is also found, canon xvii., in the collection of African canons, Labb. Concil. t. iii. p. 505.



Roman empire<sup>92</sup>. When the first Digest of the Canon Law was drawn up, the canon of the Council of Carthage, before mentioned, was transferred into it almost *verbatim*<sup>93</sup>; and for the more stringent enforcement of this ancient canonical rule, a constitution, inserted in the collection of Decretals, was published by Boniface VIII., which, after complaining of the growing abuse of episcopal confirmations, conducted in haste and without due inquiry, either to get rid of a rival in the case of a double election, or to suppress objections raised against the party elected, severely censures all such proceedings, on the ground that, "through such hasty confirmations, without citing opposers, or discussing the matter, hands are laid on the party elected, suddenly, contrary to the Apostle's doctrine<sup>94</sup>." To remedy this abuse, the constitution

<sup>92</sup> In the sixth constitution of Justinian the following provision occurs: "If any one be presented for episcopal ordination, and if there be any opposer alleging that he has cognizance of any thing unlawful in the person to be ordained, such person shall not obtain episcopal ordination, until the complaint be inquired into, and he appear in every respect guiltless. But if, after such opposition being raised, he who confers ordination should not permit a lawful inquiry to be instituted into the matter, but hasten on to the ordination, let him know that his act is invalid; and not only so, but the person who thus violates the law shall be deposed from the priesthood; and he who confers ordination without examination, shall in like manner be deposed from his sacerdotal see, and be responsible to God, who, above all things, requires purity in his priests." The constitution further provides, that if the objection be not sustained, the false accuser is to be punished with perpetual excommunication, and the ordination of the party so falsely accused is to be proceeded with.—*Authent. Coll. i. tit. vi. Nov. vi. c. 1, § 10.*

<sup>93</sup> Decret. Grat. Dist. xxiii. c. 5.

<sup>94</sup> 1 Tim. v. 22.

declares "such confirmations to be without any validity, null and void." And further it provides, not only that opposers who are known, shall be personally cited, but that in the absence of such there shall be a general challenge in the church in which the election took place<sup>95</sup>; and moreover, it enjoins, that even in the case of an unanimous election the same course of challenging opposers shall be observed<sup>96</sup>. Lastly, that the various provisions of the Canon Law upon this subject were received and observed in England, appears evident, both from the general consent of ecclesiastical

<sup>95</sup> To this Bishop Gibson adds the following note: "It is now altered for the church in which the *confirmation* is to be; but anciently it was in the place of election, as appears by special commissions issued for that end."—*Gibson's Codex Juris Eccles. Anglic.*, vol. i. p. 128. For a similar provision of the Carthaginian canon, that the inquiry is to be instituted in the diocese of the bishop elect, the gloss of the Canon Law assigns this reason, that "the matter may best be inquired into in the place where the bishop elect had his conversation;" on the supposition that one of the clergy of the diocese would be appointed to fill the vacant see.

<sup>96</sup> *Quoniam, electione non in concordia celebrata, superior, ad quem electionis ipsius confirmatio pertinet, consuevit interdum suæ confirmationis celeritate, præferens cupiditatem propriam juri, et inordinatum affectum etiam æquitati, competitorum aliquando, ubi alius, vel eos qui se volunt opponere, quando electus est unicus, supplantare; dum nullis vocatis et non discussio negotio, per repentinam confirmationem cito, contra doctrinam Apostoli, imponit manus electo: nos, volentes huic morbo et fraudibus obviare, præsentis constitutione sancimus, confirmationes tales viribus omnino carere ipsasque decernimus irritas et inanes. Vocationem autem hujusmodi nominatim, ubi est coelectus, vel adparet oppositor, alias generaliter, in ecclesia in qua electio facta est, ut, si qui sint qui se velint opponere, compareant adsignato peremptorio termino competenti, faciendam esse censemus: quæ etiamsi electio in concordia celebrata fuerit, volumus observari.*"—Sexti Decretal. lib. i. tit. vi. c. 47.

writers, and more particularly also from the Constitutions published by Othobon, the Pope's legate, in a council held in London, in the year 1268, in which the "rules of the Canons," respecting episcopal confirmation, are referred to, and their observance strictly enjoined<sup>97</sup>.

<sup>97</sup> In this reference the Constitution of Boniface (note 96) could not, of course, be included, as that was published subsequently; but the annotations of *Johannes de Athon*, who edited the legateine and provincial constitutions of the English Church, in the year 1504, plainly show that the Decretal of Boniface was received in England at that time, its very provisions being quoted in elucidation of Othobon's constitution. That constitution itself is more particularly directed against pluralists, who, unless able to produce a special dispensation, were on that ground alone disqualified for the episcopate; the reference, however, which it makes to the rules concerning episcopal confirmation, is quite general, and the disqualification of pluralists is mentioned as one, "among other matters," to be strictly inquired into.

"*Inter alia quæ de pontificum electione, sacri canones providerunt, illud sibi præcipuum vindicat locum, ut talis ad eam persona conscendat, quæ nullis, quantum humanitus possibile est, sit maculis denigrata. Quorundam igitur ignorantiam, vel negligentiam, aut dissimulationem, quæ circa electorum confirmationes frequenter habetur, vel etiam procuratur, ex officii nostri debito, diligentia qua possumus corrigentes, statuimus, et in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ districte præcipimus, ut cum electionis episcopalis confirmatio postulatur, INTER CETERA SUPER QUIBUS INQUISITIO ET EXAMINATIO PROCEDEBE DEBET, SECUNDUM CANONUM INSTITUTA, illud exactissime inquiretur,*" &c.—*Constit. Othobon, c. 32; Gibson's Codex Juris Eccles. Anglic. tit. v. c. i. vol. i. p. 181; Labb. Concil. t. xiv. p. 432.* In commenting upon this constitution, John de Athon explains the word "*Quorundam*" by "*Archiepiscoporum ad quos pertinent confirmationes hujusmodi;*" and on the word "*confirmatio*" he observes, "*quæ fieri non debet, absque vocatione nominatim facta, ubi specialis et certus est adversarius seu contradictor; imo nec alias absque generali proclamatione in ecclesia ubi fiebat electio.*" This is evidently taken from the Constitution of Boniface; and no less

While the ancient Canon Law touching episcopal confirmation thus continued to obtain, the appointment of bishops, which in the Saxon times had been exercised by the kings<sup>98</sup>, underwent, soon after the Norman conquest, an important alteration; Henry I. having consented to abolish all lay-presentations to ecclesiastical dignities, the royal appointment of bishops by investiture with staff and ring included<sup>99</sup>. This concession was yet further confirmed by the grant of King John, who conferred the right of election upon the diocesan chapters in the sixteenth year of his reign<sup>100</sup>; a grant which is referred to and recognized in the Statute of Provisors, enacted in the reign of Edward III., where it is said in the preamble, "that the free elections of archbishops, bishops, and all other dignities and benefices elective in England, shall hold from henceforth in the same manner as they were granted by the king's progenitors<sup>101</sup>."

The temporal power was thus, in this matter of the

clear is Bishop Gibson's reference to it, who, in speaking of the "*Citatio contra Oppositores*," among the instruments of confirmation, says, "According to the direction of the ancient Canon Law, where it makes all confirmations void, that are performed "*nullis vocatis et non discussio negotio*."—Gibson's Codex, vol. i. p. 129.

<sup>98</sup> See above, notes 74 and 75; compare also Gibson's Codex, vol. i. pp. 121, 122.

<sup>99</sup> Matt. Par. ad ann. 1107; Gibson's Codex, vol. i. p. 122.

<sup>100</sup> The grant contained a reservation of the king's licence to elect; but, at the same time, a promise was made to grant that licence; and, in default of it, the electors were authorized to proceed without it. See *Carta Regis Johannis*, Spelm. Concil. vol. ii. p. 136; Gibson's Codex, vol. i. p. 126.

<sup>101</sup> Statute 25 Edward III.; Gibson's Codex, vol. i. p. 121.

appointment to bishoprics, deprived of the privilege which it had formerly enjoyed; but the ancient right, taken from the Crown, did not remain long in the hands of those to whom it was nominally transferred. They, indeed, continued, as a matter of form, to exercise the right of election; but, substantially, the appointment passed by degrees into the hands of the Papacy, which, through the clergy, and under colour of protecting their rights, invaded those of the temporal power<sup>102</sup>. At the same time, the power which the metropolitan exercised, by virtue of the ancient and canonical process of confirmation, was likewise taken away by the Papacy; and this also was not accomplished directly, but indirectly; the metropolitan's right of inquiry being superseded by the bulls of absolution from all irregularities and ecclesiastical censures, which were sent over from Rome with the rest of the instruments<sup>103</sup> necessary for the completion of every episcopal appointment. The objects which Rome had in view in these usurpations, both upon the royal and upon the episcopal power, were, on the one

<sup>102</sup> "At the first," says Archbishop Bramhall, "whilst they were robbing the king of the jewels of his Crown, they preached up nothing but free elections; but after they had once seized their prey, they changed their note forthwith to '*Dei et Apostolicæ sedis gratiâ*;'—'By the grace of God and the Apostolic See;' or '*Ex plenitudine ecclesiasticæ potestatis*;'—'Out of the fulness of our ecclesiastical power.'"—*Bramhall's Schism guarded, Works*, Oxf. Ed. 1842: Vol. ii. p. 405.

<sup>103</sup> Gibson mentions, that in the Register of Wareham, the archbishop who immediately preceded Cranmer, the "*Bulla Absolutionis*" stands always second in order among the instruments.—*Codex*, vol. i. p. 122.

hand, the extortion of immense sums of money, in the shape of fees, for those various bulls and dispensations; and, on the other hand, the increase of the power of the Papacy. That power became gradually almost unlimited. Making the chapters its tools for the election, and the metropolitans for the confirmation, of bishops, the Papacy succeeded in engrossing the most valuable part of the ecclesiastical patronage, and filling the principal offices of the Church with its own creatures. And as, moreover, it claimed and exercised the right of calling synods, and even of imposing taxes, independently of the Crown, the Papal hierarchy constituted, in fact, a regular *imperium in imperio*, of which the supreme power was in the hands of the Pope. Many and severe were the struggles through which this was accomplished; and vain, as they were various, the means taken by the sovereigns of England to protect their rights against the increasing encroachments of Rome<sup>104</sup>, until, at last, a hand, as arbitrary and tyrannical as that of the Roman pontiff himself, dashed the whole fabric of papal dominion to pieces.

Before proceeding to examine the act itself by which this consummation was brought about, it will be necessary to consider briefly the change which had been effected in the constitution of ecclesiastical sy-

<sup>104</sup> The Constitutions of Clarendon, the Statutes of Mortmain, 9 Hen. III. c. 36; 7 Edw. I. st. 2, c. 1; 13 Edw. I. st. 1, c. 32; 15 Rich. II. c. 5; and the Statutes of Provisors, 27 Edw. III. c. 1, 16 Richard II. c. 5, were the principal legislative measures for checking the rapacity and tyranny of Rome.

nods. In the time of the Saxons it has already been shown that there were two kinds of councils,—exclusively ecclesiastical synods, employed chiefly in the despatch of current and ordinary business, convened by episcopal and metropolitan authority; and councils of the clergy and laity conjointly, called and presided over by the king, at which the more important affairs connected with the administration of the Church and ecclesiastic legislation were transacted. To these two kinds of ecclesiastical councils, the royal and the episcopal, a third was added after the Conquest; viz. the legatine. By this addition, and by the consolidation of the metropolitan and the legatine powers already noticed, the provincial synods lost their former importance and independence, being subordinate to the legatine synods; and as the diocesan synods had never been otherwise than ancillary to the provincial, the synodical power of the Church had, at the time when the Reformation altered the entire aspect of affairs, fallen into a state of total subserviency to the Papal jurisdiction. In the management of the substantial business of the Church, the provincial synod of Canterbury, called and presided over by the Primate, who was also *legatus natus* of the Pope, took the lead; and the provincial synod of York generally concurred in its determinations in such matters as concerned the Church at large, unless indeed these were settled in a legatine synod which bound both provinces. As for the king's power in regard to ecclesiastical councils, it scarcely bore upon the affairs of the Church; the Church synods proper had, under

the auspices of the Papacy, become too strong for royal control; the kings were obliged to have recourse to parliamentary legislation for the protection of their own and the nation's rights against the encroachments of the ecclesiastical power; and the probability is, that the royal prerogative to call councils of the clergy would have fallen into disuse then, as it has done since, but for one circumstance, which rendered its exercise necessary.

That circumstance was the exemption of Church property from the system of civil taxation; an immunity which was too ancient, and too effectually protected, both by the Papal power and by the veneration, bordering on superstition, with which the popular mind regarded not only the Church, but the goods and chattels of the Church, to admit of any attempt to assimilate the taxation of Church property with that of all other property. The only way, therefore, of obtaining from the clergy, who were in possession of a very large proportion of the taxable property of the country, a suitable contribution towards the public expenditure, was an application to them for subsidies, which, according to the circumstances of the times, were more or less voluntary, and more or less liberal. It was for the grant of these subsidies that the clergy began to be summoned by royal writ, in the reign of King Edward I., to an ecclesiastical State convocation, in which representatives, regularly chosen by the inferior clergy, were comprehended by virtue of the royal summons, conveyed to them by the archbishop. And as the business of granting a subsidy



was a matter which might be disposed of in a very short time, it was found most convenient by the two archbishops, to issue their writs for their provincial convocations at such times as they were called upon to issue the king's writs for the State convocations; so that the clergy, brought together at one and the same time by two different authorities, and for the transaction of two different kinds of affairs, acted in a twofold capacity,—as a state convocation, and as an ecclesiastical synod. This appears to have been the origin of the customary attendance of the inferior clergy by their representatives upon ecclesiastical synods, in which, whatever might have been the case in the mixed national Church councils of the Saxon period, they certainly had neither seat nor vote in the beginning of the Norman period. And as the bishops,—who were members of the ecclesiastical synod by ancient right, whereas the inferior clergy were so only by courtesy,—had frequently occasion to take counsel together apart from the rest of the clergy, the practice grew up for the two bodies of which the convocation was composed, to form themselves, at first *pro re natá*, and afterwards permanently, into separate assemblies, distinguished, in imitation of the two houses of parliament, by the appellation of the upper and the lower houses of convocation <sup>105</sup>.

<sup>105</sup> For the details of the history of these changes, and the many intricate questions connected with the subject, the reader is referred to the learned and elaborate work of Dr., afterwards Archbishop, Wake :—"The State of the Church and Clergy of England, &c.," especially to ch. i. and ii. ; ch. vi. from sec. 112 to the end, and ch. vii. and viii.

## CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF THE SUPREMACY OVER THE ENGLISH  
CHURCH, FROM THE ACT OF SUBMISSION TO THE  
PRESENT TIME.

AFTER tracing the various modifications which the relations between Church and State underwent in this country from the earliest times downwards, it will be useful briefly to recapitulate the result of that inquiry, and to present under a few concise heads the form which those relations had assumed at the time when, by the concurrence of private and personal motives with a State necessity which had been long and often felt before, the Sovereign of England was urged to the adoption of those decisive, and in more than one respect arbitrary, measures, which delivered the English Church from Papal usurpation, and placed her in the position in which she stands to this day towards the Crown of England. The following propositions will be found to contain the sum of the argument, as far as it has proceeded.

The spiritual power of the Church, derived from the commission which Christ gave to His Apostles, and which they transmitted to their successors, the bishops, was established in this country in the earliest ages of Christianity.

Its first introduction into this country was altogether

independent of the Roman Church, whose mission, sent several centuries later, to the south-eastern part of the island, was incorporated in course of time with the original establishment, at a date anterior to the rise of the Papal usurpation.

From the earliest times the spiritual power of the Church entered into close alliance with the temporal power of the State; Christianity was the national faith; the Church, a State establishment, acknowledging the supremacy of the head of the State.

During the British and the Anglo-Saxon periods, the constitution of the Church as a State establishment partook in a great measure of the character of the civil constitution with which it was amalgamated, the popular element predominating in the British, the monarchical in the Anglo-Saxon times.

The Norman Conquest, bringing in civil despotism under cover of Papal usurpation, gave to that usurpation a footing in this country which it had never had before, and caused the English Church to fall, for a time, under the supremacy of the Pope.

Among the results of this supremacy the following points are particularly to be noticed.

The Roman canon law was the law of the English Church. That was the rule. If any laws or customs peculiar to the kingdom modified the Roman canon law in any respect, that was an exception from the rule.

The supreme legislative and administrative power of the Church rested with the national synod, called and presided over by the Papal legate; the provincial synods, called and presided over by the metropolitans, were

subordinate and subservient to the former. In addition to these synods, a State convocation of the clergy was called by the king for purposes of taxation.

The election of bishops was taken out of the hands of the Church at large, and of the temporal power representing the laity of the Church; it was vested, nominally, in the deans and chapters, who exercised their right of election under the influence of the Papacy.

The confirmation of bishops, originally a judicial proceeding, belonging to the jurisdiction of the metropolitan, continued in use as a matter of form, but was, in effect, superseded by the absolution from all ecclesiastical censures and canonical impediments, pronounced by the Pope in favour of his own nominee.

In this state of things, the laity was scarcely recognized as part of the Church; even the power of the Crown was wholly shut out from her government; the authority of Church synods was overruled, and that of the metropolitans superseded by the all-engrossing usurpation of the Papacy.

Such was the condition of the Church, and her position towards the State, when Henry VIII. determined upon the abolition of the Papal power in his dominions; a purpose which he effected by means of the act of submission<sup>106</sup>. That act may be viewed in a twofold

<sup>106</sup> The submission was made, according to the terms required by the king, by the provincial convocation of Canterbury on the 15th of May, 1532, and the statute founded upon it, 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, received the royal assent on the 30th of March, 1534. The provincial convocation of York does not appear to have been consulted on the subject; but it sent in its adhesion to the main principle of the

light; first, in the light of a historical fact, liable at any time to be scrutinized by the same rules of law and justice, by which those who were parties to it at the time were, or ought to have been, regulated; secondly, in the light of what is termed *un fait accompli*, which is not to be disturbed, but, although subject to modification and revision by subsequent legislation, must be taken as the foundation of the existing state of the law.

Viewing it in the former light, there arise out of it certain questions of abstract justice and inalienable right, which it is open to the philosophy of history to take into consideration, and which might even become of practical importance, if the necessity of remedying the evil effects entailed upon the Church by this surrender should be denied.

It may fairly be asked:—

1. How far was the provincial convocation of Canterbury authorized to surrender the rights of the entire Church of England, of which the province of Canterbury forms only a part; the tardy adhesion of the provincial convocation of York being expressed in vague terms only, and the less to be regarded in the light of a voluntary surrender of rights, as it was not tendered till after the passing of the Act of Parliament, by which the Act of Submission became the law of the land?

2. Supposing the submission had been made by the synodical representation of the entire Church of Eng-

act after it had become law, having agreed on the 2nd of June, 1534, to the proposition 'that the bishop of Rome has not, in the Holy Scripture, any greater jurisdiction in the realm of England than any other foreign bishop.'—Wake's *State of the Church and Clergy*, ch. ix. sec. 50—54; and *Append. No. 141*.

land, instead of being made by the convocation of one province only, how far is the representative body of the Church at any given moment competent to alienate for all future generations rights which are inherent in the very being of the Church, and indispensable to her welfare, rights which therefore must be considered as inalienable?

3. How far could an Act of Parliament cover the two defects before mentioned; in other words, what right had the parliament to treat as the submission of the whole Church, that which was the submission of a part of the Church only; and what right can the civil legislature have to extinguish and annihilate the inherent rights of the Church, the body and kingdom of Christ?

The force of these questions is much strengthened by the consideration, that the act of submission was obtained during a deadly struggle between two tyrannical powers; that the members of the convocation were most reluctant to make it, and that it was ultimately extorted from their fears. In whatever degree incompetency on the one hand, and intimidation on the other hand, vitiate a compact, to that extent is the compact *ab initio* vitiated, into which the provincial convocation of the province of Canterbury, acting without warrant on behalf of the Church of England, entered with Henry VIII., when, coerced by intimidation, it consented to pass an act which manifestly exceeded the limits of its competency.

While a hope remains that the Church may be restored to the exercise of her inalienable rights upon

the basis of the law, as it now stands, it would be unwise and premature to moot such questions, and urge such considerations, as these; yet may it not be superfluous to suggest them for the benefit of those who imagine that the allegation of the letter of the law, setting aside,—whether intentionally and directly, or implicitly, by the aid of interpretation,—the just and inalienable rights of the Church of Christ, is an unanswerable argument against the existence of those rights.

Dismissing, however, this part of the case, the act of submission has to be considered, in the next place, in the light of a "*fait accompli*;" that is to say, as the foundation on which, in a legal point of view, the royal supremacy over the Church, and the present constitution of her ecclesiastical synod, rests. In this view of it, the argument must necessarily proceed upon a careful examination of the terms in which the act of submission is couched; for which reason, and because the document, in itself a curious and interesting one, is not easily accessible to the general reader, the insertion of it, in this place, will be both serviceable to the argument in hand, and generally acceptable:—

"We your most humble subjects, daily orators and beadsmen of your clergy of England, having one special trust and confidence in your most excellent wisdom, your princely goodness, and fervent zeal to the promotion of God's honour and Christian religion, and also in your learning, far exceeding, in our judgment, the learning of all other kings and princes that we have read of; and doubting nothing, but that the same shall still continue, and daily increase in your

Majesty; first, do offer and promise *in verbo sacerdotii* here unto your Highness, submitting ourselves most humbly to the same, that we will never from henceforth enact, put in ure, promulge, or execute any new canons or constitution provincial, or any other new ordinance, provincial or synodal, in our convocation or synod, in time coming, which convocation is, alway hath been, and must be assembled only by your high commandment of writ; only<sup>107</sup> your Highness by your royal assent shall license us to assemble our convocation, and to make, promulge, and execute such constitutions and ordinaments as shall be made in the same, and thereto give your royal assent and authority.

Secondarily, that whereas divers of the constitutions, ordinaments, and canons provincial or synodal, which have been heretofore enacted, but thought to be not only much prejudicial to your prerogative royal, but also over much onerous to your Highness's subjects; your clergy aforesaid is contented, if it may stand so with your Highness's pleasure, that it be committed to the examination and judgment of your Grace, and of thirty-two persons, whereof sixteen to be of the upper and nether house of the temporalty, and other sixteen of the clergy, all to be chosen and appointed by your most noble Grace: so that finally, whichsoever of the said constitutions, ordinaments, or canons provincial or synodal shall be thought and determined by your Grace, and by the most part of the said thirty-two persons, not to stand with God's laws, and the laws of your realm, the same to be abrogated and taken away by your Grace and the clergy; and such of them as shall be seen by your Grace, and by the most part of the said thirty-two persons to stand with God's laws, and the laws of your realm, to stand in full strength and power, your Grace's most royal

<sup>107</sup> For "*only*" read "*unless*;" the sense requires it, and the Act of Parliament so recites the submission of the clergy. Wake also reads "*unless*."—State of the Church and Clergy, ch. x. s. 17 and 20.



assent and authority once impetrate fully given to the same<sup>108</sup>.”

Without reviving the subtle points formerly raised as to the effect of this document, which have been thoroughly ventilated by Archbishop Wake<sup>109</sup>, it will be sufficient for the purpose of the present inquiry to sum up its substance under the following three heads:

I. *What was surrendered by the act of submission.*

There can be no question, that by this act the convocation did surrender, not absolutely, but with certain limitations, two things:

1. Retrospectively, the entire body of laws and regulations which the Church legislation of past ages had called into existence, in the second clause of the act.

2. Prospectively, in the first clause of the act, the Church's power of legislating for herself, and administering her own internal affairs.

II. *Upon what supposition this surrender was made.*

The surrender was evidently made on the supposition that the temporal power recognized the spiritual trust committed to the Church by Christ, and was interested in its faithful execution. This appears plainly from the preamble, which recites, as the ground upon which the submission is made, the “special trust and confidence” which the convocation professes to have

<sup>108</sup> Wilkins Concil. t. iii. pp. 754, 755. It has been thought more convenient to modernise the orthography of this and other contemporaneous documents.

<sup>109</sup> State of the Church and Clergy, ch. x.

both in the ability of the king, by reason of his "wisdom" and "learning," rightly to appreciate the spiritual interests of the Church submitted to his discretion and control, and in his "fervent zeal" for the promotion of those interests, that is, of "God's honour, and the Christian religion." It will not avail to say, that this is a mere court compliment, or that the expressions of confidence in the king's ability and zeal to make a right use of the discretion vested in him, and in the continuance of the same, can at any rate apply only to the king personally. To maintain this, would involve a limitation of the submission itself to the lifetime of King Henry VIII. If, on the contrary, in receiving this submission at the hands of the Church, King Henry VIII. is to be viewed as the representative of his successors, it is evident that the same qualifications upon the consideration of which the submission was made to him, must be presupposed in his successors also; in other words, that such a surrender of the Church's right to legislate for herself and govern herself, presupposes in the temporal power to which that right is surrendered, a recognition of the principles of the Church, of her faith and of the purpose of her existence, and an earnest will to give to those principles practical effect, to uphold that faith<sup>110</sup>, and to promote

<sup>110</sup> If any one should suppose that an argument may thence be deduced in favour of Romish doctrine, which was at that time the doctrine both of the king and of the convocation, it will be sufficient to remind him, that the Reformation, *i. e.* the purgation of the faith of the English Church from Romish error, was effected by the concurrent action of the temporal and the spiritual power, provided for in the act of submission.

the ends for which the Church was ordained by Christ.

III. *What stipulations were annexed to this surrender.*

These were, as the surrender itself, of two kinds :

1. As to the past, the surrender of the existing body of ecclesiastical laws was made on the understanding that the said body of laws was to undergo a revision by competent persons ; a revision, the principle of which is clearly defined in the act of submission. It is not to be a process of arbitrary selection, adoption, or rejection ; the existing ecclesiastical laws are to be tried by two tests, that of God's laws, and that of the laws of the realm ; and as nothing is to be admitted contrary to them, so nothing agreeable to them is to be rejected.

2. As to the future, the surrender of all synodal action, independently of the king, was made on the understanding that the king shall license the convocation to assemble, and give, unless there be just cause to the contrary, his assent and authority to its resolutions and decrees. The very letter of the surrender shows, that it is not a renunciation, absolutely, of the synodal rights of the Church, but only a submission of the exercise of those rights to the control and approbation of the Sovereign ; and from the nature of things it is evident that such a total abdication could not have been intended, for it would plainly have been a suicidal act.

It is a mere abuse of language, and of common sense and fairness, to argue that by making the convocation of ecclesiastical synods dependent on the king's writ,

and the validity of their resolutions and decrees dependent on the royal assent, the Church lost the *right* of assembling synodically, and making laws and regulations for her own government; and that therefore the suppression of the synodal action of the Church for the last hundred and thirty years is *lawful*. Where is the constitutional lawyer that would advise the crown, that because the parliament cannot assemble but by royal writ, and cannot make laws without the royal assent, the Sovereign has a clear right to govern without the parliament? Or what would be the consequence, if such advice were tendered to the crown and acted upon? Yet the two cases are exactly parallel: if there is any difference, it is in favour of the synodal right of the Church; because the government of the Church by bishops and synods is a divine institution which no human law or contract can abrogate, whereas the government of the kingdom with the advice of lords and commons is a merely human institution. An absolute monarchy is conceivable, and that by God's ordinance; but a Church without spiritual government, or with a spiritual government which wants the essential powers of a government, is an inconsistency and a direct violation of the ordinance of God; a violation the more unjustifiable, because the principle of passive obedience held by the Church, is taken advantage of for the purpose of trampling upon her dearest, her inalienable rights, in a manner which, if a similar course were pursued in the body politic, would produce instant rebellion. The Church may patiently endure the oppression, but she has neither forfeited, nor renounced, her rights. So

far from having renounced them, the synodal action of the Church was virtually reserved by the stipulation attached to the second part of the surrender; for in the ancient ecclesiastical laws that synodal action was abundantly provided for; nor could it possibly be maintained that those provisions were contrary to the laws of God and of the realm; they being, on the contrary, in strict accordance with both.

Upon consideration, then, of the supposition on which the act of submission proceeded, and of the stipulations by which it was accompanied, it appears, that whatever may be thought of the incompetency of the convocation which consented to make it, or of the violent means by which it was procured, there is not in the act itself any thing that would have interfered with the just rights and the well-being of the Church, provided the terms of the submission had been properly adhered to. Its effect was not necessarily to take away the rights inherent in the character, and indispensable to the well-being, of the Church, or to give to the temporal Sovereign an undue and arbitrary power over the Church; its direct and inevitable effect, as well as its primary object, was to put a stop for ever to Papal usurpation; to abrogate Papal laws inconsistent with the independence both of the kingdom and of the ancient Church, which had been imposed upon both by the Papacy, and to emancipate the legislative and administrative action of the Church in her synods from the trammels of Papal interference.

Similar was the object of another measure, passed in

the same year as the act of parliament by which the Act of Submission became the law of the land ; the much debated statute, namely, by which the filling up of episcopal appointments was placed under new regulations. The text of that statute, 25 Henry VIII., c. 20, is as follows :—

“ § 1. Where sithens the beginning of this present Parliament for repressing of the exaction of annates and first-fruits of archbishopricks and bishopricks of this realm, wrongfully taken by the Bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope, and the See of Rome, it is ordained and established by an act, among other things, that the payments of the annates or first-fruits, and all manner contributions for the same for any such archbishoprick or bishoprick, or for any bulls to be obtained from the See of Rome, to or for the said purpose or intent, should utterly cease, and no such to be paid for any archbishoprick or bishoprick within this realm, otherwise than in the same act is expressed ; and that no manner of person or persons to be named, elected, presented, or postulated to any archbishoprick or bishoprick within this realm, should pay the said annates or first-fruits, nor any other manner of sum or sums of money, pensions or annuities for the same, or for any other the like exaction or cause, upon pain to forfeit to our Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs and successors, all manner his goods and chattels for ever, and all the temporal lands and possessions of the said archbishoprick or bishoprick, during the time that he or they that should offend contrary to the said act should have, possess, and enjoy the said archbishoprick or bishoprick. And it is further enacted, that if any person named or presented to the See of Rome by the King's Highness, or his heirs or successors, to be Bishop of any see or diocese within this realm, should happen to be letted, delayed, or deferred, at the See of Rome from any such

bishoprick whereunto he should be so presented, by mean of restraint of bulls of the said Bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope, and other things requisite to the same, or should be denied at the See of Rome, upon convenient suit made for any bulls requisite for any such cause; that then every person so presented might or should be consecrated in England by the Archbishop in whose province the said bishoprick shall be, so always that the same person should be named and presented by the King for the time being to the said Archbishop, and if any person being named and presented (as is aforesaid) to any archbishoprick of this realm, making convenient suit as is aforesaid, should happen to be letted, delayed, deferred, or otherwise disturbed from the said archbishoprick, for lack of pall, bulls, or other things to him requisite to be obtained at the See of Rome, that then every such person so named and presented to the Archbishop might and should be consecrated and invested after presentation made, as is aforesaid, by any other two Bishops within this realm, whom the King's Highness, or any his heirs or successors, kings of England, would appoint and assign for the same, according and after like manner as divers Archbishops and Bishops have been heretofore, in ancient times, by sundry the King's most noble progenitors, made, consecrated, and invested within this realm. And it was further enacted by the said Act, that every Archbishop and Bishop, being named and presented by the King's Highness, his heirs and successors, Kings of England, and being consecrated and invested as is aforesaid, should be installed accordingly, and should be accepted, taken, and reputed, used and obeyed as an Archbishop or Bishop of the dignity, see, or place whereunto he shall be so named, presented, and consecrated, and as other like prelates of that province, see, or diocese, have been used, accepted, taken, and obeyed, which have had and obtained completely their bulls and other things requisite in that behalf from the See of Rome;

and also should fully and entirely have and enjoy all the spiritualities and temporalities of the said archbishoprick or bishoprick in as large, ample, and beneficial a manner as any of his or their predecessors had or enjoyed in the said archbishoprick or bishoprick; satisfying and yielding unto the King's Highness, and to his heirs and successors, all such duties, rights, and invests, as beforetime hath been accustomed to be paid for any such archbishoprick or bishoprick, according to the ancient laws and customs of this realm and the King's prerogative royal, as in the said Act, amongst other things, is more at large mentioned.

“ § 2. And albeit the said Bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope, hath been informed and certified of the effectual contents of the said Act, to the intent that by some gentle ways the said exactions might have been redressed and reformed; yet, nevertheless, the said Bishop of Rome hitherto hath made none answer of his mind therein to the King's Highness, nor devised or required any reasonable ways to and with our said Sovereign Lord for the same: wherefore his most Royal Majesty, of his excellent goodness, for the wealth and profit of this his realm and subjects of the same, hath not only put his most gracious and royal assent to the aforesaid Act, but also hath ratified and confirmed the same, and every clause and article therein contained, as by his letters patent, under his great seal, enrolled in the Parliament Roll of this present Parliament, more at large is contained <sup>111</sup>.

<sup>111</sup> The Act here referred to was passed in the 23rd year of Henry VIII. ; but the Royal Assent to it was not given, but reserved to the King's discretion. The Act, after reciting the intolerable extortion of the Roman Court, on the occasion of episcopal promotions, in the shape of annates, first-fruits, &c., empowered the King to negotiate with the See of Rome, offering a payment of five per cent. upon the clear annual value of the archbishopric or bishopric, which was to cover all fees and payments whatsoever, for the expedition of the usual documents on the appointment to a



“ § 3. And forasmuch as in the said Act it is not plainly and certainly expressed in what manner and fashion Archbishops and Bishops shall be elected, presented, invested, and consecrated within this realm, and in all other the King's dominions: Be it now therefore enacted by the King our Sovereign Lord, by the assent of the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same: That the said Act, and every thing therein contained, shall be and stand in strength, virtue, and effect, except only that no person or persons hereafter shall be presented, nominated, or commended to the said Bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope, or to the See of Rome, to or for the dignity or office of any Archbishop or Bishop within this realm, or in any other the King's dominions, nor shall send nor procure therefor any manner of bulls, briefs, palls, or other things requisite for an Archbishop or Bishop, nor shall pay any sums of money for annates, first-fruits, nor otherwise, for expedition of any such bulls, briefs, or palls: but that by the authority of this Act, such presenting, nominating, or commending to the said Bishop of Rome, or to the See of Rome, and such bulls, briefs, palls, annates, first-fruits, and every other sums of money heretofore limited, accustomed,

vacant See. In the event of this proposal not being assented to, the Act made the further provisions recited in 25 Henry VIII., c. 20, and in anticipation of bulls of excommunication and interdict likely to be issued by the Roman Court, declared that no notice should be taken of them. The King was left to give force of law by his letters patent to any part of this Act, which, according to the circumstances of the case, he might require. It was subsequently repealed with the other acts relating to the late changes in the Church, by 1 and 2 Will. and Mary, c. 8; and as those portions of it which were of permanent application were incorporated in 25 Henry VIII., c. 20, it was not revived, like other Acts, by 1 Eliz., c. 1, nor is it contained in the printed Statutes. It is to be found in *Gibson's Codex Juris Eccles. Anglic.*, Vol. I., pp. 122—124.

or used to be paid at the See of Rome, for procuration or expedition of any such bulls, briefs, or palls, or any other thing concerning the same, shall utterly cease, and no longer be used within this realm, or within any the King's dominions; any thing contained in the said Act afore-mentioned, or any use, custom, or prescription to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

“ § 4. And, furthermore, be it ordained and established by the authority aforesaid, that at every avoidance of every archbishoprick or bishoprick within this realm, or in any other the King's dominions, the King our Sovereign Lord, his heirs and successors, may grant to the prior and convent, or the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral churches or monasteries where the See of such archbishoprick or bishoprick shall happen to be void, a license under the great seal, as of old time hath been accustomed, to proceed to the election of an Archbishop or Bishop of the See so being void, with a letter missive containing the name of the person which they shall elect and choose. By virtue of which license the said Dean and Chapter, or prior and convent, to whom any such license and letter missive shall be directed, shall with all speed and celerity, in due form, elect and choose the same person named in the said letter missive to the dignity and office of the archbishoprick or bishoprick so being void, and none other. And if they do defer or delay their election above twelve days next after such license or letter missive to them delivered, and for every such default the King's Highness, his heirs and successors, at their liberty and pleasure, shall nominate and present, by their letters patent under their great seal, such a person to the said office and dignity so being void as they shall think able and convenient for the same; and that every such nomination and presentment to be made by the King's Highness, his heirs and successors, if it be to the office and dignity of a Bishop, shall be made to the Archbishop and Metropolitan of the province where the See of the same

bishoprick is void, if the See of the said archbishoprick be then full, and not void : and if it be void, then to be made to such Archbishop or Metropolitan within this realm, or in any the King's dominions, as shall please the King's Highness, his heirs and successors ; and if any such nomination or presentment shall happen to be made for default of such election to the dignity or office of any Archbishop, then the King's Highness, his heirs and successors, by his letters patent under his great seal, shall nominate and present such person as they will dispose to have the said office and dignity of Archbishop, being void, to one such Archbishop and two such Bishops, or else to four such Bishops within this realm, or in any of the King's dominions, as shall be assigned by our Sovereign Lord, his heirs or successors.

“ § 5. And be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that whensoever any such presentment or nomination shall be made by the King's Highness, his heirs or successors, by virtue and authority of this Act, and according to the tenour of the same ; that then every Archbishop and Bishop, to whose hands any such presentment and nomination shall be directed, shall with all speed and celerity invest and consecrate the person nominated and presented by the King's Highness, his heirs and successors, to the office and dignity that such person shall be so presented unto, and give and use to him a pall, and all other benedictions, ceremonies, and things requisite for the same, without suing, procuring, or obtaining hereafter any bulls or other things at the See of Rome, for any such office or dignity in any behalf. And if the said Dean and Chapter, or prior and convent, after such license and letters missive to them directed, within the said twelve days, do elect and choose the said person mentioned in the said letters missive to them directed, according to the request of the King's Highness, his heirs and successors, thereof to be made by the said letters missive in that behalf, then their election shall stand and be good and effectual to all intents ;

and that the persons so elected, after certification made of the same election, under the common and convent seal of the electors, to the King's Highness, his heirs or successors, shall be reputed and taken by the name of the lord elected of the said dignity and office that he shall be elected unto; and then making such oath and fealty only to the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors, as shall be appointed for the same, the King's Highness, by his letters patent, under his great seal, shall signify the said election, if it be to the dignity of a Bishop, to the Archbishop and Metropolitan of the province where the See of the said bishoprick was void, if the See of the said Archbishop be full and not void: and if it be void, then to any other Archbishop within this realm, or in any other the King's dominions, requiring and commanding such Archbishop to whom any such signification shall be made, to confirm the said election, and to invest and consecrate the said person so elected to the office and dignity that he is elected unto, and to give and use to him all such benedictions, ceremonies, and other things requisite for the same, without any suing, procuring, or obtaining any bulls, letters, or other things from the See of Rome for the same in any behalf. And if the person be elected to the office and dignity of an Archbishop, according to the tenour of this Act, then, after such election certified to the King's Highness in form aforesaid, the same person so elected to the office and dignity of an Archbishop, shall be reputed and taken lord elect to the said office and dignity of an Archbishop, whereunto he shall be so elected; and then after he hath made such oath and fealty only to the King's Majesty, his heirs and successors, as shall be limited for the same, the King's Highness, by his letters patent under his great seal, shall signify the said election to one Archbishop and two other Bishops, or else to four Bishops within this realm, or within any other the King's dominions, to be assigned by the King's Highness, his heirs or successors, requiring and

commanding the said Archbishop and Bishops, with all speed and celerity, to confirm the said election, and to invest and consecrate the said person so elected to the office and dignity that he is elected unto, and to give and use to him such pall, benedictions, ceremonies, and all other things requisite for the same, without suing, procuring, or obtaining any bulls, briefs, or other things at the said See of Rome, or by the authority thereof in any behalf.

“ § 6. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that every person and persons being hereafter chosen, elected, nominated, presented, invested, and consecrated to the dignity or office of any Archbishop or Bishop within this realm, or within any other the King's dominions, according to the form, tenor, and effect of this present Act, and suing their temporalities out of the King's hands, his heirs or successors, as hath been accustomed, and making a corporal oath to the King's Highness, and to none other, in form as is afore rehearsed, shall and may from henceforth be thronized or installed, as the case shall require, and shall have and take their only restitution out of the King's hands of all the possessions and profits, spiritual and temporal, belonging to the said archbishoprick or bishoprick whereunto they shall be so elected or presented, and shall be obeyed in all manner of things, according to the name, title, degree, and dignity that they shall be so chosen or presented unto, and do and execute in every thing and things touching the same as any Archbishop or Bishop of this realm, without offending of the prerogative Royal of the Crown and the laws and customs of this realm, might at any time heretofore do.

“ § 7. And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if the prior and convent of any monastery, or dean and chapter of any cathedral church, where the See of an Archbishop or Bishop is within any the King's dominions, after such license as is afore rehearsed, shall be delivered to them, proceed not to election, and signify the same, accord-

ing to the tenour of this Act, within the space of twenty days next after such license shall come to their hands; or else, if any Archbishop or Bishop within any the King's dominions, after any such election, nomination, or presentation shall be signified unto them by the King's letters patent, shall refuse, and do not confirm, invest, and consecrate with all due circumstance as is aforesaid, every such person as shall be so elected, nominated, or presented, and to them signified as is above mentioned, within twenty days next after the King's letters patent of such signification or presentation shall come to their hands; or else, if any of them, or any other person or persons admit, maintain, allow, obey, do, or execute any censures, excommunications, interdictions, inhibitions, or any other process or Act, of what nature, name, or quality soever it be, to the contrary or let of due execution of this Act, that then every prior or particular person of his convent, and every Dean and particular person of the Chapter, and every Archbishop and Bishop, and all other persons so offending and doing contrary to this Act, or any part thereof, and their aiders, counsellors, and abettors, shall run into the dangers, pains, and penalties of the estatute of provision and *præmunire* made in the 25th year of the reign of King Edward III., and in the 16th year of King Richard II.<sup>112</sup>

Upon this statute, in the same way as upon the act of submission, two questions arise, one as to its abstract lawfulness, the other as to its actual intent and effect. Of these the latter, as the more immediately practical, is the only one which would, under ordinary circumstances, require to be discussed. But the circumstances under which the discussion arises, are of an extraordinary character: the sense and effect of the statute

<sup>112</sup> Gibson's *Codex Juris Eccles. Anglican.*, Vol. I. pp. 125—130.

is not only disputed, but the highest legal authority, having been appealed to, has left its sense doubtful. Hence it will not suffice to inquire, what are the relative rights of the Crown and the Church, according to that interpretation of the statute which the historical facts connected with it, the general principles of ecclesiastical law, and the common rules of what is right and just, would seem to indicate as the only correct interpretation; it becomes necessary to contemplate the other alternative of interpretation, which, right or wrong, is *de facto* made to prevail; and to inquire whether, in the sense attributed to it, the statute in question is, or ever could be, *lawful*, in the higher acceptance of that term; or whether it is, perchance, one of those iniquitous enactments, which human legislation may, indeed, establish as law for a time, but which, sooner or later, must fall before the innate sense of right implanted in the human breast, and before the secret but irresistible power of that supreme law of God, of which they are a violation.

In the sense attributed to it, on the principle of stretching it to the utmost extent which its wording will bear, for the enlargement of the prerogative of the Crown, and the enslavement of the Church, the effect of the statute resolves itself into the following propositions:—

“The office of chief pastor in the Church of God is an office in the absolute gift of the temporal power, which is the sole judge of the fitness of its own nominees.

“The process of appointment to that office is by a succession of exceedingly solemn, but wholly unmeaning forms, the performance of which the temporal power

has an absolute right to compel on the part of those who are invested with spiritual offices in the Church of God.

“The first of these performances is the solemn invocation of the Holy Ghost by the Dean and Chapter of the vacant see, for His guidance in the choice of a fit person to fill the office of chief pastor over their church ;—the fact being, that there is no choice at all ; as the Dean and Chapter are bound to declare the nominee of the temporal power to be the person whom under the guidance of the Holy Ghost they have ‘elected.’

“The second of these performances is a solemn judicial inquiry instituted by the Metropolitan, as the highest ecclesiastical judge, into the fitness of the party presented to him on the ground of this ‘election ;’ and that under a public appeal to any one who shall have any objection to allege against the presentee, to come forward for the purpose of stating such objection ;—the fact being, that there is no inquiry at all ; as the Metropolitan or his deputy is bound to refuse a hearing to any objectors appearing in consequence of his public appeal ; to pronounce them contumacious for non-appearance, although they have appeared and have been refused a hearing ; and finally to ‘confirm’ the ‘election’ by declaring the party presented to have been found upon inquiry a fit and unobjectionable person to fill the office of chief pastor in the Church of God.

“The third of these performances is the most solemn of all ; consisting in the conveyance of the gift of the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands with prayer, and the form of benediction following : ‘Receive the Holy



Ghost for the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands; in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen. And remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is given thee by this imposition of our hands: for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness.' This solemn conveyance of the gift of the Holy Ghost is made upon the supposition not only that the party so consecrated is a fit person, but that his appointment is agreeable to the will of God; which supposition is variously affirmed by the different parties to the transaction; first, by two Bishops who present him for consecration, as 'a godly and well-learned man;' secondly, by the Metropolitan, who, in 'moving the congregation present' to 'fall to prayer, before he admit and send forth the person presented unto him to the work' of a Bishop, expresses his 'trust,' that 'the Holy Ghost hath called him to this work;' lastly, by the presentee himself, who affirms his 'persuasion,' that he is 'truly called to this ministration,' not only 'according to the order of this realm,' but 'according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ'<sup>118</sup>."

Now, if Christianity is not a fable, but a reality, it is difficult to deny, that it is anything but consistent with the reverence due to the Sovereign Majesty of Godhead, to call upon the Holy Ghost to direct a decision where, with all reverence be it spoken, there is nothing left for Him, or for those invoking His aid, to decide;

<sup>118</sup> See "The Form of ordaining or consecrating of an Archbishop or Bishop."

because the matter is decided already ;—to pronounce a person fit to be offered to the Lord Jesus Christ for the highest office in His Church, upon the ground of an inquiry, which in reality is no inquiry ;—and to call down the gifts of the Holy Ghost upon the person so offered, on the alleged “trust” and “persuasion,” that he is called to the office by the Holy Ghost, according to the will of the Lord Jesus Christ, when the call is in fact the absolute appointment of man ; so absolute as to admit of no objection, demur, or refusal upon any ground whatsoever ; the different parties who act throughout the matter in the name of God, and professedly under His direction, being in fact neither more nor less than the passive and irresponsible tools of the temporal power. The whole proceeding, from first to last, resolves itself, under this interpretation of the law, into a solemn mockery in three acts ; in the first of which the Holy Ghost is mocked by a mock election : in the second, the Church is mocked by a mock inquiry : and in the third, the Holy Ghost is called on to set His seal upon the two antecedent mockeries. There is but one supposition which exempts the proceeding described from the imputation of a profane mockery, though even then some of the forms, originating in a contrary supposition, are superfluous and scarcely justifiable,—the supposition, namely, that the individual holding or wielding the temporal power stands absolutely *in loco Christi* ; so that his decision in regard to the appointment is to be regarded by all men, as a matter of faith, as the direct appointment of God Himself.

This supposition is the very fiction upon which the Papacy rests its antichristian claims, and which characterizes the Pope as the "Man of Sin," who "as God sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God <sup>114</sup>."

It is not at all necessary, at the present stage of the inquiry, to enter into the question whether the Sovereign who procured the statute under consideration to be enacted, went upon the supposition that he was in his kingdom, what the Pope pretends to be over all Christendom, *Vicarius Christi* <sup>115</sup>. In either case the statute stands condemned, as a law so unlawful in the sight of God, so offensive to His Sovereign Majesty, that although, having been enacted in times of violence and confusion, without due consideration and clear perception of what it involves, and never having been acted out into all its consequences, it may have continued for ages on the statute-book of a Christian country; yet it cannot, without national sin of the most grievous kind, be suffered to remain there any longer, from the moment when, by the force of circumstances, its real character has been elucidated.

If the statute is founded upon the supposition that

<sup>114</sup> 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4.

<sup>115</sup> The title of "Supreme Head of the Church" which Henry VIII. assumed, and which was subsequently disavowed,—the general character of his ecclesiastical proceedings,—and some passages of this very statute, are calculated to create an impression that Henry VIII. meant to enact the Pope within his own dominions; and this is the best excuse that can be offered for the high prerogative interpretation put upon the statute by some of those who, losing sight of the theological bearings of the question, treated it in a merely legal point of view.

the temporal ruler is to be regarded by the Church as *Vicarius Christi*, its unlawfulness is placed beyond doubt; because such a view of the office of the temporal ruler is directly at variance with the express doctrine of the Church <sup>116</sup>. To invest the Sovereign <sup>117</sup> of this realm with the attributes of the Papacy, is as contrary to the teaching of our Church, and to the whole spirit of our legislation, as it is to the plain words of Holy Scripture.

If, on the contrary, the statute is not founded upon that supposition, then the profaneness of degrading the most solemn acts performed in the name and as in the presence of God, and with His concurrence directly invoked, into empty formalities by which the temporal power chooses to give effect to its appointments, is so manifest, that nothing can justify such an enactment, nothing suffered to stand in the way of its immediate repeal.

The temporal power never can have a right to set itself up in the place of the Holy Ghost in the Church of God; neither can it have a right to make God, His Spirit, His presence, His ordinance, subservient to its arbitrary will and pleasure. In either view, such a law involves sin of the deepest dye, sin so grievous as to vitiate *ab initio* any human law which is tainted by it, and to render it essentially unlawful.

<sup>116</sup> See Article XXXVII.

<sup>117</sup> The argument in this place proceeds purposely upon the supposition that the supremacy is exercised by the Sovereign in person. The fact that the prerogative of the Sovereign is actually wielded by a subject, which renders the high claims of prerogative lately preferred on behalf of the Crown still more preposterous, will be noticed elsewhere.

Such, by the inevitable conclusions of sound logic and sound theology, is the character of the statute 25 Henry VIII, c. 20, taken in the sense recently attributed to it. Happily, however, for the credit of the Church and of her Episcopate, this novel interpretation of the statute is not only not incontrovertible, but it may fairly be doubted whether it be tenable. Here, then, arises the second question involved in this inquiry, the question, namely, what is the actual intent and effect of that statute.

To ascertain this, two points must be considered:—  
1. What was, historically, the object for which the statute was enacted. 2. What was the meaning attached to those terms in the statute, upon which its interpretation turns.

If, then, in the first place, the question be asked, what was, historically, the object for which the statute was enacted, the answer is obvious. For the purpose of shutting out the interference of the Pope with episcopal creations in every stage, from first to last. For the proof of this fact it is unnecessary to travel beyond the statute itself. The first three sections of it tell its history. An attempt had been made to confine the concurrence of the Pope in episcopal creations within certain limits, putting a stop to both the usurpations and the exactions of the Roman See. That attempt having failed, the alternative previously contemplated was now actually resorted to. Since the Papacy would not suffer itself to be limited, it was resolved to exclude it altogether. To effect this, two things were necessary,—to make provision for the due succession of a

lawfully appointed and consecrated Episcopate, independently of the Papacy,—and to enforce the exclusion of Rome, by making any future reference to its usurped, and now discarded authority, penal.

Both these objects are kept in view in the four remaining clauses of the statute; the former was attained by sections 4, 5, and 6, which regulate the course to be pursued in the perpetuation of the Episcopate, without the concurrence of the Papacy; the latter, by section 7, which applies to the particular matter in hand, the penalty already provided for in a general way by former statutes against subjects abetting Papal encroachments to the detriment and contempt of the Royal authority.

The whole statute thus divides itself into three parts:

1. The *explanatory* clauses, (§§ 1, 2, 3) setting forth the occasion of the statute and its object.

2. The *directive* clauses, (§§ 4, 5, 6) regulating future proceedings in the matter to which the statute relates.

3. The *penal* clauses, (§ 7) giving force to the directive clauses, and preventing the object set forth in the explanatory clauses from being defeated.

Any attempt to interpret the statute without reference to the necessary connexion of these three parts with each other, is, if inadvertently made, uncritical,—if designedly made, dishonest. The critical and the honest way is to make that connexion the basis of interpretation.

This being done, it will be found, that the statute does not turn upon questions between the King as invested with the supremacy over the Church, and the Church as acknowledging that supremacy,—but upon

questions between the King as vindicating his own royal rights and the independence of the national Church, and such members of the Church as might be disposed to aid and abet a foreign jurisdiction over the national Church, introduced into the kingdom to the derogation of its liberty and of the King's sovereignty. This fact, which is evident on a consideration of the entire statute, appears yet more pointedly on examination of the nature of the penalty enacted in § 7.

If the object of the statute was to regulate the duties of certain of the King's subjects placed in certain offices, the penalty for enforcing it must be such a penalty as is usually inflicted for default in the performance of official duties.

If the object of the statute was to prevent subjects of the realm from recognizing a foreign authority, superior to that of the Sovereign, the penalty for enforcing it must be such a penalty as is usually inflicted upon breaches of allegiance amounting, in fact, to high treason.

Forasmuch, then, as the only penalty imposed by the statute is the specific penalty provided for by the law then already existing against treasonable breaches of allegiance, and that not against breaches of allegiance generally, but specifically against breaches of allegiance by recognition of a superior jurisdiction in the See of Rome, above the King's jurisdiction, it is clear to demonstration, that the exclusion of the Papal jurisdiction, and not the regulation of the relations between the Sovereign and the national Church, subject to his supremacy, was the intent of the statute.

Thus much no one who desires to argue the question critically and honestly, will deny. But, it may be said, although this was, undoubtedly, the essential object and *intent* of the statute, yet, since the statute deals with matters involving the relations between the Sovereign and the Church, it may incidentally have the *effect* of regulating these relations.

This, also, no one who desires to argue the question critically and honestly, will deny. The directive clauses of the statute necessarily have the effect of regulating the course of episcopal creations under the King's supremacy; but the sense in which they do so, is materially affected by the question whether this, or the exclusion of the Papal jurisdiction was the *intent* of the statute; and that in two ways:

1. In reference to the *penal* clauses. These, considering that the exclusion of Papal jurisdiction was the intent of the statute, and that the penalty is the specific penalty against aiders and abettors of Papal encroachment, are evidently inapplicable to any case but that of the royal supremacy being violated by a recourse to the Papal See, as possessing an authority superior to that of the King. Any infringement of the directive clauses of the statute, *other than this*, is not punishable, according to the intent of the statute, by *that penalty*, which for a simple default in the performance of official duties is excessive; to whatever other proceedings of a compulsory or penal nature the offender may become liable for such default by the ordinary operation of the law.

2. In reference to the *directive* clauses, it will make



a material difference in the interpretation of their provisions, whether the statute be considered as initiating the different proceedings connected with episcopal creations, or as protecting the proceedings already in use against the encroachments of a foreign usurpation; for in the latter case it is obvious, that the interpretation of the terms of the statute must be guided by the nature of the proceedings already in use, except where the statute itself expressly abrogates or modifies those proceedings. The application of this rule of sound criticism to the interpretation of the several provisions contained in the directive clauses, is the way to ascertain their real intent and effect.

The provisions in question have reference to the following steps of the process of episcopal creation:—

1. The election or nomination of a successor to the vacant see, § 4.
2. The confirmation of the election, § 5.
3. The consecration of the person elected and confirmed, § 5.
4. The installation of the person consecrated, § 6.

The first of these is an exercise of power, the second an act of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the third an act of spiritual ministration, the last an act of official conveyance. Each will have to be separately considered, according to its nature, and the text of the statute.

1. *The election (or nomination)*. The original course of proceeding was, as has been shown before<sup>118</sup>, for the

<sup>118</sup> See above, notes 74, 75.

King, either by himself, or with the advice of his council, to nominate. Subsequently, this royal nomination was taken away, and the power of appointing to vacant sees transferred, nominally to the Dean and Chapter, to whom a right of election was conceded, but virtually to the Papacy, by whose influence the election was directed<sup>119</sup>. In regard to this point, the intent and effect of the statute evidently is, not only to shut out the Papacy from influencing the election, but to restore to the Sovereign his original right of absolute nomination, to be exercised either by himself personally, or with the advice of his council. This might be done by two methods, both which are combined together in § 4. The first method was to preserve the form of election which had become customary, but to take care at the same time that the substantial power should rest with the King. The licence to proceed to the election preserves the form; while the "letter missive containing the name of the person which they shall elect and choose," secures the substantial power to the King. This, then, was a distinct modification<sup>120</sup> of the proceeding in use; for the express purpose of falling back, not upon the state of the law immediately preceding the enactment of the statute, but upon the antecedent state of the law, before the surrender of the royal right of nomination by Henry I. and King John. The second method of attaining the same object, was, to give the nomination

<sup>119</sup> See above, pp. 75, 76; notes 99—102.

<sup>120</sup> Bishop Gibson, Vol. I. p. 127, remarks upon the clause touching the latter missive: "This is wholly new."

to the King absolutely, abolishing the form as well as the substance of the right of election conceded to the Dean and Chapter. This, also, was done by § 4; but only in the event of the former provision, which was "wholly new," proving inoperative, or a cause of embarrassment; in which case, at the expiration of twelve days<sup>131</sup> from the delivery of the "licence to elect" and "letter missive," the statute gives to the King an absolute right of nomination. Whatever, therefore, may be thought of the propriety of preserving the form of election when the substance of it is completely abolished, it is perfectly clear that the Dean and Chapter have no power whatever over the appointment; they may suffer the time to pass by without proceeding to an election, or they may meet together, and, through want of unanimity, fail to elect, and so allow the King's right of absolute nomination to accrue: but if they hold an election at all, and come to any determination as to the person to be elected, that person must be the person named in the letter missive, "and none other." The election of any other person would be *ipso facto* void. It does not follow, however, that they incur a *præmunire*, unless their refusal to comply with the recommendation of the letter missive arise from their recognition of Papal jurisdiction in the matter. Still, the absolute right of the Crown to nominate, either indirectly through the Dean and

<sup>131</sup> This is the term within which the King's right of absolute nomination accrues by § 4; but § 7 allows the Dean and Chapter a term of twenty days for signifying their election, before they become liable to the penalties of *præmunire*.

Chapter, or directly by letters patent, cannot for a moment be called in question.

2. *The confirmation.* This, as has been shown in the preceding chapter<sup>122</sup>, is a judicial process of great antiquity in the Church at large, and fully recognized by the law of the English Church. At a later period, the process had been reduced to a mere form, by the bull of absolution from all canonical censures<sup>123</sup>, which was one of the instruments issued by the Pope in the exercise of his usurped power. The statute recognizes this process, § 5, as one of the necessary steps in the course of episcopal creation; and it does not, as in the case of the election, introduce any direction in regard to it which is "wholly new." It simply directs it to be done, without specifying how it is to be done; the only departure from the then existing practice enjoined by the statute, is, that it shall be done "without suing, procuring, or obtaining any bulls, briefs, or other things at the said see of Rome, or by the authority thereof in any behalf." Two things, therefore, are perfectly clear: 1. that the statute excludes the Pope's interference by his bull of absolution with the process of confirmation; 2. that the statute contains nothing to give to the King a power of interference with the process, similar to that previously exercised by the Pope. The obvious conclusion is, that the statute, both in *intent* and in *effect*, replaces the process of confirmation upon the footing upon which it stood originally, before the interference of Papal usurpation.

<sup>122</sup> See above, pp. 70—74; and notes 87—97.

<sup>123</sup> See above, note 103.

This conclusion, obvious in itself, is much strengthened by the following considerations.

If it had been intended to give to the King a right of superseding inquiry at the confirmation, in other words, to convert an essentially judicial process into a merely ministerial act (as has been recently contended), it is but fair to assume, that some express provision to that effect would have been introduced in § 5, in the same manner as an express provision securing the King's power to interfere with the election, was introduced in § 4. The Sovereign who procured the statute to be enacted, would neither have been restrained by any scruple or delicacy from expressly asserting such a right, if he had considered it as part of his regal attributes, nor would he have failed to assert it through oversight or supineness. The absence of any provision asserting his right of interference, is, therefore, more than presumptive evidence, that he did not claim such a right, that he considered confirmation as a judicial act to be performed by the Archbishop, in accordance with the law of the Church, and that he limited his own pretensions respecting it to this,—that it should be performed not by the authority of the Pope, but by that of the King.

It is evident from the provisions of § 4, that the intent of the statute was to replace the power of election on the same footing on which it had been before the intrusion of the Papal usurpation into the affairs of the English Church; it is, therefore, but fair and reasonable to conclude, by analogy, that in a similar way the process of confirmation, as an act of eccle-

siastical jurisdiction, was intended to be put back upon its original footing.

In the absence of all direct evidence on the subject, this would be evidently the fair and reasonable construction to put upon the statute as regards confirmation. A *præmunire* would lie against the Archbishop, if he refused to proceed to confirmation, on the ground that the jurisdiction belonged to the Pope, or that the Pope's concurrence, by bull or otherwise, was in any way necessary to its validity. If, without acknowledging the Papal supremacy, through mere carelessness or self-will, the Archbishop failed to proceed to confirmation, he would subject himself to the ordinary process of law, by which the King has power to compel the different functionaries, ecclesiastical or temporal, to perform the duties appertaining to their offices, and, in the event of obstinate refusal, he would subject himself to the ordinary consequences of contumacy. But if, neither attributing to the Pope any jurisdiction or authority in the matter, nor neglecting to perform the judicial act appertaining to his office, the Archbishop proceeded to the process of confirmation according to the law of the Church, he would satisfy all the requirements of the statute, in whatever decision (unless it was a decision manifestly corrupt and erroneous) the judicial inquiry, which constitutes the process of confirmation, might terminate.

This would be the fair and reasonable construction to put upon the provisions of the statute touching confirmation, *in the absence of all direct evidence* on the subject; how much more, then, must that construction

be maintained, when *the most direct and authentic evidence* comes in support of that construction? The evidence in question is contained in an authoritative declaration of the principles of the English Church, which was published by the desire and with the sanction of the very Sovereign who procured the enactment of the statute under consideration, within four years after the passing of the statute, and which forms part of the measures adopted by that Sovereign for the settlement of the order of the English Church after her separation from Rome. The authoritative Declaration in question is entitled, "The Institution of a Christian Man," and contains, in the second part, under the head "Sacrament of Orders," the following exposition of the respective limits of the spiritual and temporal powers.

"The second point, wherein consisteth the *jurisdiction* committed unto priests and bishops, by the authority of God's law, is to *approve and admit such persons as* (being nominated, elected, and presented unto them to exercise the office and room of preaching the Gospel, and of ministering the sacraments, and to have the care of jurisdiction over these certain people within this parish, or *within this diocese*) *shall be thought unto them meet and worthy* to exercise the same; and to *reject and repel from the said room such as they shall judge to be unmeet therefor*. And in this part we must know and understand, that the said presentation and nomination is of man's ordinance, and appertaineth unto the founders and patrons, or other persons, according to the laws and ordinances of men provided for the same. As, for an example, within this realm *the presentation and nomination of the bishopricks appertaineth unto the Kings of this realm*; and of

other less cures and parsonages, some unto the King's Highness, some unto other noblemen, some unto Bishops, and some unto other persons, whom we call the patrons of the benefices, according as it is provided by the order of the laws and ordinances of this realm. And *unto the priests or bishops belongeth, by the authority of the Gospel, to approve and confirm the person which shall be, by the King's Highness, or the other patrons, so nominated, elected, and presented unto them, to have the cure of these certain people, within this certain parish or diocese; or else to reject him, as was said before, from the same, for his demerits or unworthiness.* For surely the office of preaching is the chief and most principal office, whereunto priests or bishops be called by the authority of the Gospel; and they be also called Bishops or Archbishops, that is to say, super-attendants or overseers, specially to signify, that it is their office to oversee, to watch, and to look diligently upon their flock, and to cause that Christ's doctrine and his religion may be truly and sincerely conserved, taught, and set forth among Christian people, according to the mere and pure truth of Scripture; and that all erroneous and corrupt doctrine, and the teachers thereof, may be rejected and corrected accordingly <sup>124</sup>."

This distinct and explicit acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of the spiritual power vested in the episcopate <sup>125</sup>, to ascertain and determine the fitness or unfit-

<sup>124</sup> Formularies of Faith, put forth by authority during the reign of Henry VIII.; Oxf. 1825, pp. 109, 110.

<sup>125</sup> The merit of having pointed out this important and decisive document, belongs to the Bishop of Exeter, who quoted this passage of the "Institution of a Christian Man," in the debate which took place in the House of Lords on the refusal of the *Mandamus* by the Court of Queen's Bench. An attempt has since been made to get rid of this unimpeachable evidence of the acknowledgment of the metropolitan's *jurisdiction* over episcopal appointments, at the period when the statute was passed, in a pamphlet entitled "*Sub*



ness of the nominee of the temporal power, and accordingly to *admit or reject* that nominee, cannot, in the

*Rege Sacerdos*," from the pen of Professor Creasy, of University College, London.

The argument of Professor Creasy reduces itself to two points :  
 1. that the "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian man," published six years later by royal authority, does not contain the passage in question, nor any similar passage ; but is, on the contrary, much stronger upon the royal supremacy over the Church ;  
 2. that the King's correction of the "Institution," to which the Bishop of Exeter adverted in his speech, took place, not before, but after its publication.

The first of these arguments is altogether pointless. The "Necessary Doctrine" is not, as Professor Creasy imagines, or leaves his readers to infer, a second edition of the "Institution ;" in which case the omission of a passage would be significant ; but it is a different book altogether, treating, indeed, of the same subjects, but all through the book in a very different manner. In the chapter on "the sacrament of orders," in particular, the line of argument in the "Necessary Doctrine" is totally changed, and occupies but half the space it did in the "Institution." Nothing, therefore, is to be concluded from the fact that any one particular passage is not reproduced. As regards the passages quoted by Professor Creasy, they do not touch the question in the least. They insist on the king's supremacy, in an argument justifying the rejection of the Papal supremacy ; and the very next passage to the principal quotation of Professor Creasy (Formularies of Faith, p. 287) expressly states it to be the duty of "Christian kings and princes" to "reduce and reform" bishops, from the false hierarchical position in which under the "pretended monarchy of the bishop of Rome" they had been placed, "again into *the old limits, and pristine estate of that power which was given to them by Christ, and used in the primitive Church ;*" which makes altogether for, and not *against* the metropolitan jurisdiction in the confirmation of bishops nominated by the king.

The second argument derives all its point from the artful manner in which Professor Creasy has connected his statements, which leaves on the reader's mind the impression that the omission of the passage quoted by the Bishop of Exeter, in the "Necessary Doctrine," was the result of the corrections made by Henry VIII. in the "Institution" *after* its publication. But it so happens that these corrections are

mind of impartial and unprejudiced persons, leave a shadow of doubt, as to the sense in which the statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 20 commands the Archbishop to "confirm" episcopal elections. The requirement of the statute is plainly a requirement made upon the Archbishop to exercise the jurisdiction belonging to him "by

in print, with Cranmer's annotations upon them, in the volume of Cranmer's "Miscellaneous Writings and Letters," published by the Parker Society, 1846. In that volume the King's proposed alterations in the above extract are to be seen, at pp. 97, 98. They are two in number, and to the following effect:—At the beginning, instead of the words, "the second point wherein consisteth," the King suggests the word "further;" and further on, where it is said that "the said presentation and nomination is of man's ordinance, and appertaineth unto the founders and patrons," the King proposes to insert the words "in every region." With these two exceptions, the whole paragraph inserted above, passed the ordeal of the King's criticism unscathed. More than this; the same volume of the Parker Society contains, pp. 469, 470, the minute of an answer of Henry VIII. to the letter of the commissioners prefixed to the "Institution." In this letter, after adverting to the fact that he had ordered the book to be printed without examining it himself, upon the confidence which he had in the commissioners, the King goes on to say, that notwithstanding his many occupations he has "taken as it were a taste of this their book, and has found there nothing but that is both meet to come from them, and also worthy of his praise and commendation;" and on this ground the king now "requires" them to be as "earnest in setting of it forth to the people," as they have been diligent in its composition; and commands a portion of it to be read to the people every Sunday and festival day, in every parish church or place of worship, for the space of three whole years, "to the intent that the same book and the whole contents thereof may, by the continual reading and preaching thereof, be engraven in the hearts of our said people."

It is not easy to find language for characterizing this attempt of a "barrister-at-law," and "professor of history," to discredit the inconvenient evidence which the Bishop of Exeter adduced, by making it appear that the passage quoted was not only not authorized, but repudiated by Henry VIII.

the authority of the Gospel;" and to do so irrespectively of the usurped jurisdiction of the Pope.

3. *The consecration.* Upon this step, which is an act of spiritual ministrations, no difficulty can arise, on the supposition that the process of confirmation has been duly conducted, and terminated satisfactorily. The only way in which the statute touches it, is the prohibition of the Pope's interference with it.

4. *The installation,* being a simple act of official conveyance necessarily consequent upon the preceding steps, this likewise cannot give rise to any difficulty; all that § 6 of the statute provides for, is, that it should be done, and be held valid, without the Pope's concurrence.

The sum, then, of the whole inquiry into the purport of the much-debated statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 20 is this:—

If the sense recently put upon the statute were its true sense, it would be a wicked law, offensive to God, and iniquitous between man and man,—a law not to be endured in a Christian polity.

The sense recently put upon the statute is, however, not its true sense. Reduced to its real intent and effect, the statute contains the following provisions:—

It wholly excludes the Papal usurpation.

It enacts the penalty of *præmunire* against any one who shall aid and abet that Papal usurpation in obstructing the perpetuation of a lawful episcopal succession in the national Church.

It regulates the manner in which that succession is to be perpetuated, and in doing so it restores to the

King his ancient right of nomination, and to the metropolitan his ancient jurisdiction in the process of confirmation.

Again, then, as in the case of the act of submission, so in the case of the statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 20, it appears that, when duly examined, the changes made at the period when the Church was emancipated from the yoke of the Papacy, were not inconsistent with the true character of the relations between the spiritual and the temporal powers. The only objectionable provision of that statute is the preservation of the form of election, which it would have been better to abolish altogether, and to give the nomination formally, as well as substantially, to the King. In all other respects the appointment of bishops, as settled by this statute, gave to the Church every guarantee that can reasonably be claimed for her; and if the Church has been injured by a vicious system of appointment to the episcopate, or if, in any other respect, her spiritual character and efficiency has been impaired under the influence of the royal supremacy, the fault lies not with the constitution given to the Church at the Reformation, but with the unfaithfulness and unrighteousness of subsequent times.

How, by such unfaithfulness and unrighteousness, the Church was gradually deprived of her rights, and reduced to her present state of helplessness and servile dependence on the temporal power, is what remains briefly to be told in this part of the history of the supremacy, in order to clear the way for the consideration of those practical questions to which the whole inquiry tends.

As regards the revision of the ecclesiastical laws, stipulated for in the second part of the act of submission, a number of successive acts of parliament<sup>126</sup>, passed for giving and continuing to the Sovereign the power of appointing the commission on which, according to the act, this duty was to devolve, attest the intention of the Crown to give effect to this part of the compact entered into with the Church. But nothing was done in the reign of Henry VIII., and the *Reformatio legum*<sup>127</sup> drawn up in the reign of Edward VI. never obtained the royal sanction, though the subject was again brought forward as late as the thirteenth year of Elizabeth's reign; the reason assigned by one historian for its abandonment being, that "the nation, especially the great men, could not endure ecclesiastical discipline"<sup>128</sup>. The consequence is, that the ecclesiastical law remains in the same uncertain and unsatisfactory state in which it was left *ad interim* by the last clause of the act 25 Henry VIII. c. 19; wherein it is provided, "that such canons, constitutions, ordinances, and synodals provin-

<sup>126</sup> The statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, contains a provision to that effect, and the powers conveyed by it were continued and renewed by the acts 27 Henry VIII. c. 15, 35 Henry VIII. c. 16, 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 11, 1 Eliz. c. 1.

<sup>127</sup> The commission was actually appointed under the reign of Edward VI., and completed its labours so far as to require nothing but the royal assent. This, however, was never given, and the volume was subsequently published in the year 1571, and again in 1640, under the title "*Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, ex auctoritate primum R. Henrici VIII. inchoata, deinde per R. Edvardum VI. propecta adauctaque in hunc modum, atque nunc ad pleniorum ipsarum reformationem in lucem ædita.*"

<sup>128</sup> Strype, Memor. Eccles. B. ii. c. 28.

cial, being already made, which will not be contrariant or repugnant to the laws, statutes, and customs of this realm, nor to the damage or hurt of the King's prerogative royal, shall now still be used and executed, as they were afore the making of this act, till such time as they be viewed, searched, or otherwise ordered and determined by the said two and thirty persons, or the more part of them, according to the tenor, form, and effect, of this present act." The practical result of this unsettled state of the law is well described by a learned civilian, who gives the following *recipe* for ascertaining the actual law upon any given point: "To inquire first what is the [Roman] canon law upon any point; and then to find out how far the same was received here before the said statute; and then to compare the same with the common law and with the statute law, and with the law concerning the King's prerogative (which is also part of the common law); and *from thence will come out the genuine law of the Church* <sup>129</sup>." That such a process as this may prove extremely serviceable within the precincts of Doctors' Commons, for the effectual multiplication of pleadings in causes ecclesiastical, it would be unreasonable to doubt. At the same time it is quite evident, that, as far as the government of the Church as a living institution is concerned, such a state of the law must either cause its provisions to become wholly inoperative, or create endless confusion, whenever it is attempted to bring so antiquated and complicated a machinery to bear upon the practical questions and exi-

<sup>129</sup> Burn's Eccles. Law, ninth edit., by Robert Phillimore. Author's preface, p. xxvi.

gencies of an age of rapid and irresistible progress. Of the mischiefs thence arising it would be easy, if this were the place for it, to adduce numerous and varied examples; not the least striking among them the strange and discreditable proceedings on two recent occasions of episcopal confirmation.

With regard to the synodal action of the Church, stipulated for in the first part of the Act of Submission, the Church had for the space of more than one hundred years the benefit of its regular continuance, by means of the provincial convocations<sup>130</sup>. It is to this exercise of her synodal power, under the royal licence, that the Church stands indebted for her articles and her formularies of worship. The latter, in particular, underwent several revisions, when such alterations as the circumstances of the times required, were introduced into them. Canons, articles, and constitutions for discipline were likewise drawn up in several of these convocations; some of which received the royal

<sup>130</sup> For the convenience of business they were usually summoned simultaneously with the Parliament; yet were they so far independent of the Parliament, that they might, under the royal licence, continue their sittings even after the Parliament was dissolved. This Archbishop Wake clearly shows (*State of the Church and Clergy*, ch. ix. § 94, 95), in reference to the convocation of 1640, the canons of which were censured and invalidated by the Long Parliament, not because the sitting of the convocation after the dissolution of the Parliament was unlawful, but because the doctrine contained in them was offensive to the dominant party, and because the Parliament claimed a like supremacy as that belonging to the King, by virtue of the Act of Submission, declaring it unlawful for any canons of the Church to be enacted "without common consent of the Parliament."

assent<sup>131</sup>, while in other instances it was refused or declined<sup>132</sup>. In addition to these more important

<sup>131</sup> Of this kind are the articles agreed upon in the provincial convocation of Canterbury, in the year 1575; Wilkins Concil. t. iv. pp. 284, 285; Cardwell Synodalia, t. i. pp. 132—138:—the articles agreed upon by the same convocation in the year 1585; Wilkins, t. iv. pp. 315—317; Cardwell, t. i. pp. 139—146:—the ecclesiastical constitutions made by the same convocation in 1597, which received the royal assent, and were promulged for the use of both provinces under the great seal of England; Wilkins, t. iv. pp. 352—356; Cardwell, t. i. pp. 147—163:—the constitutions and canons, collected by Bp. Bancroft (the see of Canterbury being then vacant) out of the articles, injunctions, and synodical acts passed and published in the reigns of King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, agreed upon in the provincial convocation of Canterbury, in the years 1603 and 1604, promulged by King James I. under the great seal, for the use of both provinces, and adopted by the provincial convocation of York in 1606, commonly called the canons of 1603; Cardwell, t. i. pp. 164—329:—lastly, the constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, agreed upon in the provincial convocations of Canterbury and York, in the year 1640, and published by Charles I. under the great seal; Cardwell, t. i. pp. 380—415.

<sup>132</sup> The first articles of discipline, drawn up in the reign of Elizabeth, were agreed upon in the provincial convocation of Canterbury in the year 1571, with the licence of the Queen, who, after suggesting several alterations in them, encouraged the Bishops to adopt them for their rule in the government of their dioceses; yet could she never be prevailed upon formally to give her royal assent to them, though repeatedly solicited to do so.—See Cardwell Synodalia, t. i. pp. 111—131; and the note, p. 111—114. The other canons to which the royal assent was refused, after they had passed both houses of convocation, are the canons on the theory of government, drawn up in the provincial convocation of Canterbury in the year 1606. The framing of these was taken in hand at the express desire of King James I., who wished to have the countenance of the Church's sentence solemnly declared, in recognizing the government of Holland after its separation from Spain. But the King repented afterwards of the course he had adopted, being of opinion that the convocation had "dipped too deep in what all kings reserve among the *arcana imperii*;" and on this ground he desired



transactions, there were many matters of lesser concern, upon which the power of the convocation was from time to time brought to bear: abuses which, if suffered to continue unredressed, might have been prejudicial to the cause of true religion, were corrected; the government of the Church was facilitated by reasonable regulations; false doctrine was guarded against by definitions of the truth, and censures upon heretical writings; and measures were taken for the protection of the Church against the aggressions of her enemies, and against meditated encroachments of the civil legislature.

Of the two interruptions which this state of things suffered, first under the reign of Queen Mary, when the Act of Submission was repealed<sup>133</sup>, and during the great rebellion, when the Church was involved in the ruin of the monarchy, it is unnecessary here to speak, as after each of them the temporal and the spiritual power returned to precisely the same relative position which they had before occupied. The only point of importance to the present inquiry is the virtual sup-

privately that they might not be offered to him for his assent. These canons, together with the preliminary chapters setting forth the premises on which they are severally grounded, were afterwards published under the title of "Bishop Overall's Convocation Book."—Cardwell, t. i. p. 330—379, and the note, pp. 330—334; and the Editor's Preface to the reprint of Bishop Overall's Convocation Book, in the library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.

<sup>133</sup> The statute 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary, c. 8, repealed both the Act of Submission, 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, and all the other acts which had been passed since that statute for the furtherance of the Reformation in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.; but the 1 Eliz. c. 1, revived the statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 19.

pression of the synodal power of the Church, by the withholding of the royal licence to transact business, which first began to be practised in the reign of Charles II., but was not permanently resorted to until the year 1717, since which time it has continued to this day. This unconstitutional abuse of the royal supremacy recognised by the Church in the Act of Submission, deserves to be attentively considered, both as to the causes which occasioned it, and the circumstances by which it was facilitated.

Touching the latter, the circumstances which facilitated the suppression, there can be no doubt that the non-performance of the pledge for the revision of the ecclesiastical laws which accompanied the Act of Submission, had a great share in depriving the Church of her just rights. Had that revision been effected, the provisions contained in the ancient ecclesiastical constitutions for the convocation of diocesan and provincial synods periodically, and of national synods as need might require, would necessarily have been adopted, as being contrary neither to God's law, nor to the law of the land, but rather agreeable to both<sup>124</sup>. Once introduced into the reformed ecclesiastical law, those provisions would not have been suffered, in the then awakened spirit of the Church, to fall into disuse; and although in that case the convocation of a national synod, when necessary for the interests of the Church, might have been delayed and evaded by the

<sup>124</sup> Evident as this is from the nature of things, it is yet further confirmed by the provisions contained on this subject in the *Reformatio legum*. See Tit. De Eccles. c. 18—23.

temporal power, under colour of the discretion vested in the Sovereign, yet no Government could have ventured to interdict the diocesan and provincial synods, being, though under royal authority, yet periodically appointed to be held; and these synods would have afforded a constitutional organ for expressing to the Sovereign, by way of address and petition, the mind of the Church as to the necessity of convening a national synod, and taking order for the determination of whatever matters might call for its intervention.

Instead of this, which would have been the legitimate effect of the Act of Submission, the unsettled state of the ecclesiastical law led to the total disuse of both diocesan synods and national councils, and to the transaction of the whole business of the Church in connexion with the provincial state convocations, summoned by the Sovereign chiefly for the purpose of getting the subsidies voted. By this means the real character of Church synods, as an institution of primitive, yea of apostolic times, came to be cast into the shade; and a base notion began to prevail, that the right of the clergy to sit in convocation rested upon the same worldly ground of taxation, from which the right of the representatives of the people to advise the king in Parliament is commonly deduced. But this reason for calling the convocation was done away with in the year 1664, when, by a private understanding between Archbishop Sheldon and the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, it was arranged that the clergy should wave their privilege of exemption from civil taxation, and suffer themselves to be taxed in

common with the rest of the king's subjects<sup>125</sup>; and when afterwards circumstances arose which rendered the convocation obnoxious to the Government, it was not unnaturally concluded by those who, in their ignorance of the constitution of the Church, traced the origin of the convocation itself to the right of taxation, that as the original cause of convening the convocation had ceased, the effect might cease also; and that *à fortiori*, if there were other special reasons for wishing to dispense with such an assembly.

What these reasons were is the next point to be considered. During the reign of Charles II. the neglect with which the convocation was treated, as soon as the right of self-taxation had been abandoned, seems to have been a mere matter of convenience. After the convocation had lent its aid in the restoration of the Church, Government had no occasion for its services; and as it was found easier to deal with the Parliament alone, without having the views of the convocation also to consult, the latter was, by a succession of prorogations, reduced to a state of inaction. "From thence," *i. e.* after the busy sessions of 1662 and 1663, says Archbishop Wake, "till the dissolution

<sup>125</sup> The facility with which the clergy acquiesced in the loss of what once had been a valuable privilege, the right of taxing themselves, is accounted for by the fact, that the Parliamentary taxes imposed on them, in common with their fellow-subjects, were much less onerous than the subsidies voted by their own representatives. The important consequences which followed from the change were not foreseen at the time; they furnished matters for after-reflection, and elicited the remark of Bishop Gibson, that "this was the greatest alteration in the constitution ever made without an express law."

of the Parliament, there were about fifteen other sessions, and almost as many of the convocation. But the clergy, from thenceforth, met only for form's sake, to be told when they should meet again; for after this I find no synodical business done, nor scarce the mention of any that was moved in either house. In short, except three things, of no great moment,—viz. a committee appointed to inspect a new Grammar, May the 4th, 1664; a like order about a Latin Prayer Book, May the 18th; and a petition agreed to be made to the king for a patent on behalf of Dr. Duport, to have the sole liberty of printing his Greek translation of the Psalms for seven years, October the 11th, 1667,—I do not know whether so much as a motion was made of any matter, or the least thing done, but only to meet and be prorogued, and choose another prolocutor when the old one died or was promoted: the grand affairs of the synod of this province for above fifteen years together<sup>126</sup>." The same account is given by the author, of the other convocations during this reign; and from the coincidence of this state of things with the change in the taxation of the clergy, there is every reason to conclude, that the proposal of Lord Clarendon was made with the secret intention of quietly getting rid of the convocation altogether. That no business was transacted by that body during the short reign of James II. is more intelligible: he who harboured in his mind a settled purpose to betray the country into the hands of the Papacy, was not

<sup>126</sup> Wake, *State of the Church and Clergy*, ch. ix. § 96.

likely to call into action the body which of all others would feel the strongest disposition, and possess the greatest power, to obstruct his designs.

Under the next reign, reasons not less influential, though of a totally opposite character, produced a continuance of the same system of prorogation. The root of the whole matter was, on one hand, the dislike which a large portion of the clergy entertained for the religious principles brought in with the revolution of 1688—and, on the other hand, the ill-favour with which the new Sovereign, whose private sympathies were with the dissenters, regarded those who faithfully adhered to the principles of the Church. This antagonism of principles was greatly exasperated by the course which the new power pursued towards the non-juring Bishops and clergy. To see the very men who had suffered imprisonment at the hands of King James, on account of their faithful opposition to his Popish designs, thrust out of their offices and dignities, because they scrupled to transfer the allegiance which they had sworn to him, to his successor *de facto*, could not but produce an ill effect upon minds disposed to take a lofty view of the principle of obedience to God's ordinance in Church and State; and it was not likely, therefore, that the new reign would receive any hearty support from the clergy, even if the Government had not been, as it notoriously was, meditating alterations in the Church of a decidedly latitudinarian tendency.

Two causes, one of them anterior to this state of feeling, unfortunately contributed to render its effects irremedia-

ble. These were, the character and position of the episcopate appointed by the new power, and the separation of the convocation into two houses. The newly appointed Bishops, especially those appointed to fill the places of the deprived non-juring Bishops, had not, and could not have, the confidence and the respect of the clergy at large. The latter were considered by many as intruders into offices which were not canonically vacant; and the preferment of them all was attributed to the laxity of their religious principles. Such being the unhappy prejudice which could hardly fail to exist against the majority of the episcopate, it was truly unfortunate that the constitution of the convocation should, by the separation between the upper and the lower house, bring the Bishops as a body into conflict with the rest of the clergy.

This separation of the convocation into two houses had no foundation in the original constitution of Church synods; it was an arrangement wholly foreign to the nature and character of such assemblies; it was inconsistent with the spiritual relation between Bishops and their presbyters, and unprecedented in the history of the Church Catholic; it was an imitation of the balance of power established in the body politic by the opposition of two adverse, or at least rival interests, adopted in consequence of the consolidation of the provincial synod with the state convocation; its introduction into the system of Church government had in it something essentially vicious, and it now proved most pernicious in its effects. An upper house of Bishops, suspected, nay openly accused, of unfaithfulness to the

principles of the Church, and of self-seeking subserviency to the power which had promoted them, could not obtain the peaceable co-operation of a lower house composed of men of uncompromising spirit, determined to maintain the principles of the Church against the latitudinarian tendency of the times. The consequence was that unseemly contest, which caused the convocation to be virtually suspended during the greater part of the reign of William and Mary, and which obstructed the transaction of business even during the reign of Queen Anne, when, as far as the Crown was concerned, there was every disposition to allow the Church the exercise of her synodical rights. The unguarded assertion of the obnoxious principles which obtained in the high places of the Church, by Hoadly, and the determination of the clergy of the lower house to visit the Bishop of Bangor with synodical censures, at last filled up the measure of ecclesiastical discord, and led to that permanent suppression of the synodal action of the Church, which, though it may thus be accounted for, can never be justified.

How little, in the very heat of the controversy which marked the last stages of the existence of the English convocation, the virtual extinction of that assembly was anticipated, even by those who had most attentively considered the subject, appears from a remarkable passage in the work before referred to of Archbishop Wake. Arguing against Dr. Atterbury's notion that the convocation was necessarily attendant upon the Parliament, he says: "To confine the prerogative of the Prince, and deny him the authority of causing these



convocations to be held at any other seasons but just when the Parliament is sitting, may be no less a detriment to the affairs of it, should such exigencies arise, or such circumstances happen, in which there may be need of the public consultation of its Bishops and clergy, and the Prince be content to assemble them, when it might not be so proper for him to convene the other. Whereas, to allow the King his rightful authority in this case, can admit but of one exception, and that such as having never yet happened, we have the less reason to fear it; namely, that some Prince may hereafter arise, who may refuse to summon the convocations at all, if once it be allowed that he has it in his power to call them, or not, at such seasons. But, then, *this no prince who has any regard to religion, or to the Church, will do*<sup>17</sup>."—Within fourteen years after these words were penned, the convocation met for the last time for the transaction of business, the writer himself occupying the archiepiscopal chair!

As regards, lastly, the subject of episcopal appointments, under the powers conferred upon the Crown by the statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 20, it was to be expected that the religious principles and feelings of the different Sovereigns, and the general tendency of the policy pursued under their reigns, would exercise considerable influence upon the selection of the individuals preferred to the highest offices of trust and power in the Church. Accordingly, the character of the episcopate bore generally a close analogy to that of the

<sup>17</sup> Wake, *State of the Church and Clergy*, ch. ix. § 102.

temporal power. Yet, on the whole, the personal responsibility which the selection of the chief pastors of the Church involved, was deeply and seriously felt by the Sovereigns themselves; and there is plentiful evidence on record, that they relied in a great measure upon the advice of the existing episcopate, in filling up vacancies. In some instances, commissions, composed wholly or in part of Bishops, were appointed by the Sovereign, for the purpose of regulating the distribution of ecclesiastical patronage generally, and the choice of successors to vacant bishopricks in particular; an arrangement which reduced the share of the political advisers of the Crown in the appointment of Bishops to the purely ministerial act of formally presenting to the Sovereign the names selected or approved of by the Commission<sup>188</sup>. And at other times, in the absence of any such formal arrangement, the Crown was in the habit of taking counsel with the heads of the Church, and especially with the metropolitans, on the disposal of vacant episcopates, both before and since the revolution of 1688<sup>189</sup>. At that particular period, the jealousy which existed between the Crown and the

<sup>188</sup> Two such warrants, one issued by Charles II., A. D. 1681,—another by William III., A. D. 1699, are given in an interesting and instructive pamphlet, recently published, under the title, “The Royalty of the Crown in Episcopal Promotions.”

<sup>189</sup> Much valuable information, both as to the view taken of this subject by men of eminence in Church and State, and as to the actual practice followed in episcopal promotions, will be found in the pamphlet referred to in the preceding note, “The Royalty of the Crown,” &c.; and also in the volumes of “The British Magazine” (vols. xi—xxvi.) referred to in the note to page 47 of the pamphlet.

great body of staunch churchmen, and which was attributable partly to the refusal of the Non-jurors to change their allegiance, and partly to the presbyterian principles of the Prince who was called to occupy the throne rendered vacant by Jesuit intrigue, caused a preference to be given to such candidates for the episcopal office, as were known to be favourable to the new order of things, rather than attached to strict Church principles. The policy then first resorted to, the same which, as has been already noticed, led, within a short time after, to the suppression of the synodal action of the Church, has more or less been adhered to ever since in episcopal promotions. Pliancy of character, lukewarmness of spirit, and extreme moderation, if not laxity, of theological views, were considered chief qualifications for the episcopal office; energy of character, on the contrary, fervency of spirit, and attachment to the distinctive principles of the Church, were regarded as positive disqualifications. But however pernicious the result of this essentially worldly policy has been, in secularizing the spirit of the Church, and by a natural reaction, undermining the influence of the Church upon the nation at large, and thereby the foundations of civil society itself, still a certain regard was preserved for propriety and consistency, sufficient to prevent, as a general rule, the introduction into the episcopate of men whose personal character was not unimpeachable, or whose theological sentiments were doubtful. In some few instances, appointments of a positively objectionable character were made; while, on the other hand, occasionally

men who proved strenuous asserters of the principles of the Church, found their way to the episcopal bench ; but these were the exceptions, and not the rule. The general rule was, to appoint men whose learning, respectability, and piety could not be called in question, but at the same time men of a negative character, whose compliance with the views of the secular power might be reckoned upon.

By these means a general good understanding between the heads of the Church, and the political administrations by which the business of the Crown was managed, continued to be maintained ; and it was not likely, under such circumstances, that the question touching the Metropolitan's jurisdiction in the confirmation of Bishops elected upon the recommendation of the Crown, would ever be raised. The nominees of the Crown were men for whose appointment the concurrence of the Metropolitan, and of other leading Bishops, had been previously obtained ; and that concurrence would not be given to appointments likely to be impeached by formal opposition at the confirmation.

Yet, although not called into exercise, the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan in this matter was only dormant, not extinct. There is an instance on record, when opposition had been attempted, previous to the change which the revolution of 1688 effected in the affairs of the Church. It was that of Bishop Montague, appointed to the see of Chichester, under the reign of Charles I. The objection, which

originated in the feelings of hostility to the Church, prevalent at that unhappy period, was overruled by the Archbishop's deputy, on a point of form<sup>140</sup>. By this very mode of defeating the objection, however, the possibility of a confirmation being interfered with by objectors appearing in answer to the appeal, was substantially acknowledged. Nor was it ever lost sight of altogether; for quite recently it has happened, that the technical arrangements for a confirmation were made in anticipation of possible objections, though eventually no objectors appeared. At last, however, it was expected, that the judicial power of the Metropolitan would be brought into play by certain personal charges against a Bishop elect; and the provisions of the Canon law were diligently searched into, with a view to ascertain the mode of trial to be adopted in a case altogether so novel, on the supposition that the confirmation must be stayed until the result of such trial.

And this, there is reason to believe, would have been the course pursued in the case alluded to, which had no importance as a party question, but for the occurrence, at the critical moment, of the celebrated case which brought all the elements of political and religious party strife to bear upon the questions connected with episcopal promotions, and which induced the dominant party to put forward, in both cases, on

<sup>140</sup> See the extract from Collier's "Eccles. History" (Vol. II. p. 745), quoted in Burn's "Eccles. Law," by Phillimore, 9th edit. Vol. I. p. 206.

the plea of asserting the prerogative of the Crown, claims to the most absolute and unlimited power, such as were never preferred before, except on behalf of the Papal Supremacy.

The theory of Church government which was propounded and acted on in both these cases, but especially the latter, a theory according to which the National Church is the only religious community in the land, the conscientious convictions of whose members and ministers are to be borne down by the stringent application of ancient and tyrannical statutes, and by the absolute dictation of arbitrary power, is too startling not to provoke inquiry into the causes which have led the temporal power to assume towards the Church an attitude so extraordinary. To that inquiry the following chapter will be devoted.

## CHAPTER V.

ALTERED CHARACTER OF THE TEMPORAL POWER, AND  
ITS CONSEQUENT HOSTILITY TO THE CHURCH.

**THERE** is a secret and irresistible power of compensation at work in the affairs of men, which sooner or later avenges every wrong committed under the sun; which makes kings amenable to the principles of eternal justice, and causes the sins of nations to find them out. Of the action of this power the foregoing history of the Supremacy furnishes abundant evidence; rich materials for the statesman, the philosopher, the ecclesiastic, to meditate upon. But the purpose of the present pages is strictly practical; one instance, therefore, of the retributive justice which the providence of God deals out to nations, must suffice,—the last of its kind which the history of the Supremacy in this country affords.

The nation had grown jealous of the influence of the spiritual power; the action of that power had become vitiated: had the claims of righteousness been regarded, had the counsels of true wisdom been followed, the temporal power must have made the restoration of the healthful action of the spiritual power its first and chief business. Such a course would have been attended with blessing; divisions would have been healed, causes of offence removed; the spiritual

prosperity of the Church would have strengthened the throne, and healed the nation's wounds.

But the claims of righteousness were set aside by arbitrary power; the counsels of true wisdom neglected for the suggestions of a short-sighted policy. To depress and enslave the spiritual power, was the readiest method for extricating the temporal power from the embarrassment of contending principles, and making the task of government easy. This method, therefore, was resorted to. And what has been the fruit? That the task of governing the nation has become more and more difficult; and that the most perplexing of the difficulties by which the temporal power is embarrassed, are those which arise from the religious questions of the day. More than a century has elapsed, since the corporate action of the spiritual power was finally suppressed; the offence perpetrated by might against right, has long been coffin'd in the tomb of time; the retribution stalks abroad, and with giant strength works mischief through the land.

What, then, is to be done? Can the nation, can the temporal power retrace its steps? Can the spiritual power be reinstated in the position which it formerly held? Can the wheels of the ecclesiastical system be again set in motion, after standing still for three generations and upwards? Can it be made to resume its action at the point where that action was interrupted?

Assuredly not: for many reasons that cannot be. For this among others, that the temporal power itself has ceased to be what it was then. Through its



divorcement from the spiritual power its own character has become debased; forsaken of Heaven, because it could not brook Heaven's bidding, it must take its law from the earth, and basely submit to the dictation of earthly interests. It once was the champion of principles, the "defender of the faith;" but it is, it can be, so no longer; the advocate of latitudinarianism, it dares not to profess a faith; the bond-slave of expediency, it has no principles to assert.

From the time when the Church submitted her legislative and administrative powers to the control of the royal Supremacy, to the time when the Supremacy was abused for the suppression of the powers which it ought to have directed, the temporal power was constitutionally regarded as the ordinance of God; the State was the representative not only of the general body of the nation, but of the laity of the Church; because the nation had a faith, and of that faith the Church was the visible exhibition, the witness and the guardian. The interests, therefore, which the temporal power was called upon to protect and to promote, though of a different class, ran parallel with those committed to the guardianship of the spiritual power; they were the interests of one and the same people, the interests of one and the same society. There might be differences of opinion as to the best way of protecting and promoting those interests; there might be interference of the temporal power with the rights and duties of the spiritual power, beyond the limits within which the Supremacy ought to be confined; and there might be intermeddling on the part of the spiritual power with

affairs of State, with that which belongs exclusively to the province of the temporal power; but in the main principles of their action, and in the main purpose to which that action was directed, there could be no disagreement between them; the monarchy, social order, and the faith and discipline of the Church, were bound up together.

This was the theory of the constitution long after the actual condition of the nation had ceased to correspond with this theory. The seeds of national discord in matters of faith were sown at the same time at which the temporal power emancipated itself and the nation from the usurped supremacy of Rome. The conflict of existing authorities, whatever may be its merits, and whatever its immediate results, is sure to be attended with this consequence,—that the reverence for all authority is shaken in the minds of men. In addition to this, there were circumstances attending the Reformation which could not fail considerably to aggravate the natural result of the struggle which then ensued between the royal and the Papal power. At the beginning of the Reformation, the truth of Christ's faith was not with the royal authority, on whose side the right was, any more than with the usurped authority of Rome. The national relapse into Popery, and subsequent return to the principles of the Reformation, at the bidding of the temporal power, on the accession first of Mary, and afterwards of Elizabeth,—the instability of principle then exhibited by many who were placed in stations of authority,—still further damaged the claims of authority upon the reverence and the obedience of mankind;

and the most earnest and faithful among the Reformers, who had sought safety in flight during the reign of Mary, brought back with them, from their intercourse with the continental Churches, a leaven of insubordination and irreverent contempt for the apostolic order of the Church, which, added to all the other causes, led to an extravagant assertion, wholly inconsistent with the very being of a Church, of the so-called right of private judgment.

As is mostly the case with all false principles, there was in this also a starting-point of truth. To rest the faith of Christ, not on God's word, which is its true foundation, but on the bare assertion of the witness and interpreter of that word,—as the Romish Church, who proved, moreover, an unfaithful witness and a false interpreter, had done; and to force that or any other faith upon men by temporal pains and penalties, instead of persuading them of its truth by the demonstration of the Spirit and of power,—as was done, not by the Romish Church only, but by the reformed Church also, and that with a severity little accordant with the spirit of the Gospel,—was undoubtedly contrary to God's word and to His will: on the part of the temporal power it was a transgression of its proper boundaries altogether; on the part of the spiritual power it was a carnal abuse of God's ordinance; on the part of both a great wrong.

But in human life, through human infirmity and sin, one wrong begets another; every extreme provokes its contrary. And so it happened in this instance. In opposition to the Romish claim of absolute submission

to the teaching of the Church, came the assertion that every man is to be his own interpreter of God's word, and that no man is bound by any interpretation of it but his own. In opposition to the usurpation of the temporal power in making faith and worship matters of compulsion by civil pains and penalties, rose the denial of all divinely-instituted rule in the Church of God, the system which derives the ministerial commission, not from Christ and His Apostles, but from the people.

These principles having once taken root in the popular mind, it was in the nature of things, that the attempt to suppress them by main force, could have no other effect than that of adding greatly to their diffusion, their strength, and their acerbity. The great rebellion, that terrible outbreak of fanaticism and hypocrisy combined, was the fruit of that attempt: and although that most fearful of all lessons, the being "filled with their own devices," brought back the bulk of the nation to the faith and to the order of the Church, the fact remained, and was evidently disclosed in the sight of all men, that the theory which identified the nation and the Church, and regulated the relation between Church and State on the assumption that the temporal power, as the head of the body politic, represented the laity of the Church, was neither more nor less than a legal fiction.

This one legal fiction, made manifest with terrible truth two centuries ago, lies at the root of the numberless legal fictions with which at this time our Church is encumbered. How far the evil might have admitted of a remedy, if it had been fairly acknowledged, and

dealt with according to the real state of the case and the exigencies of justice, either before or after the great rebellion, is a question on which it would be idle to speculate. Before that event, the extent and malignity of the evil was scarcely known; after it, the calmness and moderation necessary for its cure could hardly be expected.

The legislative measures adopted by the temporal power after the restoration, and that without consulting the spiritual power in a matter which so deeply concerned the latter, had for their object, not to adapt the national institutions to the actual condition of the nation, but to force the nation into a conformity with the existing institutions; not to bring the Church to bear in the plenitude of her spiritual power upon the minds of a divided and an erring people, but to keep the Church as a body tongue-tied, and to let loose the terrors of the temporal power upon those who dissented from her doctrine or her discipline. While the convocation was restrained even from deliberating and advising upon the spiritual state of the nation, the Parliament enacted a succession of statutes which were as certainly calculated to promote, as they were intended to check, the growth of religious dissent. Some of the provisions of the Act of Uniformity, the Test and Corporation Acts, the two acts against seditious conventicles, and the act for restraining non-conformists from inhabiting in corporations,—all enacted during the reign of the second Charles, and most of them after the convocation had ceased to transact any business,—were so many attempts to make the nation what it was not, and by

such means could not be made, a nation having one faith, and owing allegiance to one Church.

Before the effects of these measures had time to ripen into a second crisis, the machinations of Rome, and the follies of a monarch who was the puppet of the Jesuits, brought on a crisis in an opposite direction, which for a time diverted the public mind from the conflict between the principles of conformity and non-conformity, and in its consequences led to a mitigation of the legislative severities hitherto directed against the latter. The change of the succession, which placed non-conformist sympathies on the throne, brought with it an act of toleration.

From this moment the character of the conflict was entirely changed. Hitherto, the temporal power had laboured to force the nation into conformity with the principles which itself professed; hoping, by compulsion, to reduce all to agreement in the one faith, which the majority held by conviction. This attempt was now abandoned; the existence of the schism in the nation was at last publicly recognized; the uplifted hand of menace and of punishment, which had been stretched forth against it, was withdrawn. From that moment two courses were open to the temporal power, either of which would have been consistent with truth and justice.

The temporal power was bound, either to maintain the character of the State as a religious State; or to renounce that character, and to reduce the State to the level of a mere earthly association.

In the former case, the temporal power was bound

not only to assert that character, but to act it out. While scrupulously abstaining from interfering with any man's conscience, it was bound jealously to guard its own action from interference on the part of those who differed from it in matters of faith; it was bound to treat them not only with justice, but with paternal kindness; but it was bound, also, to deal with them as with erring children, and to quicken the action of the spiritual power, for the purpose of reclaiming them from their error by means of persuasion, by the spiritual weapon of truth.

In the latter case, the temporal power was bound at once to admit to participation in all the rights and privileges of the State, in its legislative and administrative action, those who differed from it in matters of religious belief; but it was bound at the same time to make provision for protecting the Church against the possible abuse, on the part of a temporal power of mixed character, of the control over her internal affairs, which the Church had conceded to the temporal power, at a time when that power had a definite religious character, concordant with its own faith.

In either of these two cases the temporal power was bound to exercise the Supremacy it had acquired over the Church, for the purpose of restoring the Church to a state of unfettered action, and of consequent efficiency: in either case in close alliance with itself; but in the latter case, under precautionary provisions of a special kind for the protection of the rights and interests of the Church. Unhappily neither of these two courses was adopted by the temporal power.

Openness of conduct and consistency of principle did not grace the politics of those times; the course adopted was insincere, unwise, unjust.

The temporal power assigned to error a publicly recognized position in the social system, without providing for the efficient assertion of truth, in protest against that error. It affected to see, in the difference between the doctrine of the Church and the various doctrines of non-conformity, nothing but a legitimate and unavoidable difference of opinion on points of secondary importance; and yet it made an invidious difference between the churchman and the non-conformist; a difference which ceased to be just, and became odious, since the principle on which it was originally based had been given up. It continued to mark the non-conformist as a person unfit to be intrusted with any share of civil or political power; and yet, practically, it admitted him to participation in both legislative and administrative functions. As the condition of this participation, it exacted, from those whom it so admitted, an act of profaneness and hypocrisy,—communion, in the holiest act of worship, with the Church to which they were, as they said, and as was allowed, “conscientiously” opposed; and when the scandal of this profanation became too crying to be any longer endured, it still maintained the offensive condition in theory, and stultified itself by an annual act of amnesty, for an annually repeated and regularly anticipated disobedience to its own law.

If this conduct, deficient alike in courage and in principle, was calculated to damage the temporal power in the estimation of the people, it was no less detri-



mental to the character of the Church, as well as extremely oppressive towards her. The hold which the temporal power had over the Church, by means of the Supremacy, was retained; not, however, for any purpose serviceable to the interests of the Church, or calculated to assist her in the execution of her spiritual trust, but for the purpose of obstructing her in the execution of her high commission, as a witness of God's truth and of His righteousness to the nation. While the temporal power admitted into its own action the influence of her declared enemies, it committed the spiritual power of the Church to the hands of those least likely to assert her principles, or to vindicate her rights; of those most likely to assist in forcing her into temporizing compliance with its insincere, unwise, and unjust policy. It compelled the Church to profane her holiest mysteries by allowing men to participate in them for the earthly purpose of qualification for a civil office; and after that scandal had been put a stop to, still left the Church exposed to the obloquy arising from it by the nominal continuance of an obnoxious provision, which gave her enemies an opportunity, with a show of reason and justice on their side, to sneer at her sacraments. While it allowed to all those enemies free scope for accomplishing their own ends and compassing her ruin, it continued to debar her from all corporate action or deliberation. By these and other like methods, it crippled her strength, debased her character, and made her obnoxious to the hatred and contempt of the ignorant multitude.

Thus a century and more has passed away. The

enemies of the Church.—the enemies, at the same time, of God's ordinance in the temporal power,—the asserters of the Papal supremacy over the kingdoms of this world, the impugnors of the divine right of kings, the scoffers who maintain that a government, to be just, must be godless,—have not failed to take advantage of the inconsistencies in which the temporal power has entangled itself more and more; they have laid their hands successively upon each part of our ancient constitution in Church and State, and held it up to public ridicule or public execration. They have succeeded in throwing down, one by one, all the bulwarks and all the foundations of that constitution; they have established themselves in high places of power and of trust, and vitiated the whole system of the body politic by the infusion of their incongruous principles. So dearly has the temporal power been made to pay for its love of temporary ease, and its unjust and unwise jealousy towards the spiritual power.

The result is, that the temporal power itself has become totally changed, and that in its most essential attributes; in those very attributes upon which the Supremacy of the temporal power over the Church is founded. These are, the character of the temporal power as the ordinance of God, and its profession of the faith of the Church.

Nominally, indeed,—and in the eyes of churchmen substantially,—the Crown which represents the temporal power of the State, still is God's ordinance; but virtually, in the practical working of the government of the State, the power has passed away from the

Crown, and has been transferred to the hands of the people.

The Crown is said to be the fountain of power; but in reality the Crown has not power to do a single act without its "responsible advisers." These responsible advisers are called the "servants" of the Crown, by which they are appointed and dismissed; but in reality the Crown has no choice in their appointment and dismissal. Whichever of the different rival sections of statesmen who aspire to the political administration of the country, commands a majority in the popular branch of the legislature, is of necessity the party in power; and the measures proposed by it the Crown must, of necessity, adopt. The Crown cannot control its "servants and advisers" as to the character of their measures; it cannot either dispense with the services of the party which commands the majority in the popular branch of the legislature, or retain those of a party which does not command it. All the Crown can do, if dissatisfied with the advisers forced upon it by a majority of the House of Commons, is to dissolve Parliament, and appeal to the people, on the supposition that they are not truly represented. This appeal to the people is, by the now recognized principles of the constitution, the *ultima ratio* of royalty; and with the people, therefore, substantially, the supreme power of the State rests.

It is not in the nature of things, that under such circumstances the character of the temporal power should be the same as it was originally, at the time when the Church conceded to it the Supremacy over

herself. At that time "the Crown" meant, in fact, as well as in name, the Sovereign, bearing rule as God's Minister; but "the Crown" now means, nominally, indeed, the Sovereign, as before; but, practically, it means the nominees of the majority of the delegates of the people. But the people, as such, are of no faith; all the most antagonistic systems of belief and unbelief are held by different sections of the people, and are represented in that branch of the legislature to which the people delegate their power. The delegates or representatives themselves may be individually of any creed,—even the Jew is about to take his place among them,—or of no creed at all; and collectively, therefore, they are of necessity without a creed, without faith.

The nominees of that representative body, who, because supported by its majority, are intrusted with the stewardship of the powers of the Crown, are compelled, by the necessity of their position, to be likewise without a creed, without faith. Whatever may be their private and personal religious principles,—as statesmen, as members of the Government,—they are not entitled to hold any one principle, in regard to religion, except this,—that all religions have equal rights; and that if there be any practical preponderance of any one over the others in the balance of the body politic, such preponderance is to be ascribed, not to its superiority, as a system of truth, over systems of error, but to the greater numerical strength of its followers. But while the Church is deprived of all claim to consideration, except that founded upon numbers, she does not even of this get the full benefit. For it is not,

it never can be, the character of the Church to agitate, that is, to appeal to the multitude, to excite their passions, and to goad them on to clamour or menace against the civil magistrate. But to do this is the inherent character of all the opponents of the Church and of her faith,—of Popish and Protestant schismatics, of religionists and free-thinkers of every name and description. Accordingly these, even though numerically insignificant in comparison with the Church, will exercise a much more powerful and pressing influence upon the constitution of the popular branch of the legislature, and, by consequence, upon the so-called servants and advisers of the Crown. The Crown, as represented by them, will, therefore, be under a constant pressure from the opponents of the Church, urging it to exercise the power over the Church which has fallen into the hands of its servants,—though by right it belongs to none but the Sovereign in person,—according to their bidding.

But to the opponents of the Church the very existence of the Church is an offence; her existence as a national Church, endowed by the piety of the nation in former and better times, and occupying a recognized territorial position in the land, is to them a tenfold offence. And if there be in the Church faithful men, who bear witness, without shrinking, to the truth of God against all opposing error, who reprove the religious and political heresies of the times, the offence will be unspeakably increased, in proportion to the number, the spiritual power, and the undaunted boldness of those witnesses. Hence a double set of motives

will arise, by which "the Crown," that is, the nominees of the popular voice, who wield the powers of the Crown, will be induced to exercise its power over the Church in a manner calculated externally to depress, and internally to debase her. In the first place, the spirit of enmity against the Church will unconsciously find entrance into their minds, even if they should not be opposed to her in their private convictions; they will, without perceiving it, drink into the erroneous and latitudinarian views to which their whole political career is, and of necessity must be, subservient; and any bold and pointed assertion of the truth, in antagonism against those erroneous and latitudinarian views, will be felt by them as an act of hostility against themselves. In the next place, if they be, from private conviction, friendly to the Church, as far as men so enslaved to the negation of the truth can be friendly to an institution which is its keeper and witness, they will persuade themselves, that their only way to save and to uphold the Church, is to put down within her the uncompromising assertion of her distinctive principles, which is resented as an offence by the rest of the community. They will, therefore, and that under the impression that they are doing the Church real service, obstruct and discourage to the utmost of their power, the assertion of her principles and the development of her energies; they will be careful to mould her as far as possible into conformity to the godless constitution of the body politic, to keep her corporate action in abeyance, and to commit the chief rule over her to men who, them-

selves entertaining latitudinarian views, will fraternize with her enemies, discountenance the most faithful among her sons, the ablest and the most zealous advocates of her true principles.

The result will be—Church legislation of a secular and secularizing tendency,—the continued suppression of the synodal power of the Church,—and the systematic selection for the Episcopate of unsound men, who are content to view and to represent the Church, not as the Church in contradistinction to sects, but as the favoured one among many sects.

If there be left in the Church any elements which will not bend to this system, any men that will remonstrate and protest against it, any forms and institutions which offer an obstruction to it, the remedy will be, to keep down the one, and to make the other of none effect.

Such will,—such, by a moral necessity from which no man can escape, must be the development of the relation between the temporal and the spiritual power, when the former, and with it its Supremacy over the latter, falls into the hands of nominees of the representative body of the people, of those whose authority is derived, not from the ordinance of God, but from the will of the people; whose faith is, not what God has revealed, but what the people choose to believe.

Such, as a matter of fact, has been the history of the relation between Church and State for the last twenty years, since the floodgates of the Constitution have been thrown open for the admission of Popish and Protestant schism, of professed and of virtual

infidelity, and of the clamour of the multitude, under the specious name of the voice of the people, to the national legislature; a change by which the constitution of the body politic, though still Christian and monarchical in name, has in its practical tendency become democratic and antichristian. The baneful effects of this change upon the Church are already but too apparent; she has grown more and more helpless, while her enemies have grown stronger and stronger; she has lost to a great extent her hold upon the minds and hearts of her own people, while the forms of schism around her have been multiplied, and its numerical strength increased. The Church, as a body, is miserably overlaid with a thick incrustation of secularity; whatever of life, of energy, of talent, of zeal, rises within her, is either repressed by the worldly pressure which paralyzes her corporate action, left to wear itself out in the bitter disappointment of isolated and fruitless efforts; or is driven forth into one or other of the various camps of schism to swell the ranks of her enemies. Pitiable, indeed, is the condition to which she has been reduced; unable to collect and to organize the strength which, by the wonderful grace and mercy of God, still remains within her; unable to take counsel with herself on the most momentous questions, which involve her efficiency, her welfare, her very existence; unable to heal the angry divisions which are continually rising within her on points of vital importance, or to interpose her authority for the regulation of the most trifling point of outward observance, which the ill-complexion of the times has



wrought up into a subject of acrimonious contention; beset with mischief from within and from without; and tied up from the application of any remedy, by a temporal power which, though it has renounced every one of the principles in which the connexion between Church and State originated, still claims and exercises over the Church and body of Christ that Supremacy, which the Church conceded to a temporal power like-minded with herself.

The essentially altered character of the temporal power, and its consequently necessary hostility to the Church, and to true Church principles, have not escaped the observation of thoughtful men for some time past; recent events have made manifest, even to the unthinking, the settled purpose of the State to unchurch the Church: the profane irreverence with which the most solemn offices of the Holy Ghost are treated as empty ceremonies, the lofty contempt with which Christ's commission to his Apostles is handled, as if it was a common State appointment, are nothing else than the undisguised and unmistakable expression of the spirit which has long secretly presided over the administration of Church affairs.

These, then, are the facts with which the Church has to deal. She may have no sympathy with them; she may, as indeed she must, disapprove them; but such as they are, she must deal with them. How they are to be dealt with by her, is the concluding question to which this whole inquiry tends.

## CHAPTER VI.

MODIFICATIONS IN THE EXERCISE OF THE ROYAL SUPREMACY RENDERED NECESSARY BY THE ALTERED CHARACTER OF THE TEMPORAL POWER.

A POSITION so essentially unjust, and necessarily unblest, as that in which the Church is placed, under the absolute legislative and administrative control of a temporal power which, by a moral necessity, is hostile to those distinctive principles on which her existence as a Church is founded, and the maintenance and propagation of which is the trust committed to her by her Divine Founder, cannot endure much longer. Either the Church must be relieved from that position, or her character as an Apostolic Church, and her influence and usefulness as a national Church, are gone for ever.

The great question is, by what means the Church can be extricated from the perplexing, as well as unjust position in which she is placed? In handling this question, it is of the utmost importance that Statesmen should bear in mind, that in dealing with the Church they are dealing, not with a human, but with a *Divine* institution; that there are certain fundamental principles of Church Constitution which no human hand, no, not the united voice of the Crown and

both Houses of Parliament, has a right to touch; and that the Church is the depository of certain spiritual powers directly and constantly derived from God Himself; powers vouchsafed not merely for the work of ministering the Word and Sacraments to congregations and individual souls, but for the all-important purpose of maintaining the Church as a body,—even the body and Spouse of Christ,—in a healthy and an efficient state.

The maintenance of the Church in a state of healthfulness and efficiency depends upon two points: the first and most important of these is, the maintenance of her internal life; the other, the adaptation of her external condition and circumstances to the requirements of that internal life. Over the former, human legislation has no control; it results from the operation of the Divine power, which is resting upon the Church according to the promise of her Divine Founder, and which will never fail her, so long as the hearts of her Members and Ministers submit to the guidance of that power in a spirit of reverence and faithfulness. The latter, the adaptation of the external condition and circumstances of the Church to the requirements of her internal life, is the subject of human legislation; but in the nature of things, legislation for such an object can be successfully taken in hand only by those who are acquainted with the original constitution, and the practical operation of her inner life. In other words, the Church can be successfully legislated for only by herself. At this point, therefore, the work of extricating the Church from her present anomalous

position must be commenced; the autonomy of the Church must be restored.

This restoration the Church has a right to demand; and she may demand it,—without entering into questions on which the temporal power is at issue with her,—upon grounds not only acknowledged, but loudly proclaimed, by the temporal power as at present constituted. The Church, in contending for her just right to legislate for herself, has no occasion to urge upon those who differ from her, those claims which she has as a pure branch of the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ, in contradistinction to Popish or Protestant schism,—as the ordinance of God, in contradistinction to wilful and unlawful systems of human invention. All that she need ask is, that she shall not be debarred from the exercise of those rights which are freely conceded by the temporal power to every other religious community in the land. The bishops of the Popish schism meet in consultation, for the furtherance of their insidious schemes, whenever they please, without any let or hindrance; the different branches of the Protestant schism hold their several conventions, as, for instance, the Methodists their Conference, the Quakers their yearly meeting, unmolested; the religious dissenters, with a few inconsistent stragglers from the clerical body, organize their Evangelical Alliance, and the political dissenters their Anti-State Church league; why, then, should the true Catholic Church of this land, the only religious body in it that is constituted in conformity to Christ's ordinance, and in submission to the civil power, be alone precluded from

the exercise of a privilege to which she is entitled, both on the common ground of equality of civil rights, and by the express terms of the compact on which her alliance with the State is founded? Why should the Church be subjected to an arbitrary abridgment of her inalienable rights as a Church, which, if it were attempted against the most insignificant sect, would cause the cry of oppression to be raised from one end of the land to the other?

Whenever this unanswerable plea is put forth, the difficulty of applying a remedy is the excuse alleged for the continuance of a state of things, the crying injustice of which it is impossible to deny. That there is such a difficulty, and that it is a difficulty of great magnitude, must be admitted; that difficulty, however, must be faced, both by the Church and by the State.

In the first place, then, let the difficulty be clearly stated.

Wherein does it consist?

Parliament cannot legislate for the Church: constitutionally it is not empowered to do so; and, as a matter of intrinsic justice, the idea of transferring the synodal powers of Christ's holy Church to an assembly in which the papist, the schismatic, the heretic, and the infidel has an equal right with the churchman to sit and vote, is too monstrous to be for a moment entertained.

To call into action the dormant powers of the Convocation, such as it was when it was last in operation, is an experiment which the statesmen of the present

day are apt to regard in much the same light as they would the proposal to raise a ghost; they shrink back from the very thought with a kind of superstitious horror.

But statesmen are not the only men who deprecate the revival of the Convocation. The possibility of unseemly conflicts between the two Houses, such as those which preceded its suppression, and partly caused it, being renewed, renders the expediency of reviving the Convocation in the same form which it had when its functions were suspended in the reign of Queen Anne, at least doubtful in the eyes of some of the most earnest friends of the Church, and the warmest advocates for the restoration of her synodal action. For if such conflicts unhappily should be,—and the present temper of the different parties in the Church affords no guarantee that they shall not be,—revived, it would not only be impossible to pass such measures as the present circumstances of the Church call for, but the scandal would inflict irreparable injury upon the Church, and the way would be effectually barred against every other attempt to extricate the Church from her present difficulties<sup>141</sup>.

<sup>141</sup> How deeply the necessity of restoring the synodal action of the Church is felt, appears from the address to the Queen agreed upon by the two Houses, at their meeting, *pro forma*, in November last, which contained an assurance that they would “endeavour to deliberate with care and prudence upon questions relating to the welfare and efficiency to the Church, if her Majesty wished on any occasion to restore the action of Convocation, *as they earnestly prayed.*” At the same time, both the discussion, and the Sermon preached by Dr. Jelf at the opening of Convocation, gave proof of the apprehension with which such a measure is regarded even by

Thus much is apparent on the surface. If the matter be more deeply weighed, it will be seen that the Convocation, such as it was before the suppression of the synodal powers of the Church, was not in fact a properly constituted synod of the Church of England; and that for two reasons.

It was not a properly constituted synod of the Church of England, because it was not a synod of the Church at all; it was, if a synod, only a provincial synod of the principal province, to whose determinations the other province generally gave its adhesion in matters affecting the whole Church.

But even if the representation of both provinces could be united in one and the same convocation, another and a far more important objection would remain; viz. the essentially vicious constitution of the English convocation as a Church synod. There is no precedent in the whole history of Church councils, for the convocation of a synod of presbyters to act co-ordinately with the episcopal synod. In diocesan synods alone did presbyters sit and vote as a matter of right; for the diocesan synod was essentially a gathering of presbyters under the presidency of their Bishop. Provincial synods and national synods were synods of Bishops convened, the former under the presidency of the Metropolitan,—the latter under that of the Primate. If presbyters were admitted into them, and allowed to take a part in their proceedings, it was

the warmest friends of the Church.—See on this subject, Art. III. in the "English Review" for December, 1847; Vol. viii. pp. 289—313.

by invitation from the Bishops; called in as the advisers of their ecclesiastical superiors<sup>142</sup>, they remained in the same position of spiritual subordination to them, which the relation of the two orders necessarily involves; the notion of their forming a distinct and independent branch of the representative body of the Church, which might set itself in opposition against the episcopal synod, is an ecclesiastical monstrosity of which there is no example, except in the English Convocation, and the synodal constitution of the American Church copied from it.

There lies, however, a more serious objection than the want of precedent, against the constitution of the late Convocation as a Church synod. The separation into two houses is founded upon the worldly principle of establishing a balance of power; in other words, of setting the selfishness of one set of men in opposition to the selfishness of another set of men, as a check upon it<sup>143</sup>. In matters of temporal government this principle is in its place, and therefore found to work well; but in the spiritual government of the Church, which is not to be a government of mutual restraint and opposition, but a government of mutual love and reverence, that principle is altogether out of its place; to introduce it into the administration of Christ's kingdom, is to "cast out the devil by Beelzebub," and to provoke a practical illustration, too evidently apparent

<sup>142</sup> See Cyrilli Alexandr. Ep. ad Monach. *Æg.* c. 4, in the acts of the Council of Ephesus; Labb. t. iii. p. 589.

<sup>143</sup> As regards the introduction of this innovation into the constitution of the English provincial synods, see above, pp. 79, 80.



in the history of the English convocation, of the truth, that "if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand."

The true principle of Church government and Church representation, is necessarily different from all other principles of government and representation which obtain among mankind; for this reason, that whereas in all other societies there is a diversity of interests, which are to be protected against each other; on the contrary, in the Church there is but one interest, the common interest of Christ's kingdom, which leaves no room for the formation of class interests. For the advancement of this one common interest, Christ has instituted in His Church, by His apostles, the different orders of the ministry, in subordination to each other,—and the common deliberation of the whole body of the Church, participated in by all her members, according to the measure of the power committed to them in their several stations. Upon this view of the ordinance of Christ for the government of His Church, the constitution of Church councils was founded from the beginning. The first Church synod which we read of, consisted of "the Apostles and elders and brethren"<sup>14</sup>;" and when afterwards the increasing numbers of the Church rendered this mode of gathering the Church's mind impracticable, repre-

<sup>14</sup> The matter was referred to "the apostles and elders,"—Acts xv. 6; but the laity, "the brethren," were present, and included as consenting parties in the sentence.—Ibid. ver. 12, 22, 23; on which point St. Chrysostom remarks:—*ὡστε δεῖξαι, ὅτι οὐ τυραννικῶς, ὅτι πᾶσι ταῦτα δοκεῖ.*—Chrysost. in Acta Apost. Hom. xxxiii. ad xv. 26.

sentative assemblies were held of those on whom the government of the Church devolved,—diocesan, provincial, and national synods; still, even then, the laity was not excluded, and their consent to the resolutions taken was considered indispensable<sup>146</sup>. From the influence which the latter exercised in the appointment of the ministers, and even of the Bishops<sup>146</sup>, it was natural that they who bore rule in the Church, pos-

<sup>146</sup> The presence of the inferior clergy and of the laity at the early councils of the Church is attested by various examples. Thus, for instance, at the council held at Rome, A.D. 251, in the matter of Novatian, the presbyters and deacons outnumbered the bishops; and after the condemnation of Novatian, its decrees were made the subject of deliberation in diocesan synods.—Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. vi. c. 43; compare Hieron. Ep. ci. ed. Bened. ad Evang. The presence not of the lower clergy only, but of the laity also, appears from the acts of the third council of Carthage, A.D. 256, ap. Cypr. p. 229, ed. Oxon., and Labb. t. i. p. 805, and from those of the council of Illiberis in Spain, A.D. 305, Labb. t. i. pp. 987-1003. It is evident, moreover, that they were not present in the character of silent spectators only. Thus, for instance, at the council of Nicæa, St. Athanasius, who was then only a deacon, took a leading part in the confutation of the Arian errors,—Athanas. Apol. c. Arianos. c. 6; and St. Cyprian expressly mentions the consent of the laity, as necessary for the restoration of the lapsed and of schismatics; Cypr. Epp. xxxiv. lix. The general principle, that the laity as well as the inferior clergy, ought to be consulted in the government of the Church, is thus broadly asserted by St. Cyprian, in a letter to his clergy:—“*Ad id quod scripserunt mihi compresbyteri nostri, solus rescribere nihil potui; quando a primordio Episcopatus mei statuerim, NIHIL SINE CONSILIO VESTRO, ET SINE CONSENSU PLEBIS, MEA PRIVATIM SENTENTIA GERERE. Sed cum ad vos per Dei gratiam venero, tunc de iis quæ vel gesta sunt, vel gerenda, sicut honor mutuus poscit, IN COMMUNE TRACTABIMUS.*”—Cypr. Ep. xiv.

<sup>146</sup> “*Agnoscant atque intelligant,*” says St. Cyprian, “*Episcopo semel facto, et COLLEGARUM AC PLEBIS TESTIMONIO ET JUDICIO COMPROBATO, alium constitui nullo modo posse.*”—Cypr. Ep. xlv. ; and again, “*Plebs MAXIME HABET POTESTATEM, vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi.*”—Ibid. Ep. lxxvii.

sessed the confidence of the Church at large. The men appointed to rule were those in whom the Church had confidence, and therefore they were the fittest persons to represent her in her councils.

Such was the original constitution of the Church. The nearer any Church approaches to this primitive pattern, the more stable and efficient will her institutions prove; and under no circumstances can a departure from its principle, that of a divinely ordained rule in the Church, to be submitted to in love and reverence, be either justified, or attended with a blessing. And upon this ground, therefore, the constitution of the late convocation, founded on a balance of power between an upper house of Bishops and a lower house of presbyters, is decidedly objectionable.

Setting aside, then, the Parliament and the Convocation, as being equally unfitted by their constitution for the task of Church reform, Church legislation, and Church government, the question arises, on whom is that task, the performance of which, it is admitted, cannot with safety be delayed any longer, to devolve? What has just been said, might seem to indicate the Episcopate as the body to whom the whole matter should at once be delegated, with sufficient authority from the Crown to enable them to act synodically, and to give, with the assent of the Crown, validity to their decisions. But here again several difficulties present themselves.

In the first place it may justly be doubted, whether the Crown could, constitutionally, abrogate (which would be practically the effect of such a measure) the lower house of Convocation, and transfer to the upper

house alone the powers of the entire Convocation, or the superior powers of a national synod.

In the next place it is very questionable whether, even if there were no objection to such a course on the ground of constitutional precedent, the Parliament would consent to vest such a power in the hands of the Bishops; and without the Parliament it is clear that the Crown, according to the present constitution of its councils, cannot act even in a matter over which, in reality, the Parliament ought not to exercise or to claim any control.

But even if both these difficulties were removed, there remain two objections of a still more serious nature.

The first of these is the doubt, whether the mind of the Church, clergy and laity, generally, is prepared to commit the interests of the Church thus summarily to the hands of the Episcopate as at present constituted; a question which, it is to be feared, must be answered in the negative. Into the various reasons which might be alleged, to account for this exceedingly painful fact, the author desires to forbear from entering. It may suffice to point out the important distinction between reverence for God's ordinance in the episcopal office, the more cheerfully yielded when the persons placed in that office, by whatever process, command by their personal character respect, or affection, or both,—and such a confidence in a body of men placed in that office, as is implied in their being made the sole arbiters of the destinies of the Church, under circumstances of more than ordinary perplexity.

The present holders of the episcopal office were selected with a view to the ordinary performance of the duties of episcopal administration under existing circumstances, and not with a view to their discharging a trust so weighty as that which would devolve on the Episcopate, if it were called upon to exercise the functions of a national synod. This consideration, which alone would be sufficient to throw doubt upon the qualifications of the present Episcopate, to undertake single-handed the work of Church reform, is greatly strengthened by the undeniable fact that, even in the absence of any bias hostile to the Church, many of the individuals preferred to exalted stations in the Church owed their advancement to party or family interest; that in fact they were promoted for their own sakes rather than for the sake of the Church, with a view to their personal enjoyment of the dignity and the emoluments attached to the episcopal office. It would assuredly be too much to expect that parties chosen upon such accounts, should be regarded by the clergy and laity of the Church with the same degree of confidence as if they had been selected in accordance with the mind of the Church, on account of their distinguished fitness for the office entrusted to their charge. Add to this, the tendency already adverted to<sup>147</sup> of the temporal power, to give the preference to men not likely to be over-zealous in the assertion of the distinctive principles of the Church,—a tendency which has lately degenerated into a propensity to seek

<sup>147</sup> See above, pp. 138, 139

out men of at least doubtful soundness,—and it must be evident to the commonest apprehension, that the Episcopate, as at present constituted, cannot be regarded by the Church at large with that more than ordinary degree of confidence, without which the satisfactory settlement of the embarrassing questions arising out of the present situation of the Church, is a moral impossibility. Indeed, it would scarcely be respectful to the occupants of the episcopal bench to suppose that they would, in the face of objections at once so obvious and so serious, undertake, even if it were proposed to them by the temporal power, a task of which it is hard to say whether is greater, its difficulty or its delicacy.

The other, and equally serious objection before alluded to, is the moral disqualification of the Crown, or rather of those responsible organs through which alone the Crown can act, for the exercise of the supremacy in the convocation of a national synod, the direction of its deliberations, and the ratification of its decrees in order to make them the law of the Church. The nature of this disqualification has been so fully explained in the preceding Chapter, that it is unnecessary further to enlarge upon it in this place. If the political administration which represents the Crown is, as it has abundantly proved itself to be, incapable of directing the current government of the Church in a manner conducive to her welfare and efficiency, it follows *à fortiori* that measures of Church reform, devised by that administration, even with the unanimous concurrence of the Episcopate, never would or could be acquiesced in with confidence by the Church, but

must necessarily be viewed by her with the utmost distrust and alarm.

This, then, is the sum of the difficulty: the Church must go to destruction, unless her synodal action is restored, and made available for extensive reforms. The measures required cannot be submitted to the decision of Parliament; the revival of the ancient Convocation is both impracticable and objectionable; the Episcopate is not in a situation to act synodically; and the Crown is disqualified for a salutary exercise of its supremacy.

And is the case of the Church, then, utterly hopeless? Far from it. The very extremity of the case suggests the only method of extricating the Church from the unjust and perilous position in which she is placed; and will, it is to be hoped, ere long counsel, if not compel, its adoption.

The primary cause of the whole train of circumstances by which this result has been brought about, is chargeable upon the course pursued in the exercise of the Royal Supremacy. Without recapitulating the whole of the historical argument contained in the preceding chapters, and without going back to former times, and to the causes which rendered the Reformation necessary, it will be sufficient here to recall the fact, that the non-performance of the stipulation for the revision of the ecclesiastical law, contained in the act of submission, caused the discontinuance of proper Church synods, according to the primitive and Catholic rules of the Church on this subject; that this led to the always inadequate, and ultimately pernicious, sub-

stitution in their place of the State convocation, assembled for purposes of taxation; and that this again led to the suppression of all synodical action in the Church by the royal power. The Crown, by the use which it has made of the supremacy, is mainly and primarily responsible for the mischief that has ensued; and to the Crown, therefore, to a more salutary exercise of its supremacy, the necessity and the justice of the case alike compel the Church to look for a remedy.

But it is to the Crown, to the royal power itself, united with the Church by the bond of a common faith, not to a political ministry, which is precluded officially from having any faith, that the Church so looks and must look. And, therefore, the first step to be taken, is to disengage the Crown from the control of its political ministry, so far as the exercise of its supremacy over the Church is concerned. This cannot, of course, be effected without the concurrence both of the political ministry and of the Parliament; but as far as this co-operation is either required or admissible, it extends no further than an act of common justice, which it is scarcely conceivable that a British ministry would dare to oppose, if the claim of the Church to this measure of relief were strenuously asserted, and which the British Parliament never could refuse to sanction. After the principles of religious toleration have been carried to such a length, as not only to secure to religionists of every description the most perfect freedom in the organization and government of the bodies to which they respectively belong,



but to admit them, however hostile to the established Church, and to the ancient constitution in Church and State, to a participation in all the functions, legislative and administrative, of the body politic,—it would be a monstrous injustice to deny to the Church, which still constitutes the majority of the nation, the same freedom of organizing and governing herself according to her own principles; a monstrous injustice and inconsistency, in the midst of the anxiety shown to redress every, the slightest, the most imaginary grievance of the most insignificant portion of the community, to leave unredressed the deepest and most real grievance of the most important body in the State. And therefore it may be confidently anticipated, that if the case be pleaded on the simple ground of its intrinsic justice, it will meet with consideration, and that the emancipation of the Church will ere long be accomplished.

The case so to be pleaded, is briefly this. The Church has not only, like all the other religious bodies in the land, distinctive principles of her own, which she is entitled to hold, and to see protected; but it is one of her principles, that in a State in which the Sovereign is a member of the Church, the chief government of the ecclesiastical estate,—in other words, the supremacy over the Church,—belongs, and ought to be given, to the Sovereign; and therefore, on the principle of universal toleration, the Church must be permitted to attribute, and practically to defer to the Sovereign, this chief government or supremacy over herself. On the other hand, the Sovereign, holding that faith in common with the Church, is equally entitled to accept

and to exercise the chief government or supremacy, so deferred by the Church to the royal power as to God's ordinance. But the Sovereign and the Church have a right to ask of the nation at large, represented in Parliament, a recognition of this their common and reciprocal right; to ask, therefore, on the ground of universal toleration, that the Church shall be allowed to govern herself and legislate for herself, according to her own principles, under the royal supremacy, without let or hindrance; and also, that the Sovereign shall be allowed, without any interference on the part of the political advisers of the Crown, or of the Parliament, to exercise such supremacy over the Church.

This point being conceded in the abstract, the next point for consideration is, how this abstract right of both the Sovereign and the Church may be brought into actual operation, consistently with the general principles of the civil constitution, and with the relations already existing between the Church and the State. Here little difficulty can arise. Nothing more is required than an Act of Parliament, empowering the Crown to nominate, independently of the political administration, a privy council for ecclesiastical purposes, whose business it shall be, to advise the Crown in the exercise of the royal supremacy in convoking Church synods, in directing their action, and sanctioning their decrees; and in administering the Church patronage at present placed at the disposal of the political advisers of the Crown: such council to consist only of communicant members of the Church; to include, if any, at

all events no more than a certain limited number of the members of the political administration, and that not by virtue of their office in the State, but, rather, their political functions notwithstanding, if they should appear personally eligible; and further to include a certain proportion of the clergy of the Church, and especially of the episcopal order. The number of the council, and the proportions in which it should be composed, might in the first instance be determined, with a due regard to all just claims and pretensions, by the Act of Parliament, leaving the power of modifying its original composition in the hands of the legislative power of the Church herself, which is to be called into action by this ecclesiastical privy council.

If it be objected that this proposal is a novelty, for which there is no precedent, it is easy to show, that so far from this being the case, on the contrary the precedents, both those of former days and those of recent date, are all in its favour. That the disposal of Church patronage has, even in times when there was far less necessity for it than at present, repeatedly been vested in the hands of a strictly ecclesiastical council or commission, for the express purpose of excluding the influence of the political ministers of the Crown, has already been shown<sup>148</sup>; and that on all the occasions on which the system of the Church required revision of a more extensive kind, commissions were appointed for the purpose by the Sovereign, with the concurrence of Parliament, is a fact with

<sup>148</sup> See above, note 138.

which every reader of the history of our Church is familiar. Again, in more modern times, the appointment of a committee of Privy Council for Education, and still more the appointment of an Ecclesiastical Commission for the re-appropriation of ecclesiastical revenues, are instances of the delegation of the powers of the Crown to councils or commissions specially constituted for special objects. The proposal, therefore, to enable the Sovereign to constitute an Ecclesiastical Privy Council, distinct from the political Privy Council, is not so much a novelty as an adaptation of a principle already recognized and frequently acted upon, to the peculiar exigencies of a position which is itself without precedent in the history of this country, namely, the administration of the affairs of the Church by officers of State, who, in consequence of the recent changes in the constitution of the State, are necessarily indifferent to her welfare, and hostile to her principles.

The act of the civil legislature enabling the Sovereign to organize a competent ecclesiastical legislature within the Church herself, might either at once include an absolute power for future Church legislation with regard to the temporal property of the Church, subject of course to the general laws of the land affecting property; or it might be accompanied by a reservation, binding the Church for the present to the existing statutory provisions with regard to the administration of Church property, so as to render any alterations in that administration hereafter to be proposed, subject to the special sanction of Parliament. Such a reservation, however, if made at all, should only apply to

existing Church property, and should not be suffered to extend to any property of which the Church might hereafter become possessed by the liberality of her own members, which ought to be left as absolutely under her control, as the funds raised by other religious bodies are left to their control. Lastly, the concession might be, and ought to be, guarded by a provision, to the effect that whatever laws and regulations the Church may make for herself, shall be binding only upon those who willingly place themselves under her authority, and for so long only as they shall continue to be her members; as also, that they shall not in any way interfere with the civil *status* even of her members, but be entirely confined to spiritual matters, and to the ecclesiastical administration of the affairs of the Church; reserving withal to the Parliament the power of taking cognizance of the acts of the ecclesiastical government and legislature, if the same shall involve any encroachment upon the civil and political laws of the land, but not otherwise.

The royal supremacy being thus emancipated from the bondage of the political administration, might then be brought to bear, with the same freedom as it did in former times, upon the promotion of the welfare of the Church,—in the first instance by appointing an Ecclesiastical Privy Council, by whose advice the Crown would act as the head of the Church; secondly, by taking counsel with the Bishops of the Church, and such other of the clergy as the Crown by the advice of the Privy Council might see fit to consult, in the preparation of the measures to be

introduced; and thirdly, by organizing throughout the different dioceses, through the medium of the existing ecclesiastical authorities; a system of Church representation, giving a voice, not to the clergy only, but also to the communicant<sup>149</sup> lay members of the Church; and thereby affording an opportunity of ascertaining the sentiments and feelings of her people, and of preparing the measures to be proposed for the adoption of the Church by her representative voice, with such mature deliberation as to secure for them a willing acceptance on the part of all her members.

It may possibly be objected, that it is undesirable to invest the Crown with so large a discretionary power as is necessary to enable it to take the initiative in the restoration of the synodal life of the Church, and the Church reforms consequent upon it. But whatever inconvenience or danger such a course may be supposed to involve, it is clear that there is no help for it; because without the Crown the work of Church reform cannot be, and ought not to be, taken in hand; and the Crown, as at present circumstanced, cannot act without such power. Besides, the power here proposed to be given to the Crown is, in fact, not

<sup>149</sup> The necessity of restricting the exercise of any power or control over the government and legislation of the Church to her communicant members, (not to such as might communicate for the nonce, but to such as have been regular communicants for two or three years past,) is obvious. Those who live in habitual neglect of the sacrament of Church communion, and are members of the Church only in name, can have no right to take a share in her spiritual administration, a trust for which they are, by that very fact, manifestly disqualified.

greater than that which was given by the statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, and by the subsequent Acts, continuing to Henry VIII., to Edward VI., and to Elizabeth the power of appointing the commission of thirty-two persons for the revision of the ecclesiastical law<sup>150</sup>. That commission had, according to the Act of Submission, power to modify the ecclesiastical law with the concurrence of the Crown, without further reference to the Convocation; and the proposal to commit to such a commission the re-organization of the synodal action of the Church, is therefore strictly within the terms of the Act of Submission. The only real points of difference would be, first, the permanent character of the Privy Council for ecclesiastical purposes; and, secondly, the transfer of the Church patronage exercised by the Crown and the great State offices, from the temporal to the ecclesiastical advisers of the Crown, a course for which, as has been already shown<sup>151</sup>, there is more than one precedent. It should further be borne in mind, that the changes by which a State Convocation came to supplant the original synods of the Church, and by which that State Convocation was afterwards placed in its present condition of absolute dependence on the pleasure of the Crown, were violent changes, adopted in a time of difficulty and confusion<sup>152</sup>; a consideration which cannot but have great weight in justifying an extraordinary exercise of

<sup>150</sup> See above, note 126.

<sup>151</sup> See note 138.

<sup>152</sup> Compare on this subject what has been urged above, pp. 84—86.

power for restoring to the Church her ancient constitutional action. To acquiesce in the exercise of the royal supremacy for the suffocation of the Church's life, and to object to it for its re-animation, is indeed "to strain at a gnat," after "swallowing a camel."

To enter into any suggestions respecting the measures of reform to be introduced into the Church, after the restoration of her own representative system, and of the supremacy of the Crown over her, to a free and energetic action, would, even if it were not premature, unnecessarily lengthen the present inquiry, which has already extended considerably beyond the limits originally contemplated. There is one topic, however, out of many<sup>153</sup>, which the very mention of the term Church reform brings before the mind, which is so intimately connected with the main subject of these pages, that a few remarks in regard to it will form the most appropriate conclusion to the entire treatise.

<sup>153</sup> Some of these were touched upon in the pamphlet, which in the attempt to prepare a second Edition of it, has grown into the present Volume. Although, for the reason assigned in the text, these topics have been excluded, a brief enumeration of the principal points to which a competent Church legislation will have to direct its attention, may not be unwelcome or inappropriate. They are, first and foremost, a complete revision of the Ecclesiastical law, such as was contemplated at the Reformation; the restoration of that "godly discipline," the want of which the Communion Service annually recalls; the revival of the Diaconate, as a distinct order; an authoritative settlement of disputed questions both of doctrine and of practice; a revision of the Liturgy; and protection of the Offices of the Church, especially of her Burial Office, from profanation, by their compulsory use in the case of persons who do not even profess to be members of the Church, but make a boast of their separation from her.



It has been shown that the present mode of appointment to the Episcopate is, in more than one respect, extremely unsatisfactory. The removal, however, of the objections which at present lie against the entire system, more particularly against the quarter in which the substantial right of nomination is vested, and against the course of proceeding at the different stages of Episcopal creation, is not all that is required in order to give efficiency to the Episcopate of our Church; for this purpose it is indispensably necessary that a very large numerical addition should be made to its ranks, so as to render it commensurate with the population, and to bring it into more constant and more beneficial contact with both the clergy and the laity of the Church. On this point the example, strange as it may seem, of King Henry VIII., will be found to be worthy of all imitation; seeing it fairly puts to shame all that has been done on this important subject from that time to the present.

In the days of Henry VIII. the population of England and Wales amounted scarcely to four millions and a half<sup>151</sup>; the number of bishoprics to twenty-two. This the king thought wholly insufficient; accordingly he added five new bishoprics, and a further increase, to the number of twenty altogether, was contemplated by him. Upon an average calculation, therefore, it appears that Henry VIII. considered the charge of 200,000 souls much too heavy for one Bishop, and

<sup>151</sup> This is the amount of a census taken thirty years later than the erection of the new bishoprics, and therefore above the mark.

would have reduced it to about one half; he actually did reduce it to from 160,000 to 170,000. By the census of 1841 it appears, that the population of England and Wales then amounted to 16,035,804; that is, nearly four times the population of the time of Queen Elizabeth, when the census alluded to was taken: and yet the Episcopate has not been increased by a single member, until last year, when the creation of one new see was accomplished with extreme difficulty. The scenes to which the proposal for conceding to the National Church even this small boon, gave rise in the House of Commons, and which, if humiliating to the Church, were no less discreditable to the assembly in which they were suffered to take place, afforded the most conclusive evidence, that if the Church is to depend for the remedial measures which the exigency of the times so urgently requires, upon parliamentary legislation, her case is altogether hopeless. Nor is the factious opposition that was offered to the creation of the see of Manchester the only indication which the civil legislature has given that its temper and disposition towards the Church is one of undisguised hostility. Witness the wholesale suppression of bishoprics in Ireland, where an efficient Episcopate is, if possible, more urgently required than even in this country; witness the contemplated consolidation of the sees of St. Asaph and Bangor, which was hardly prevented by the most determined and persevering manifestations on the part of the Church; witness the kindred measure of consolidation which was actually carried into effect, when upon the erection of the new See of Ripon,

which had become a matter of urgent necessity, the See of Bristol was sacrificed and the second city of the kingdom deprived of its chief pastor; and that although its population considerably exceeds<sup>155</sup> what was considered by King Henry VIII. as the largest number of souls that ought to be put under the charge of one bishop. The average number of souls at present committed to the oversight of one Bishop is nearly 600,000; and as there are several dioceses in which the number is not nearly so large, there are others in which it greatly exceeds that average; the population of some being above two millions, or ten times the number of souls which Henry VIII. thought so excessive, that he contemplated doubling the Episcopate<sup>156</sup>. In order to bring the amount of episcopal responsibility within the limits to which Henry VIII. actually reduced it, the number of Bishops ought to be 96, instead of 27; and in order to bring it within the limits which he contemplated, 160 would be required.

And what are the grounds upon which so glaring a neglect of so evident a duty, as that of increasing the Episcopate in proportion to the population, is defended?

<sup>155</sup> The city of Bristol and the parishes of Clifton and Bedminster, which adjoin it, contained, in 1841, 146,640 inhabitants, for whose spiritual wants there are 36 churches, with 46 clergymen.

<sup>156</sup> There are cases where one town or parish, or two adjoining parishes, are more than sufficient for the charge of one Bishop, according to the calculation of Henry VIII.; ex. gr. Almondbury and Huddersfield, pop. 109,578; Walton-on-the-Hill and Liverpool, pop. 155,744; Ashton and Birmingham, pop. 225,641; Birstall and Leeds, pop. 267,782; and Manchester, pop. 461,277.

First, the want of funds. The plea of that want in the wealthiest country of the world, making no small profession of religion, is a national disgrace, the shameless confession of a great national sin. But it is not fair to draw inferences from the scantiness of pecuniary support, at a time when every active effort in the service of the Church meets with obstruction and discouragement, as to the liberality which her members shall evince, when they shall see new life infused into her system, and a way opened for making her in reality what she is in theory. "The labourer is worthy of his hire;" and a master who refuses to increase the wages of his servants, while he has reason to complain that his establishment is badly conducted, may after all not prove illiberal, if he finds that a spirit of order and activity has succeeded to sloth and confusion. It is not credible, that if an Episcopate adequate to the wants of the population were provided, the towns and districts which require such a provision, some of which are the richest marts of our national commerce and industry, would not come forward with the means of supporting a chief pastor of the Church.

Besides, there are means in existence which might be applied to this purpose. To say nothing of the surplus revenues which by proper management might be secured through the operation of the Ecclesiastical Commission, there are in the different dioceses more than one hundred livings of the annual value of £1000 and upwards, in public patronage. However objectionable may be the annexation of important livings to

distant sees, or to sees whose occupants are necessarily precluded from the possibility of attending to any parochial charge, no such exception could be taken against the plan of making such livings available for the support of Bishops who should not be peers of Parliament, burdened with the charge of overgrown dioceses, but pastors of the episcopal order, exercising their spiritual functions, like the Bishops of the primitive Church, within narrow territorial limits, whose influence would be materially promoted by their being patterns to the rest of the clergy of efficient parochial administration. Nor would the parishes thus converted into centres of diocesan government, be in any sense losers by this arrangement; on the contrary, they, too, would be materially benefited, and their spiritual wants provided for as satisfactorily, to say the least of it, as under the present system of disposing of such preferments.

Another objection not unfrequently urged against a large increase of the Episcopate, is the supposed injury which the dignity of the existing Episcopate might suffer from the multiplication of the number of those invested with the episcopal office; and especially the danger which might arise to the seats of the Bishops in the House of Peers, from an increase of the Episcopate which could not find admission there, and would establish the precedent of English Bishops not being lords of Parliament. Considering the increase that is constantly taking place in the temporal peerage, the objection to an increase of the spiritual peerage is, in a

constitutional point of view less well founded than it appears to be at first sight<sup>157</sup>. At the same time, the condition attached to the creation of the new see of Manchester has made it evident, that if the Church wishes to increase her Episcopate, she must consent to do it on the understanding that all the additional Bishops will be excluded from the House of Lords. Nor is this in reality to be regretted. Whether the expedient resorted to in the case of that solitary addition, that of excluding the junior Bishop, would be equally suitable in the event of an increase of the Episcopate such as that here contemplated, may admit of a doubt. A much better arrangement might probably be effected, by providing that the general body of Bishops,—supposing their number to amount to 160,—should be chosen *bonâ fide*, either by the clergy, or by the clergy and laity of their respective dioceses, with the concurrence of the Bishops of the adjoining dioceses; and that the Crown, acting by the ecclesiastical privy council, should have the absolute nomination to all those sees to which peerages are attached. Some or all of these might be converted into Archbishoprics, exercising jurisdiction over a certain number of dioceses and churches, subject to the metropolitan jurisdiction of the Primate. If, in addition to this, the choice of the Crown in appointing to the Archbishoprics or Bishoprics with peerages annexed to them, were limited to those whom the confidence of

<sup>157</sup> In the reign of Elizabeth the spiritual peers constituted nearly one-third, at the Revolution in 1688, one-ninth, and now they constitute about one-fifteenth, of the entire peerage of England.

the Church had already raised to the *spiritual* order of the Episcopate, not only the mockery of an election by *cong  d' lire* and letter missive might be got rid of, but there would be no pretext left for the assertion, so frequently advanced to the injury of the Church, that Bishops are made, not by the Church but by the temporal power. Under the arrangement suggested, the *spiritual* character of the Episcopate would be preserved free from the suspicion of court favour, and the Crown would exercise the rights belonging to it as the temporal patron of sees endowed with peerages, in a manner more direct, and more consistent with its own dignity and with that of the Church. And with an Episcopate thus freed from the alloy of secularity under which the Episcopate as now constituted necessarily labours, there would be a reasonable prospect of seeing the spiritual powers of the Episcopate brought to bear effectually upon the spiritual welfare of the Church, and upon the spiritual work which lies, at present in a great measure unperformed, before her.

There are three points, more especially, in regard to which the insufficient number of the Episcopate is directly and painfully detrimental to the spiritual interests of the Church as a body, and of her members individually. The first of these is the want of apprehension in the minds of the people, of the nature, the duties, and responsibilities of the ministerial office. If, instead of the present system, under which each Bishop ordains at once a large number of men, who are sent out with licenses in their pockets to serve in congregations to which they are often total strangers,

the moderate size of the diocese made it possible for the Bishop, in the first place, to make himself personally acquainted with the candidates, who might be usefully employed for a season, during their preparation for holy orders, under the Bishop's eye; and after that to ordain the ministers in the Church, and in the presence of the congregation, where they are to serve;—if instead of sending a “mandate to induct,” in the case of a minister already ordained being appointed to a new charge, the Bishop were in person to introduce the minister to his flock;—if this were done in all simplicity, without ostentation or display of any kind, but with prayer and exhortation, in how much more profitable a manner would many a ministerial career be commenced; how much ignorance might be prevented or dispelled; how much cordial co-operation secured, instead of the opposition which in the present state of things a minister has often to encounter, before he has had time personally to know, or to become known to, his flock!

Again, on the important subject of Confirmation, how different would be the condition of our Church, if a sufficiently numerous Episcopate rendered it possible for that holy rite to be ministered with all the solemnity which it deserves! What a painful sight is a Confirmation now, in spite of the best efforts, both of the Bishop and of the clergy, to make it what it ought to be! The body of the church crowded with young people, brought together from all parts of the country round,—the galleries filled, not with devout worshippers, but with spectators, as for a show; the candidates



marshalled up by an apparitor, with paper certificates in their hands, before the Bishop, who is an entire stranger to them; kneeling for a few moments, feeling the touch of his hand pass over them in the process of wholesale confirmation; and then marshalled back again by the same apparitor to their pews, there to wait till scores upon scores have been so marshalled and confirmed! Instead of which, if there were a sufficient number of Bishops, Confirmations might be held annually or biennially in every church; the young of each congregation might be called upon, before their parents and friends, and before the whole congregation, assembled, not for a show, but for a solemn act of worship, to render some account to the Bishop of the instruction they had received; they might then be solemnly consecrated to Christ one by one, with all the decent tranquillity prevailing in a devout congregation on an occasion so singularly touching, and be charged by the Bishop to give proof hereafter, by their conversation, and by their diligent attention upon God's word, and upon his holy sacrament, of the reality of the profession they had now so publicly made before all their neighbours, their relations, and friends. And can it be doubted, that such a Confirmation would have upon the minds of the parties confirmed, and upon the whole congregation, a very different effect from that which can be reasonably expected from the present mode of administering that ordinance?

Lastly, with regard to the discipline of the Church, —not the discipline which issues from Doctors' Commons, but the discipline of love, of personal influence

and example, of frequent intercourse, of friendly counsel and brotherly admonition,—the healing, the strengthening discipline, which, if it existed, would render the penal discipline for the most part unnecessary,—the discipline of which the laity as well as the clergy ought to have the benefit; what an immeasurable amount of good could a Bishop effect in a charge not exceeding the bounds of his power! Gathering his clergy around him from time to time, for common prayer, for eucharistic communion, and joint meditation, for familiar conference on the duties and the difficulties of their holy office, he might unite them together as one man; he might obviate or soften the misunderstandings and jealousies which are now unfortunately as common as they are disgraceful; he might prevent that wretched state of isolation, which is so fatally destructive of ministerial zeal and energy. Taking an interest in the labours and the difficulties of each individual clergyman under his charge, he might aid him with his counsel and with his countenance; in cases of misunderstanding between the clergyman and his people, he might interpose as a peace-maker, admonish the wavering, and by fatherly admonition correct the unruly; and by such means he might both himself be instrumental in saving many souls, and make the ministry of his clergy more fruitful than it possibly can be, when it stands, as it does at present, uncheered, unsupported, it may be misrepresented and misjudged, in the midst of a hostile world.

Thus might episcopal superintendence and epis-

copal ministrations be made indeed to abound in fruits of edification, of peace and consolation. To make our Bishops personally responsible for the woful contrast which this picture of what the Episcopate ought to be forms with what it actually is, would be the height of injustice. Many of them labour to their power, yea, and beyond their power; but the task imposed upon them surpasses the bounds of human strength. Triennial charges, however excellent, however impressive, cannot supply the place of the living influence of the Episcopate, either among the clergy or among the laity.

Life, life and reality,—a sense of brotherhood in the bond of Christ, unity of feeling, of purpose, and of action, is what our Church stands in need of. But this is not to be attained by the cold and distant rule of an Episcopate overburdened with business, and that, in no small proportion, business of a secular nature; an Episcopate separated from the clergy by a great gulf of worldly rank. Nor can it be brought about by sewing here and there upon the old garment of our Church-system the new patch of an Act of Parliament, which only takes from the garment, and the rent is made worse.

There is, in the nature of things there can be, but one remedy for the many evils under which our Church is labouring. Her entire system of action must be released from the iron frame-work, in which it was stereotyped centuries ago; it must be allowed to adapt itself to the circumstances of the times and men's manners; for these have been progressing, while the

Church has been standing still. But there is between the Church and the world this difference, that the world is constantly inventing new principles, and striking out new paths, in the course of its progress; whereas the true and only safe progress of the Church consists in the revival of her ancient, her eternal principles, and in a return to the good old paths.

In order to bring about this revival, and to open the way for this return, the shackles must be removed, with which the Church has long been loaded by the temporal power, and which have become more and more oppressive, as the temporal power itself has assumed a character more and more heterogeneal to that of the Church. That element in the constitution of the temporal power, which has no claim to the Church's allegiance, the democratic element,—that element which has no fellowship of faith with the Church, the latitudinarian element,—must retire from all interference with the government of the Church, and leave that portion of the functions of the temporal power to be exercised apart by the Sovereign, in whom the Church recognizes God's ordinance, and who acknowledges the Church as "the pillar and ground of the truth."

To effect this with the least possible violence to existing institutions, without running into the Scylla of collision, in the attempt to escape from the Charybdis of confusion, is the great problem which British statesmanship is called upon to solve, in order to disencumber the political government from the embarrassments of a task for which it is disqualified, and to restore to the possession and the free exercise of her ancient and

inalienable rights, the only religious body in the land which does not share in the common freedom,—the Church of England, that pure and apostolic branch of the Catholic Church of Christ.

THE END.

# A LETTER

TO THE RIGHT HON.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL, M.P.

ON .

## THE ADMISSION OF JEWS TO PARLIAMENT.

BY THE REV. T. R. BIRKS, M.A.

RECTOR OF KELSHALL, HERTS.

AND LATE FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

 Seeleys.

FLEET STREET,

AND

HANOVER STREET.

MDCCCXLVIII.



**LEONARD SEELEY, THAMES DITTON.**

## A LETTER,

ETC. ETC.

MY LORD,

YOUR high office, as the Prime Minister of the British Empire, gives you a just claim on the sympathy of every patriot, and the prayers of every sincere Christian. The responsibility, heavy at all times, is now greater than ever. Our country has been crushed under a sore visitation of God's mighty hand. Famine and pestilence have swept away hundreds of thousands, and the attempt to rescue millions more from perishing has threatened to swallow up the resources of the state. Commerce has received a shock of almost unequalled severity, and all classes are suffering with the effects of the blow. At such a time, even the unavoidable cares of your office would seem, to most minds, intolerably oppressive, and they would shrink from increasing the burden by any act of their own. Whatever constitutional changes they might desire to accomplish, they would fear to venture on new experiments, until the danger was fully averted, and the severity of the judgment had entirely passed away.



Your course, my Lord, has been different. Whether from the force of circumstances, or some earlier pledge, you have chosen the crisis of national distress to moot another question, which affects the very foundations of the whole state. You have stepped beyond the usual limits of ministerial dignity and reserve, that you might lend your whole influence, as Premier, to force the admission of Jews into our Parliament. You select the moment when God has smitten us most severely, and is still smiting us, to proclaim your conviction, that faith in Christ is superfluous for a British legislator. So clear is this doctrine in your eyes, that you single it out, at such a time, for national inculcation, and stake your credit and consistency, as the head of government, on its practical triumph.

The last relic of religious bigotry, you inform us, must now be swept away. No civil distinction must henceforward attach to any religious faith or practice whatever. It is not enough to reverse the precedents of our own national history, and to try a vast experiment in the hour of public calamity; unless the Premier seats himself on the crest of the wave, which is to beat down the last barrier of our Christian constitution.

There are very many Christians, my Lord, who deplore the step you have taken. They object strongly to the measure itself, and they also dislike the mode of its introduction. The Prime Minister

of a great empire ought not, they think, to make himself a party in the popular abrogation of its fundamental laws before their actual repeal. The principle which you reject and denounce, they believe to be an eternal truth ; and what you account the climax of liberal policy, is in their eyes only a fatal delusion. Suffer me, as one of this large class, who object to the measure on religious grounds, to state briefly some of the reasons for our judgment. After all the pleas advanced in its favour, in the recent debate, the principle on which that judgment rests continues unaltered and impregnable, and there are some aspects of it which we could scarcely expect to find clearly exhibited within the walls of Parliament. We desire to pay all respect to the motives and character of those statesmen who advocate the change ; but there is a higher reverence due to Christ, the only Ruler of princes, to whom kings and statesmen and parliaments owe perpetual allegiance. His name, my Lord, is above every name in earth or heaven. No sincerity of conviction, no gentleness of language, can disguise the evil, if modern statesmen shall fling it away, as a worthless and unmeaning incumbrance, from the time-honoured institutions of our land.

We are aware that the advocates for the admission of Jews to the British Parliament have several plausible reasons to allege in behalf of their own views. A great number of our most popular states-

men, and even many Christians of sincere piety, may be found advocating the proposed change. The circumstances of your own election speak loudly, and shew that a strong current has now set in, among large classes of our countrymen, in favour of the measure. And indeed, if mere feeling were to be our guide, many who are most earnest and hearty in their protest, would be found more strenuous for the removal of the Jewish disabilities, than nine tenths of those who are now advocates of the change. My object will be to examine the chief of those reasons, which have been advanced, by different parties, in and out of Parliament in favour of your Lordship's measure; and then to state, simply and plainly, the fatal objections to which it is really exposed.

There are, first, a large class of liberal statesmen and their disciples, who hold the maxim that religious truth is too obscure and uncertain, to be allowed any place among the institutions of the land. Even the seraph before the throne, in their view, cannot know it; and how much less can it be attained by feeble mortals, or its voice be heard, in clear accents, in the troubled arena of political debate! The only practicable course, they maintain, is to deal with the various communities within the land, according to their numbers and social power, without any attempt to discern between truth and falsehood. Hence all civil exclusions on the ground of religion must disappear. The Jew, the

Mahometan, and the Hindoo, must all be alike eligible for every office in the state, from the lowest to the highest. To deny them this privilege, is to defraud them of a right, and is a direct offence against the clear lessons of social justice.

Others, and your Lordship is among the number, hold the same principle in a mitigated form. They allow that religion ought to influence, inform, and pervade all our legislation, and to control and guide the public conduct of statesmen, no less than the citizen in private life. They will not accept the broad principle, that Christianity is needless for all the great ends of government. But they contend that it cannot be secured by oaths and declarations; or else that the Christian character of Parliament will continue unimpaired, because the number of Jews admitted will be always a very small and inconsiderable minority. If the whole nation may be called Christian, though it includes some thousands of Jews among its citizens, then our legislature will equally retain a Christian character, when a few individual Jews have been enrolled among its members.

There is another kindred argument, which will procure many friends to the proposed measure among religious men. The spheres of religion and civil order in their view, are entirely distinct. In its own sphere, religious truth is both attainable and of the highest moment; but it may not intrude into a sphere, foreign in its nature, and where its entrance

would be only pernicious. Parliaments have to do only with the things of Cæsar, and not with the things of God. And hence no reference to the things of God should perplex the simple theory of political science. If governments confine themselves to their own province, religion, and even morality, will take care of themselves. To make our Parliament Christian, by excluding Jews from being its members, is to retain the relic of an abandoned system, which could not be resumed, without landing us in a spurious theocracy, and in the worst mischiefs of religious persecution. Once let the knot be completely disentangled, and religion will flourish in its native simplicity ; while the time and thoughts of our statesmen will be unvexed by the jarring intrusion of ecclesiastical faction and theological debates.

These views, so widely prevalent among liberal politicians, and several bodies of professing Christians, have strengthened themselves by a further argument, drawn from the course of recent history. Some, who might have been expected to be most adverse to the removal of Jewish disabilities, have been led to desire it on this ground alone. The set and current of legislation, for more than twenty years, has run, they say, in this one direction. Statesmen have contradicted their own professions, and reversed their former opinions, so as to help on the tide of change, which they resisted before. Here is no blind fatality, but a clear indication of

the Divine will. It is presumption and folly to fight against God. To cling to the remnant of a system, of which all the pillars have been slowly crumbling away, is to be deaf to the clear and loud voice of Providence. The removal of all religious distinctions has proceeded so far, that its completion is a matter of course, and quite inevitable. It has freed us already from many anomalies, and a vast amount of political hypocrisy. Why should we fear to resign ourselves to the stream of events, or even to help it forward, in the full confidence that a better and purer system will emerge from the ruins of that which is now passing away?

The same argument has been used, in another shape, to parry the force of all religious objections to the new measure. What principle, it is said, can warrant us in admitting a Jew to be a sheriff or magistrate, and in excluding him from Parliament? If he is fit to exercise the rights of an elector, why may he not fulfil those of a representative with equal safety? If the appeal is made to Scripture, by what right can we interpret the prophecies, so as to draw the line between a justice of peace, and a member of Parliament, so that Jews may lawfully hold the former office, while to admit them to the other, is to be accounted an act of national apostasy? If Roman Catholics and Socinians are admitted to be members, on what plea can we exclude those, whose fathers have been the

true source of all the religious light and knowledge which Christians now enjoy ?

There is a further motive for the change, which appeals to feelings of a still nobler and loftier kind. The Jews, even in our own country, have been repeatedly exposed, in former time, to bitter persecution. The memory of these sufferings, which their forefathers have undergone from ours, may well cover us with a blush of shame. Ingenuous minds, when they look back on the record of these injuries, will desire a noble revenge ; and that every trace of former injustice may be blotted out, and replaced by memorials of charity and goodwill. Influenced by such recollections, they will regard the removal of every civil disability from the Jews, as the tardy payment of a debt long since due, and which has been accumulating for ages. All the impulses of generosity will thus conspire with the colder dictates of liberal policy, and swell the ranks of those, who desire that all such restrictions may be removed from the statute book of the land.

Even these motives, powerful as they may seem, do not exhaust the number of those reasons which may lead many to desire the projected change in the constitution. They would apply, with nearly equal force, to the removal of any other restriction, and have only a slight reference to the peculiar features of the case now before us. But there are those who advocate the measure, not merely on the plea

of religious liberty, or even of national equity, but on the higher ground of religious truth. They remind us that Jews worship the same God as Christians, and acknowledge the same Divine revelation. They are the human authors of our religion, to whom we are indebted for nearly all that we own as sacred. Their morals are founded on those Divine oracles to which we ourselves bow; and they profess a true religion, though not in its most comprehensive form. To admit Jews, then, to the highest privileges of British citizens, is the best pledge of our Christian sincerity, and a tribute to the authority of that revelation which we alike receive. Their law is written over all the altars of the Christian Church in our own land. And hence, unless we are influenced by the calumnies of the dark ages, we shall shrink from excluding those from the Legislature, who profess the very religion in which our Lord and Saviour was born.

But, besides this extreme line of argument, there are other reasons, more consistent with the high claims of the gospel, and which seem to justify the measure on religious grounds. There are many Christians, my Lord, who regard every thing that respects the Jewish people with an interest altogether unique and peculiar. We believe, and on firm grounds, that the happiness of the whole race of mankind, and the whole mystery of God's Providence, is linked inseparably with the fortunes of the despised and down-trodden Jew. Their fall,



we believe, was the riches of the world ; and their diminishing, the signal for the noblest triumphs of the gospel. For fifteen hundred years they were exalted in privilege above all nations, as the chosen people of God ; and even in their deep fall and misery, they have still been beloved for the sake of their fathers. Their recovery, we believe firmly on the same authority, will be the signal for still fuller blessings to our world, in days to come. All our hopes for the future are clustered around the covenant of the God of Israel, and the promises which He has made to His ancient people. Others may call themselves friends of the Jew, because they have learned to deride the bigotry of their forefathers, and are willing to give him an equal share of civil privileges. But the seeming kindness too often conceals a smile of contempt ; and they expect that the Jew, in return for their signal condescension, will be only too happy to become a Gentile citizen, and to cast aside all his rich inheritance of national recollections, and promises of glory. But our sympathies are not confined by such a narrow boundary. We can look forward with joy to the time, perhaps not very far distant, when the past degradation of the Jew shall only serve to measure the height of his recovered greatness and glory. Instead of desiring to merge them in the mass of our citizens, and then priding ourselves on our high attainments in charity and liberal feeling, we frame no higher hope for our beloved country, than that

it may be, as Jonathan sought from David, second in rank, and nearest in honour, to restored Israel in those days to come. We believe and are sure, that when once they turn from their unbelief, the Lord their God will set them on high above all the nations of the earth; and our best and largest prayer for our own country, as true patriots, is, that it may be, in those days, a younger and beloved sister to that ancient people of God. And hence, if guided only by the depth of our sympathy, we should hail the proposed measure of emancipation far more heartily than those hollow friends and secret despisers of the Jew, who now swell the ranks of its advocates; and who are loudest in their charge of narrow bigotry and prejudice, against all who dare to meet so liberal and enlightened a policy with a firm protest and earnest opposition.

Such are the chief motives, my Lord, which conspire in your favour, and plead for the justice and wisdom of the step you have taken. We can feel and understand the apparent strength of these arguments, which have decided your own judgment, and that of different classes who are leagued in the same cause. Their effect on our minds would naturally be increased by other motives, in those bright and glorious hopes which we anticipate for the people of Israel in the days to come. Yet, with all these reasons fully before our eyes, we still protest against the proposed mea-

sure. We believe it to be deceptive and false in the principle on which it rests, and dangerous, perhaps fatal, in its certain issues. Every motive, we are well persuaded, of sound reason, of Christian charity, of reverence for the Divine will, and of far-seeing political wisdom, conspires to condemn the very measure, which it has been sought to shelter and commend by the use of those venerable names.

The motive in favour of the bill, which has most weight with yourself and our other statesmen, consists in the great principle of liberal policy. It has been defined in these words, by a parliamentary leader, that religious questions are to be dealt with, in future, purely on political grounds. In other words, the truth or falsehood of differing creeds is to be entirely set aside, as an irrelevant inquiry, and religious communities are to be considered with reference only to the number of their adherents, and the probable extent of their social power. The maxim, on which this theory rests, has been lately stated in public by one of your own colleagues. What is truth? he inquired, with unusual animation. Who are we, presumptuous mortals, that we should fancy we have attained it? Even the rapt seraph, who adores and burns, would probably own it to be too high and glorious, to be reached by his exalted vision. How absurd, then, for ignorant mortals to wrangle and dispute, in the blind confidence that they are battling for

truth, when the one great lesson which shines clearly in the word of God, is a lesson of peace, and teaches us that our first duty consists in unbounded charity towards all our fellow men !

Such, my Lord, in substance, was the statement of your colleague, a manifesto of the modern theory of State policy. Did no suspicion cross the mind of the noble Lord, as the words were uttered, that in adopting the language and the creed of Pilate, he was in danger of renouncing his faith in Him whom Pilate crucified? What means this strange echo, after eighteen hundred years—this choice, for the Magna Charta of liberal policy, of words which were once the fit prelude to the foulest and darkest of political and religious crimes? Could no decent veil be found for the maxim, to hide its deformity from the ears of a Christian audience? Must the very sounds which once rung the death-knell of the Son of God, become now the chosen watch-word of British legislation? When Christian senators renounce the words of Christ for those of Pilate, we cannot be surprised, if they are more eager to please the people, than to maintain the truth of God. It is well, for his own sake, that the noble Lord has recently mitigated, if not retracted, the offensive part of his statement, which was so well fitted to shock the conscience of every sincere Christian in the land.

There was indeed an equal offence against sound

reason, as against good taste and Christian piety, in this bold apostrophe of borrowed eloquence. Because a seraph is not omniscient, does it follow that Christians must be utterly blind? No creature, it is true, can fully explore the ways and counsels of the Most High; but are they all condemned, on this account, to grope in total darkness? Is there no medium, my Lord, between knowing all things, and knowing nothing whatever? If all truth be quite unattainable, what folly for cabinets or parliaments to meet and consult together! But perhaps the maxim is to be carefully restricted to matters of faith and of religion only. Does this lessen the absurdity? Shall we say that, where men are left to grope for truth by their own efforts, they may attain it; and that they are left to utter uncertainty, only in those subjects, on which God himself has given them an express and full revelation? What is such an assertion but an impious attempt to annul, at one stroke, the authority of every message which the Almighty has given to mankind?

Religious truth, my Lord, whatever ancient or modern sceptics may affirm, is attainable, and has often been attained. To deny this would be to make Christ a liar, and to become open apostates from the faith. "Ye shall *know the truth*," is the repeated promise to His followers, "and the truth shall make you free." "Every one that is of the truth," He said to Pilate, "heareth my voice." And hence

to affirm that truth, in religious matters, is not attainable, is directly to renounce "the true faith of a Christian," and to number ourselves with those unhappy apostates, who "receive not the love of the truth, that they might be saved." Apply the same principle to any other subject, and its effect will be to abolish all science, and to reduce everything to one chaos of ignorance and confusion. Apply it to religion, and the folly becomes near akin to open blasphemy. It charges God with having made a useless revelation, and makes Him who is the very Truth, an utterer of repeated and open falsehoods. Can these, my Lord, be the watch-words of political wisdom? Must our boast of growing light and unbounded liberality end in the strange confession, that we are eager to learn all other things, and content to know nothing of the God who made us, and the Saviour who redeemed us:—that we fancy truth attainable, wherever God is shut out from our inquiries, and unattainable whenever it would involve obedience to our Maker, faith in His word, and submission to His revealed will?

Let us suppose that certainty in religious matters is unattainable, and what results will follow? If we can still reach a high probability, enough to guide our conduct, the argument drops to pieces of its own accord. The same strength of conviction, which would justify a statesman in enacting a poor law or a tariff, will equally suffice, where religious

doctrines are one element of the decision. But if the bolder alternative is embraced, and the gospel of Christ is thought more uncertain than the paradoxes of modern economists, what blindness can be more deplorable? Let us imagine a people, favoured for centuries with the highest and largest revelation of God's love to mankind, to have sunk so low in ignorance, that they are quite uncertain whether there be a revelation, a future judgment, a life to come, an Almighty and Holy Governor of the universe! Do you think, my Lord, that machinery, and free-trade, and popular elections, can save such a people from hopeless ruin? All oaths and covenants will be swept away; all worship of God and reverence for man's immortality, must have entirely disappeared. There can be no sense of government, as a Divine ordinance, no recognition of conscience, as the secret and awful voice of the living God. What bond is left, to bind such a people into social harmony? With no motive but the selfish love of gain, no hindrance of crime but the risk of detection and punishment, and each one certain of no God but his own belly, what law can subsist in the moral chaos, or how can the framework of the national polity be kept from sinking into utter dissolution? What hope can there be that a fabric of liberty and order will ever arise amidst so deep and loathsome a ruin? The only government possible for such a state is a pure despotism, where some tyrant, or knot of tyrants,

use the right of the strongest, the only right that survives in the wreck, and prey freely on the whole people; just as a few vultures may be seen to fatten on the innumerable and putrifying carcasses of some battle-field.

Religious truth, my Lord, and every statesman ought to know it, is the very life-blood of human society. Extinguish this light, and men become "an anarchy of spirits," brutes and slaves fit to be governed by force and violence alone. Civil government is then impossible; for it must be in the hands of a few, and the few cannot rule the many, by force only. Some kind of religion, true or false, there must be, if society is not to be a perpetual sea of anarchy and bloodshed; and if men will not return to the love and worship of the Most High, their atheism must at least resolve itself into some low and bastard form of hero-worship. Even if society could exist in such a godless condition, its existence would be only a prolonged wretchedness. Its people would be in Cimmerian darkness, in the very region and shadow of death. Can this be the ideal of a Christian state which liberal statesmen, after eighteen centuries of gospel light, make it their ambition to attain? Would it not rather be a deeper madness than that of Nebuchadnezzar, thus to resign all the true glory of their high office, and go forth willingly to herd and graze with the beasts of the field?

You, my Lord, have wisely renounced and dis-



claimed the hideous maxim, that religion has nothing to do with the office of the legislator. Dealing, as Parliament must do, with the highest interests of the nation, you own that Christianity ought to guide and influence its decisions. But you do not seem to have weighed the consequences of your own statement. If religious truth is the very life-blood of society, the cement which must bind together its whole fabric, then a knowledge and belief of it, at least in its simpler elements, must be one main essential of all political wisdom. The cleverness which despises God and His word, can avail neither to men nor nations, except to discover for them a more ingenious pathway to destruction. The law is written in heaven, and no human power or skill can reverse it—"Them that honour God He will honour, and they that despise Him shall be lightly esteemed." "The wicked shall be turned into hell; and all the nations that forget God." Neither the votes of a thousand parliaments, nor the unanimous voice of all the worldly-wise in our enlightened age, can reverse or suspend the operation of these laws, which preside for ever in the moral destiny of men and nations.

What then shall we say of the maxim, that civil distinctions must cease to attach to any doctrines or practices of religious faith? You may abolish, doubtless, the distinctions which human laws have made; but you cannot abolish a distinction deeper

and higher, which existed before those laws, and will continue after their abrogation. You cannot give to falsehood the properties of truth, nor the social benefits of living faith to heartless unbelief. You can never extract political wisdom from a senate of atheists, nor secure the blessing of Christ on the plans and counsels of those, who despise Him as an impostor, or defame him as a blasphemer. You may admit those to legislate for a Christian state, who are unfit to legislate wisely; and may abrogate every religious test for members of Parliament, leaving nothing but a money qualification. But you cannot, by all your votes, divorce true wisdom from Christian faith, and marry it to a paltry freehold. You may admit Jews, and even Turks, Hindoos and Infidels, to the counsels of the state. But you cannot obtain, from such a policy, the blessing which belongs to those princes and rulers, who "serve the Lord with fear, and rejoice before Him with reverence." The practical worship of gold and silver, a money qualification retained, and a Christian profession cast aside as needless, is not a national religion that will avail any thing, when Christ, the Prince of princes, shall send either famine or pestilence upon a guilty and rebellious land.

The right of legislation, my Lord, is a solemn and weighty trust. If any test whatever be desirable in those who are admitted to its exercise, then the first and most essential, in every age, and in every nation, must be reverence for that Divine

power on which the happiness and prosperity of states and kingdoms must ever depend. This was a truth plain to heathen moralists and statesmen, however frequently it might be misapplied. Wherever the name of Christ has been proclaimed, and the truth clearly revealed, that all power in heaven and earth belongs to the crucified Saviour, there allegiance to Christ, and reverent submission to His will and word, is the qualification, next in order of importance, for the right discharge of the duties of a statesman. To abrogate this test, where it already exists, and to retain one borrowed from the amount of a freehold, seems very like an insult offered to the name of Christ. It is to declare openly that the possession of a few hundred pounds of income is a better pledge of political integrity and wisdom, than submission to His Divine authority, who is the Lord of lords and the King of kings.

Another principle, widely prevalent among several bodies of Christians, will probably obtain a full approval of your Lordship's measure from minds of a more religious cast than is common among liberal politicians. They reject the fatal maxim that all creeds are uncertain, and believe fully that God's word is a sufficient guide in all the doctrines and duties of personal religion. But they conceive that the two spheres of religious faith and social order are entirely separate, and ought not to be confounded together. The things of Cæsar must

never be mingled with the things of God. And hence they will naturally maintain that the unbelief of Jews, however dangerous or even fatal to their own salvation, should be no barrier to exclude them from the legislature of our land.

This view, my Lord, however prevalent among many Christians, is certainly not your own, and has hitherto found but few patrons in either house of Parliament. It is easy to point out the main fallacy on which its influence depends. It seeks to divorce what God himself has joined inseparably, faith in the heart, confession with the lips, and the social effects which result from these, on the peace, welfare, and happiness of men and kingdoms. Religion deals with man in his relation to God, and the state contemplates him in his relation to his fellow-citizens. Now if social virtue has no connexion at all with religious faith, and the truth of God has no bearing on social prosperity, then the proposed separation might be made really complete. But this cannot be. Godliness hath the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come. If it is only by the sun, the moon, and stars, that the voyager can be guided over the trackless ocean, it is only by the lessons of eternal truth, drawn from the word of God, that men or nations can steer their course wisely amidst the changes of Providence here below. To believe that religious faith involves the issues of eternal life and death, and still to imagine that its effects on the

whole social economy are very slight, that statesmen may safely pass them by without notice, and treat them as if they were politically invisible, is a contradiction so deep and entire, that it is hard to account for its acceptance by any thoughtful mind. But if the wisdom of laws must depend mainly on the reverence of the lawgivers for the word of God, then faith in that word is a wise and reasonable test of admission to the national legislature. If the grace and holiness of the gospel are the surest pledge for a vigorous and gentle execution of justice, then faith in that gospel will naturally form one test, to discriminate those who are qualified to be magistrates and judges in the land. Above all, if Christ be indeed the true source of all human authority, the Prince of the kings of the earth, then every one who refuses to own His authority, and who despises or blasphemes the Lord of glory, is less fit to exercise political authority, as a British legislator, than one who should deride the queen herself, and deny her right to the throne of the Empire. When it can be proved wise to admit aliens and rebels to seats in Parliament, because their rebellion may be conscientious, or their allegiance justly due to another sovereign, then only can it be consistent or safe to confer the same privilege on open unbelievers in the Lord of glory. Till then, whoever may be its advocates, however honest and sincere in their zeal, however their personal piety, such a step must remain

branded with the guilt of a real, though in their case, an unconscious apostasy, from the supreme Lord of earth and heaven.

It is urged, however, that a Christian legislature cannot be secured by the postscript of an oath, or a clause in a declaration. It is the personal religion of the electors, and of the majority of the members elected, on which alone we can depend for a sincerely religious Parliament. Infidels have sat in the lower house, in spite of all tests. Even David Hume himself would have taken them, with a smile or a sigh, and the flimsy cobweb of protection have been swept away. But this argument, by proving too much, proves nothing. It affirms that, because promises have often been broken, they ought never to be required ; and that because wicked men are found to perjure themselves, all oaths must be abolished. Such reasoning would cancel, at one stroke, every social covenant. It condemns all mankind to renounce every bond of duty, and to become lawless savages, because they have not attained the sincerity and perfection of the angels in heaven.

But if it is meant only to affirm that oaths and declarations will not, of themselves, secure a religious Parliament, and that our chief reliance should not be placed on them, the remark is true, but fatal to the argument. If the great body of British electors should choose men of no principle, who swallow down false oaths without scruple, no one

dreams that a few words in a declaration could secure the Christian character of such a Parliament, A certain measure of faith diffused through the whole country, is absolutely necessary ; or else any religious test whatever will be too irksome to be retained. But this fact, instead of justifying the proposed measure, seals its condemnation. Here is the precise nature of the evil, that it is an overt sign of the decay of all deep faith in the supreme dominion of Christ. It embodies, in a national act, all private unbelief, which existed before ; and proves the spread of such religious ignorance, amidst our worldly wisdom, that the welfare of states is no longer seen to depend on their public allegiance to the Son of God.

But it has been said, further, that the admission of the Jews will not alter the Christian character of Parliament, because the immense majority will be Christians as before. Now, first, the fact itself is very doubtful. The same principle which admits the Jew, opens the door to every form of unbelief ; and the same spirit which sets aside all public confession of Christ, as needless, may ensure us, before very long, a plentiful crop of open infidelity within the walls of Parliament. The *facilis descensus Averni* is nowhere more true than in the spiritual degeneracy of nations, when once their faith in God begins to be openly cast aside. The breach once made, deists and atheists may enter in freely ; and when once the intrusion of religious

truth has been voted a nuisance within the walls of Parliament, the way is prepared for the most open and awful exhibitions of national ungodliness. And next, even if the fact were certain, it will not justify the change. It will remain equally true that, to make a seat in Parliament accessible to a few rich unbelievers, a vital doctrine has been blotted out of the national constitution. Faith in Christ will be no longer proclaimed one chief element of true political wisdom ; and it will be publicly denied that to confess His name is one main requisite, in all those who would legislate for a great Empire.

A further reason for the removal of Jewish disabilities has been drawn from the course and tenor of recent legislation. Its whole tendency, it is said, has been in one direction, to remove all civil distinctions, founded on the difference of religious creeds and opinions. Statesmen, in spite of their own wishes, and even of their own repeated arguments, have become the accomplices in this great change. Here, then, we ought to see, not a blind fatality, but a plain indication of the Divine will. To resist it, is really to fight against God.

Some secret feeling of this kind has doubtless exercised a wide and deep influence over many who have never turned it into a formal and direct argument. The general stream of events, they take for granted, must be a safe guide, and we cannot be far wrong, if we can discern the current of the age, and echo those opinions and



sentiments, the voice of which comes wafted along on the gale of popular favour. Those who believe that we are all sailing, swiftly and securely, into the haven of a millennium of light and liberty, are consistent with themselves, when they yield to the cogency of such an argument. But when we hear it, as of late, from persons of an opposite school, we cannot but start back with a degree of wonder and surprise. Are deep researches into the nature of the kingdom of Christ, the relations of the Church to the state, and of Christian truth to all the religions of the world, to land us in the heathenish maxim, nay, in one which a heathen could despise, that temporary success is a sufficient standard of truth and righteousness, and that the set of the popular current, for a few years, is equivalent to a plain revelation of the will of God? This is really to make the drifting of a ship in the gulf-stream the standard of its course, instead of consulting the chart, and being guided by the compass and the stars of heaven.

Such an error, my Lord, may have some excuse in a statesman like yourself, who have to deal, as best you may, with actual circumstances, whose power depends on the breath of opinion, and deserts you in a moment, when majorities are gone. You might be pardoned, if you were to make your principles slightly elastic, so as to bend a little to the force of those circumstances; to delay measures you approve, because they are unattainable; and to adopt others which you approve only in part, because

nothing better can be practically attained. Yet, even among statesmen, the integrity which adheres to principles, when majorities are against them, will always command more genuine homage, than the expediency which trims its sails to every turn of the wind. But it is cause for still deeper regret, when this slippery creed masks itself under philosophical phrases, and borrows the mantle of Christian theology ; and when minds, that seem fitted to enlighten a worldly age, only add a thicker mist of expediency to increase its darkness.

It is true, indeed, and may be owned without scruple, that the changes of the last twenty years have been such as the objection implies. There has been the successive removal of restrictions which once prevailed, and the admission of Jews to Parliament is another step in a road, which we have been travelling already. A similar change has been at work in other nations, and the element of religious faith has been separated, more and more, from any formal place in their counsels. The fact is plain, but the inference which has been drawn from it is utterly groundless. What is that new theology, which teaches that the current of popular change, for a few years, or even for a few generations, is a full declaration of the will of God ? Is it not plain, to the simplest Christian, that our duty is to decide, first, what are the right principles of legislation ; and then to test, by this standard, the wisdom or folly, the good or evil, of every actual measure ? But to

borrow our maxims from those very events on which our judgment must be passed, and to decide what a nation ought to do by the mere fact of what a few parliaments have lately done, is to deplace reason and conscience, and to enthrone the Annual Register in their stead. It is, in fact, nothing else than the blindest fatalism, however we may disguise it under a professed submission to the will of God.

There are many lessons, doubtless, to be learned from the actual course of Providence, and many indications of the Divine will may be traced in them by thoughtful observers. But then we must interpret the events by the truths of God's word, and not expound those eternal truths by the current of passing history. The principle, which advocates the admission of Jews to Parliament, because it agrees with the course of previous legislation, would have equally justified the crucifixion of our blessed Lord. That fatal crime was also in harmony with all the previous acts of the Sanhedrim, and was the natural sequel of that aversion, which they had so often manifested, to the teaching and miracles of the despised Nazarene. And hence, if the course of events were to be the sole guide of his judgment, an upright Jew, to avoid fighting against God, must have concurred in the final sentence, and have joined his voice to the wild cry of his deceived and unhappy countrymen, when they dared to crucify the Lord of glory.

The true lesson to be gained from these recent

events is of a far deeper kind. If it be certain that faith in Christ is the only firm basis of private happiness, or national prosperity, every public act of indifference to that faith should make us fear the displeasure of God against our land. Our nation, like Balaam, may be suffered for a time to walk in the way of its own choice, while its statesmen echo boldly the scornful question of Pilate, and worldly wealth is nationally coveted and followed, at the sacrifice of truth and righteousness. But those who can read the signs of the times will only tremble at the dangerous permission. They will see, if their eyes are opened, the angel of the Lord standing in our path, with the sword of Divine justice drawn in His hand. Unbelieving blindness, that disowns the authority of Christ, is the predicted danger of Christian kingdoms in these last times. No wonder, then, that there should be found a strong popular current, bent on excluding all recognition of Divine truth from our national counsels. The fact, when seen in its true light, should only lead us to redouble our zeal, and to contend more earnestly for the faith, against the spirit of religious indifference in all its forms. There may, unhappily, be so much of practical unbelief already within the walls of Parliament, that the admission of a few open and professed adversaries of the faith may seem to be a change of little moment. But it is not the less a public dishonour and contempt, offered to the supreme authority of Christ. Events

may have smoothed the way for the change ; but to allege this as an argument in its favour, is reasoning worthy only of Grecian sophists, and is totally unfit for the lips of any British statesman, or the pen of any grave or thoughtful Divine.

Another motive, which may persuade many to look with favour on the proposed change, and to desire the removal of every Jewish disability, is a feeling of deep regret and shame for the persecutions they have endured in former days. Generous minds will naturally long to wipe away every trace of a hateful intolerance, and to make their kindness and favour to the children as manifest, as the injustice and violence once practised on their fathers. It seems invidious to cross the current of such emotions, or to interpose a chilling doubt, whether the course, which the heart may prompt, is commended by the voice of calm and sober reason. There is a full answer to this plea in the deeper lessons of the word of God. It is enough here to remark, in passing, that nothing is more injurious to its objects, than alternate harshness of severity, and a weak indulgence attended by the sacrifice of sound principle ; that the evils, inflicted by one form of unbelief, can never be repaired by lapsing into another ; and that if our ancestors persecuted the Jews, because they did not believe their future recovery, or that they were still "beloved of God for their fathers' sakes," we shall only repeat their cruelty in a more subtle

form, if we persuade them to forget the true cause of their long misery ; or bid them seek a deceitful and hollow cure, by merging themselves in the mass of Gentile nations, and casting aside entirely the covenant of their fathers.

A still higher principle, however, has been enlisted in favour of the measure. It has been pleaded, not only on the ground of civil liberty, but also of religious truth. The popular objection, we have been told, with much confidence, is due altogether to the odious calumnies of the dark ages, and their ignorant and superstitious prejudice against the ancient Jewish faith. Religion itself pleads the cause of the Jews, for Christianity owes its parentage to them only, and the two creeds are fundamentally one and the same.

Such a paradox might well surprise us, even in the pages of a romance ; but when we hear it gravely maintained within the walls of a Christian senate, it becomes deeply mournful. When such sentiments can be advanced without an indignant protest, it will prove that a thick cloud of religious ignorance, darker than even those dark ages, is settling down on the high places of the land. Is the gospel of Christ become so worthless in the eyes of our senators, that to believe in it as the message of God, and to reject it as a worthless delusion, can be seriously affirmed to be the same religion ? Is Christ himself so lightly esteemed by some who still profess the true faith of a Christian,

that it is almost the same thing in their eyes, to deride him as an impostor, justly sentenced to death, or love Him as our Saviour, and adore Him as our future Judge? You, my Lord, are too wise to rest your advocacy of the measure on a falsehood so detestable and ruinous. Every one, who is not willing to give the lie to our Lord himself, must know that there is a wide gulf of separation between those who believe the gospel, and those who reject it. "He that believeth," His own lips have told us, "shall be saved; and he that believeth not is condemned already, because he has not believed on the only-begotten Son of God." It is childish folly to imagine that this momentous contrast can be bridged over by a few flowers of eloquent declamation. To maintain that the religious difference is slight between the Jew and the Christian, is to despise the words of Christ himself, and to pour contempt on the authority of God's latest and noblest message to mankind. The dark ages themselves grow bright by comparison, when contrasted with the ignorance that can be deceived by so gross a falsehood. It will indeed be a fearful omen, if such principles shall have power to deceive any of our statesmen, and lead them to destroy the national confession of His name, who is the Fountain of their own authority, and Prince over all the kings of the earth.

The appeal, then, to the principles of religious truth in favour of the Jewish bill, is nothing else

than a gross error, a ruinous and unscriptural delusion. Every child, who has read the New Testament with serious thought, might expose its utter falsehood. But there is a religious plea which may be advanced, in full harmony with the deepest truths of the Old and the New Testament, and which seems at first sight to yield a powerful motive for the proposed change in our constitution. There are many Christians, who, if feeling only were to be their guide, would hail it with joy, from their sense of the former preeminence of the Jewish people, and their faith in promises of still richer mercies, reserved for the same people in days to come. These are truths, my Lord, little cared for, and perhaps despised, by most of our liberal politicians, who are foremost in their advocacy of the change; but those who believe them must have a far deeper interest in the welfare of the Jew, than the most sincere and hearty of his liberal and worldly patrons. Their pity for his past sufferings, and desire for his full recovery, springs from a higher source, and will flow in a deeper current of Christian love. But the same truth which enlists all the deepest emotions of their hearts in favour of the Jew, and would make them willing even to sit at his feet, as servants and ministers, when once he himself shall sit at the feet of his own Messiah, teaches them also to protest against the spurious charity of the day, and prescribes a higher and nobler law for all their efforts



of love in the cause of Israel. Suffer me now, my Lord, to explain briefly the character of the step you advocate, when viewed in the light of these higher truths ; and to consider it in its direct bearing on our national standing in the sight of God, and on the welfare of the Jews themselves ; and also in its ominous character, as one sign of approaching judgment on those nations which forget God, and obey not the gospel of the Lord Jesus.

First, what is the direct bearing of this great change on our national standing as a Christian State ? I leave to others the discussion of it on the grounds of precedent, and of its total departure from the constant and unvaried practice of our Christian constitution. What is the nature of the change, in itself, and the maxim which it publicly embodies and unfolds ? It will be a formal decision, by the supreme legislature of our Empire, that faith in Christ, and allegiance to His authority, is no longer any requisite for the office of a British lawgiver. It will be a public declaration, that the oath of allegiance to the Queen terminates in her person, and does not mount higher, nor require us to recognize Him whose minister she is, and whose supreme authority is the true fountain of her own. It will thus be a deliberate affirmation, when joined with the laws which still remain in force, that the possession of a money qualification is a higher essential for our senators, than any faith in that Lord of glory, by whom

alone kings reign and princes decree justice. It will proclaim to the whole world, that while no preacher of the gospel, nor any poor man, is thought fit to be a member of the British House of Commons, rich unbelievers, nay, even blasphemers of the gospel, and of Christ himself, may sit there without scruple. It will thus declare that Christ is no longer, in the minds of our statesmen, a living Person, the true Fountain of their own authority, the Source of pardon, life, and peace, to the nation over whom they rule, the Judge at whose bar they must shortly appear; but a lifeless thing of antiquated theology, a question of words and names, and sectarian distinctions, which has no vital connexion whatever with the laws and constitution of our land. If we believe Him to be a living Person, to whom our practical allegiance is due, the Sovereign of our queen and of her counsellors, to whom they must render account of their stewardship, the Prince of our senators and princes, for whom alone they ought to live, and by whose help and wisdom alone they can hope to decree justice; we cannot dare to retain the oath of allegiance to the queen, and set aside an allegiance far deeper and higher, the only source of all the derived authority which kings and parliaments can ever enjoy.

You cannot, my Lord, have thought closely on the subject in this light, or you would shrink back from the perilous path into which you are now leading the whole nation. A people who have

once owned the supreme authority of Christ, cannot return to a mere state of neutrality. They must abide in their subjection to the Lord of glory, or else they become apostates from the faith. If our nation, after having publicly owned the word of God as the true foundation of its political greatness, shall now cast it away, and build henceforth on the sandy basis of popular votes, and electoral majorities, can the structure possibly endure? If we say, by our public actions, louder than mere words, "We will not have this man to reign over us"—we renounce in future, both in our laws, and the oaths of our lawgivers, all reference to the supreme authority of the Son of God, what can we expect but the fearful answer—"Those mine enemies, who would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me?" There are many, doubtless, who are deceived by the watchwords of a spurious philanthropy, and mean well to their country in the projected change, without any conscious wish to dishonour that Lord whose name they bear. But it is not less true that the measure owes its main chance of success to a wide-spread indifference to religious truth, to a dislike of every pledge which reminds politicians that they have a Master in the heavens, that Jesus is their Lord, whom they are bound to obey, and at whose judgment-seat they will shortly stand. If this measure shall pass, belief in Christ and open unbelief will stand on a level in our constitution.

Whatever relics of distinction may remain will be swept away, and their overthrow will be only the corollary of a principle that has already triumphed. To reverence the Son of God, or to blaspheme Him, will be counted equally consistent with true political wisdom. An appeal to the New Testament will become irregular and unconstitutional; and to make room for a few rich unbelievers, the Son of God, and all His messages of Divine wisdom, will have been fairly jostled out and excluded from the public counsels of our land.

There is another view of the subject, which places the folly of the proposed change in a still clearer light, to the mind of those who believe the word of God. What has led, we may ask, to the present condition of the Jews? Why have they been scattered, for eighteen hundred years, through all the countries of the world? The answer is plain and certain to every Christian. The warnings of our Saviour have been fulfilled. They would not have their Messiah to reign over them, but rejected and crucified Him; they would not repent when their sin was set before them by inspired Apostles; and hence their cup of iniquity became full, and Jerusalem, as our Lord predicted, has ever since been trodden down of the Gentiles. What, then, was the special nature of that punishment which fell upon them? They had rejected their own King, and they were no longer suffered to be a kingdom. They had turned the seat of justice

into a tribunal of iniquity, and compelled the Roman governor to be an accomplice in their crime ; and now they were judged unworthy to exercise political power, which they had so abused. They were spared as individuals, but sentenced as a nation. After severe judgments, their lives were reprieved and preserved, in virtue of their fathers' covenant ; but the sceptre departed from Judah, and all vestiges of their national power and political grandeur passed entirely away.

What, then, is the character of the proposed measure ? It directly stultifies the whole course of God's holy Providence, ever since the fall of Jerusalem. The only cause why the Jews ever ceased to be a nation, was their unbelief and rejection of Christ. The special sentence which was openly inflicted on them for their sin, and denounced by the lips of their own true King, was the treading down of Jerusalem, or the dissolution of their polity, and the extinction of all those judicial powers which their forefathers had enjoyed. But now we are to declare practically that this Divine sentence was an act of injustice and folly, and that there is nothing in the unbelief of the Jews, which should be thought to unfit them for the exercise of legislative power ; that obedience to Christ is an element quite superfluous in those who are to govern others, and that it is possible to build up a state in peace and happiness, without faith in His word, or any open reverence to His authority. What is this but a fatal delu-

sion? Instead of gaining wisdom from the great lesson of Providence for two thousand years, we should hereby contradict God openly to His face. The sin which He proclaims fatal and deadly to the happiness of a nation, we shall assert to be quite harmless ; and the faith which He has revealed as the very foundation of all our privileges, will be cast aside from our constitution, as a worm-eaten and worthless thing.

I am well aware, my Lord, that I am here treading on dangerous ground. This very argument, or one which may be confounded with it, was formally renounced by several opponents of the measure ; and was singled out, by many of its advocates, for special censure, as a prejudice unfit for the walls of Parliament, and even as a base and odious calumny of the dark ages. It is an argument liable to easy misconstruction, and sure to be so misconstrued, where all parties agree to cast it aside. Yet it is not hard to clear away these clouds which have been thrown around it, and to prove that it is no dark and senseless prejudice, but a deep and holy truth, which Parliaments may overlook to their own cost, but can never destroy.

What, then, is the real nature of that argument against the present bill, which has been rested on the facts of our Lord's crucifixion, and the predicted desolation of the Jewish people ? If it were meant that the wild cry of a populace, two thousand years ago, is to be taken for a penal sentence,

never to be reversed, and a full warrant for the perpetual persecution of a whole race ; or that when judgments are denounced against sin, we are bound to take an active part in their fulfilment, and to persecute those whom God has smitten ; then would the argument be worthy of all the pity and the scorn which has been lavished freely upon it. But such, my Lord, is not the view of any thoughtful Christian, who appeals to these topics in opposition to the proposed innovation. The rash cry of the murderers of our blessed Lord, when they invoked a curse on their own heads, could have no force whatever, if it had not unconsciously given utterance to an unchanging and universal law of God's moral government. Every national sin must rest upon the head of the nation who have committed it, until it has been removed by some act of public repentance, and the virtue of that great and Divine atonement. Of all national sins the heaviest and most fearful, was the rejection by the Jews of their own true King, the murder of the Son of God himself, when incarnate for the salvation of the world. The nation and its rulers have never yet repented of this great sin, but have persevered in their unbelief and contempt of Him who was crucified, and thereby have justified the deed of their fathers, even to this present day. And hence it is no momentary cry of the populace, long ages ago, but their own daily act, and the universal law of God's holy Providence, which binds the guilt of that sin upon

them, as a people, until now. It may rest, indeed, upon none of them, with the same intensity as on the original parties to the crime, and may be mitigated, in various degrees, by the absence of those means of knowledge, which might help to lead them back to their own Messiah. But still it has never been removed from them, as a people; nor will be until the hour arrives, when they shall reverse the sin of their fathers, and say, Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord. To allege that others may now be mingled among the Jewish people, from the previous dispersion, is to misconceive altogether the force of the whole argument. It is not an inheritance of natural descent, but of national identity, joined with national unbelief, which renders the warning of Scripture still applicable at the present day to the whole people, until the time of their national repentance, when they shall welcome and adore Him whom their fathers crucified.

The appeal to the prophecies, again, would be most foolish and absurd, if it were asserted that a divine decree, to punish a guilty nation, is any warrant for private Christians, or even for governments, to assume the office of God's executioners, and to help on the predicted vengeance with a malicious joy. This is the very sin of Edom and Amalek, and there is none which is threatened with severer punishment. But it remains equally certain, to all who believe the New



Testament, that the long dispersion of the Jews since the days of Titus, and the sufferings they have endured, even through the wickedness of men, are the fulfilment of God's threatening, denounced upon them for the murder of our Lord and His Apotles, and their persevering unbelief; that the one un-changed part of the sentence, amidst every other change, and partial respite, has been the abolition of their national polity, the loss of their sceptre, and the treading down of Jerusalem; and that a formal sentence of disability to exercise any function of political sovereignty in their own land has thus been recorded against them by the Almighty Himself, and executed without intermission for nearly two thousand years.

The argument, which these facts supply against your Lordship's measure, is therefore clear and decisive. For the present question is simply this, whether Jews, openly rejecting Christ, and regarding Him as an impostor or deceiver, are duly qualified to exercise a high political trust, and to become the lawgivers of a mighty nation. If there be any nation for which they are fit to exercise this office, surely it must be their own. But the Almighty, the God of Israel, has for eighteen centuries decided this question, and decided it against them. His sentence followed speedily on their sin, as its natural fruit, that Jerusalem should be trodden down and her children scattered, because they would not receive their own King, nor

learn the time of their visitation. The decision has been ratified for near two thousand years, in the High Court of God's all-wise Providence, when at length it is carried to the city hustings, as if to a court of superior authority, and receives an opposite answer. Some thousands of liberal electors quash and annul the decision of the Almighty, and accuse those of bigotry who venture to prefer it to their own. This is no figure, but a literal fact. The statement is clear and plain, in the pages of the New Testament, which we still acknowledge, nationally, to be Divine truth. It is there told us expressly that the Jews were broken off through their unbelief; that the same unbelief was the cause, why Jerusalem was to be so long trodden down, and her children to be captives and exiles in all nations; and that only when they cease to abide in their unbelief, shall they be grafted in again, and their lost privileges restored. The whole course of Providence, for long ages, has only confirmed and echoed this Divine sentence of the King of kings. And can we imagine, my Lord, that a vote of the British Parliament will have power to reverse it? Can we think it is possible, by our national acts, to impute utter folly to the All-wise God, and not soon to reap bitter fruits of our perverseness?

Surely we ought to have learned in the events of the past year alone, that the dominion of God is a deep reality! That fatal measure was

scarcely ratified, which our statesmen proposed as the harbinger of unity and peace,—the measure which lent our national patronage to doctrines and practices which they had sworn to be idolatrous—when God touched us with His finger, and a blight fell upon our land. Even now, when judgment has been followed by a gracious reprieve of mercy, our country trembles and reels under the effects of the blow. Those who talked so lately of conciliation and peace, to be secured by the national endowment of idolatry, are compelled, in spite of themselves, to coerce the uplifted arm of noon-day assassins, stirred up, not seldom, from those idol-altars to their bloody work of death. After such specimens of liberal policy and of its glorious issues, is this the hour, my Lord, to repeat the experiment, and to place our Parliament in direct opposition to the grand lesson of God's Providence through more than fifty generations? Have our statesmen already proved themselves so wise, that they may now safely claim to be wiser than God himself, and boldly declare those to be fit lawgivers for our Christian land, whom God has pronounced, for long ages, unfit and unworthy to be built into a nation, or to have any sceptre of power in their own land, the land of Israel? How can we describe the probable results of such a course, except in the words of the poet,

It may succeed, and if our crimes should call  
For more than common punishment, it shall !

The wretched measure may possibly rise. That fatal and deadly principle may be really set up for the standard of legislation, that faith in Christ is of less importance to a British lawgiver than a few acres of freehold, or an investment in the three per cents; and that a small majority in our two houses of Parliament can reverse a sentence of disability, recorded in the word of God, and ratified, for long ages, by the Providence of the Almighty.

If we next consider the measure in its bearing upon the Jews themselves, we shall only find fresh reasons for its rejection. That alone is the truest and deepest kindness which conforms itself to the indications of the Divine will. The persecuting spirit, which exercised itself so long against the Jews, is condemned by this very test. It is the prophetic complaint of the Most High against the Gentile oppressors of Israel—"I was but a little displeased, and they helped forward the affliction." Feelings of contempt or pride, of malice or hatred, or even of cold indifference, are strangely opposed to the command of that Saviour, who once wept over Jerusalem, and who tells us of all her children, even in the ages of their unbelief, that they are still beloved for the sake of their fathers. The Christian, who has read the gospels and epistles aright, cannot but feel mingled love and wonder, and a deep compassion tempered by a holy reverence, when he looks upon these exiled sons of Israel; these prisoners of hope, so strangely sen-

tenced, so wonderfully spared and reprieved, and hereafter, as a nation, to be so gloriously pardoned, and overwhelmed with new and surprising miracles of Divine love. To oppose their admission to civil privileges in our land, out of petty jealousy or thoughtless contempt, or with a secret malice, that delights to witness and prolong the sentence of desolation and misery, would be indeed an offence, not only against the general laws of Christian charity, but against the special commandment of our Lord, and the solemn warning of His inspired apostles. We are charged to pray for the peace of Jerusalem, and to long for the time when the salvation of Israel shall come out of Zion, to take pleasure in her stones, and to favour her very dust. But the same love which prescribes to Christians this great duty, of caring for the sons of Israel, reveals also the true way in which alone we are to seek their prosperity, and by which alone they will ever attain it. We are taught, in the word of God, that many of them, in these last times, will seek to cast aside their national character, and to mingle themselves with the mass of the Gentile nations. But we are told, further, that this design, however earnestly pursued, is futile and vain, that it is opposed to the counsels of God, and will never obtain His blessing. "That which cometh into your mind shall not be at all, that ye say, We will be as the heathen, as the families of the nations." All attempts, then, to persuade the Jew that he can be

truly happy, while continuing in his unbelief, are only a mockery and delusion. All efforts of a false liberality, which would lead them to cast aside their national hopes, and cease to expect their coming Messiah, while still blind to the fact that He has already come, though disguised by the gift of citizenship among Gentile nations, is really to commit robbery, and call it an offering. All the evils in the box of Pandora have lighted for ages on the miserable Jews, and only hope has remained to solace them,—the hope of the covenant made with their fathers in the days of old. Is it not a pitiable kindness, which bids them believe that this hope itself is a shadow, that the brightest prospect in store for them is to number a few rich capitalists, who may occupy a few seats in a British Parliament; that it is not their sins which have separated them from their God, but the promise of God itself, which has vanished and passed away; and that the mighty river which has rolled on for ages, sometimes sparkling in the light of God's manifested glory, sometimes in the darkness of agonizing sorrow and anguish, is to emerge from those depths, only to lose itself in the sandy waste of modern liberalism, and popular elections of tradesmen and money-changers, while the nation of Israel is to disappear and be lost for ever?

True kindness to the Jew, my Lord, will dictate a widely different course, and prescribes to us, as Christians or as statesmen, a far nobler policy.

It bids us regard them with deep honour, no less than with earnest pity, as the brethren of our Lord according to the flesh, children of the prophets and patriarchs who walked with God, perpetual witnesses to the truth of His word, and the heirs of untold mercies in the days to come. It bids us offer up daily prayers for their repentance, their recovery, and full redemption, until Jerusalem shall be a praise in all the earth. It bids us be willing, in God's own time, to resume our natural place, as those who were once strangers, and are admitted to eat of the crumbs which fall from the children's table. But meanwhile, until the curse shall be removed, and the blessing shall return, it bids us to be faithful witnesses of the secret cause of their sorrows. Our duty is not to thwart and contradict God's ceaseless message to them for ages, but to echo it to their conscience, with all patient fidelity, and in the deep tones of earnest love. It bids us say to the Jew—We rejoice in your glorious hopes, but they can never be realized, until you renounce your present unbelief, and fix your eyes in faith on Him whom your fathers crucified. While His blood rests upon you, uncanceled by a national repentance, the covenant must be suspended, though it is freighted with rich and countless blessings. Your perseverance in sin will never be able to outlive the righteousness of God, and to obtain the reversal of your sentence, until the sin which caused it has been taken away. We dare not encourage you to

mix yourselves with the nations, when God has set His mark on you so long, to keep you for Himself as His own future people. We dare not tell you that you are qualified to be lawgivers to a Christian people, when God has pronounced you unfit for political existence, as in the former days of your glory, until you own your guilt in rejecting your own King and Saviour. We will not pretend to be more benevolent than the God of Israel, who loved you from of old with a Father's tenderest love, and yet has been deaf for long ages to your prayers for deliverance, because you have persevered in unbelief. We will honour you for all the social virtues which some of you may exhibit; and still more, as the brethren of the Lord of glory, the near kinsmen of Him who is seated at the right hand of God; but our love must be the love of a faithful friend, and not the fulsome flattery of the artful deceiver. We will not disguise from you, by our words or by our legislation, the enormity of that crime, which has eaten out, like a canker, all your former greatness, and consigned you to long ages of misery and desolation; which leaves you without a land on earth that you can call your own, and shuts you out from the virtue of the only sacrifice that can really purge away your guilt, and prepare your souls for an immortality of peace and joy. We long for your happiness; we long for your greatness and your glory; but we should be cruel deceivers if we were to tempt you



still to seek it where it can never be found, or to fancy that acts of Parliament can wash away the stain of that blood, which your forefathers prayed might rest on themselves and their children. One hope remains to you, individually : By faith in the Lord Jesus to be received into the true Israel of God, and share the blessed hope of a joyful resurrection. One hope remains to you, nationally : By deep repentance for your unbelief, and hearty conversion to Messiah whom your fathers crucified, to become once more glorious above all<sup>l</sup> kingdoms of the earth, and to see your land, now barren, smile with beauty like the Paradise of God. But to open for you any other door of political advancement, that might tempt you to rest content with your actual state,—as if the vine of God’s own planting, while its branches are still withered under His blighting curse, might be turned into misletoe, to twine around the British oak, and flourish under its shadow—is only to offer you a broken reed for your support, which will go through and pierce your hand. The scheme will not and cannot prosper. The sentence of God is pronounced against it, by anticipation. “That which cometh into your mind,” and the mind of liberal politicians, “shall not be at all.” The recovery of Israel must spring from a higher source, and travel in a very different pathway to its sure consummation. It must begin with those among you whose eyes are fixed, not on heaps of gold, but on the God of Abraham ; not on Gen-

tile votes, and seats in parliament, but on the mercy which He hath sworn to your fathers in the days of old. It must be pursued, not in the spirit of arrogance and self-will, elated with a momentary respite of your long sorrows, joining hands with the infidel as your sincere ally, and scorning the sincere accents of Christian love; but in the spirit of deep humiliation and godly sorrow for past unbelief—a sorrow that will drive every family to weep apart in solitude and silence. Then, and not till then, the salvation will indeed come to Israel out of Zion. Jerusalem will once more put on her beautiful garments, and become a joy and praise in all the earth.

But it is time to enter on the last topic, and to consider the proposed measure, as it directly concerns the prospects of our own country. Forgive the presumption, my Lord, if such it be, which, in reasoning with a Christian statesman, assumes the truth and certainty of the word of God. The question you have raised, when viewed in the light of Holy Scripture, assumes a deep and unusual interest, and becomes ominous of great events, that will affect our country, and the whole of Christendom, should it be now enrolled among the statutes of our land. That it may probably succeed, either now, or before long, is no proof of its wisdom, any more than the success of the Sanhedrim, in condemning our Lord, secured them from the danger they feared, and sought to avert, of Roman invasion and national ruin. The expedients

of worldly policy, when they cross the revealed will of God, only defeat themselves, and accelerate the evil they are intended to avert or delay. Statesmen then attempt to conciliate, and the only effect is to compel new measures of coercion; they seek to blot out the Jew, and absorb him among Gentile citizens, and the only effect is to lose their own place in God's covenant, and prepare the way for the predicted judgments on unbelieving nations.

The long rejection of the Jews, and their dispersion into all lands, was not merely a sentence on their guilt, but was designed further as a lesson of moral instruction to the Gentiles. Their fall was the riches of the world, and their diminishing the riches of the nations. Its immediate effect was to remove one mighty hindrance, that the gospel might spread freely to the ends of the earth. This was, in God's wisdom, the decisive cause of their rejection for a season. As concerning the gospel, they were dealt with as enemies, for the sake of Gentile Christians. But after this transfer of privileges was complete, a further lesson was to be taught continually by their lasting dispersion. They were to be a standing record, in the sight of all the Gentile kingdoms, of the sin and danger of unbelief. The voice of God was heard, attending the outcast Jew in every step of his wanderings, and saying to the Christian nations among whom he was a stranger and a mourner—"Well, because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou

standest by faith ; be not high-minded, but fear.” The charge was given to the rulers of those kingdoms, whether civil or ecclesiastical, to contemplate and adore the judgment which had fallen on God’s once honoured people, and to learn from it the danger of publicly despising the gospel, and becoming proudly indifferent to the faith of Christ. “ Behold therefore the goodness and the severity of God ; towards them which fell, severity ; but towards thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness ; otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.” And hence it appears that the fall of the Jews was to continue, so long as Gentile Christians should read in it a lesson of Divine severity, and be warned by it to adhere more earnestly to that faith, which the Jews had cast away, and to serve and adore Him whom they had crucified. But when once unbelief shall blot out this lesson from the minds of Gentile rulers, and Christian nations shall cease to learn, in the degradation of the Jew, the real tenure of their own peace and prosperity, then the signal will be given for a complete reversal of this Divine dispensation. Mercy shall then return to the Jew, but judgment alight on the unbelieving Gentiles. The goodness and severity of God will exchange their several objects. His truth, so long evinced by the fulfilment of threatenings towards Israel, and promises to the visible Church, will then be manifested by an opposite fulfilment, of threatenings on a corrupted church, and promises reserved for His ancient people.

Such, my Lord, is the lesson taught us by the great Apostle of the Gentiles, the true philosophy of the history of the last eighteen hundred years. Whenever Christian nations cease to own God's righteous hand in the desolation of the Jews, and to read in it the punishment of their unbelief; when they cease to be warned by this solemn fact of Providence, that they stand themselves, not by armies and navies, not by popular votes, by the spread of arts and sciences, of literature and taste, but by faith in Christ: and that His sacrifice is the true key to the Divine forbearance, His gospel the source of national greatness, His word the only secure Magna Charta of their constitution, the same lesson must then be taught them, in a more impressive manner, by their own experience. A new leaf will be turned over in the book of Providence. The green tree will be made to wither, and the dry tree to flourish. When Christian kingdoms refuse to recognize any longer the sovereignty of God's word, and boast of impartial neutrality in the great conflict between Christ their Lord and the powers of darkness, the national testimony will not, on this account, be allowed to cease. That pearl of price, abandoned by its actual possessors, will be restored to the Jews again, and those who would not have their faith quickened by God's severity against His own people for ages, shall have their unbelief shattered and confounded, by judgments of equal severity on their own sins. The King of nations

will ever maintain some public testimony in the world, to the dominion of Christ, and the supreme authority of the gospel over all earthly kingdoms. Many Christian States have already cast it aside, renouncing a pure worship for idolatry, and the word of God for the traditions of men. Others have forsaken it for mere worldliness, and the blindness which confounds truth and falsehood, and would turn all creeds and forms of religion into the flexible tools of its own policy. Our nation, almost alone, retained this public character, that the pillars of its constitution were based on a solemn covenant, to obey the word of God, and to maintain His pure and undefiled worship. But this honourable profession, always a rebuke to our practical irreligion, seems now ready to be flung away. The last Christian State, which bore a public witness for God against idols, for Christ against those who despise His authority, will cease to be Christian any longer. Its only creed, henceforth, will be that all creeds are matters of perfect indifference. Its manifesto will be published to the world, that the legislature of this enlightened age find it no longer expedient or desirable that Christ should reign over them. The great lesson, that political ruin must follow hard on open unbelief, which God has been teaching by long ages of Jewish desolation, will be completely hidden from their eyes. Then, perhaps, amidst the eloquence of noble and honourable statesmen, and the approving cheers of

liberal majorities, the signal will be given to the angels, to turn the mighty hour-glass of Providence, that the lesson may be taught, in an opposite form, to an unbelieving age, of the mingled goodness and severity of the God of heaven. The kingdom of God will be taken from the Christian nations, who have corrupted the truth into foul superstition, or buried it in profane indifference, and restored once more to the exiled sons of Israel.

The Jews, my Lord, in the last times of their state, had a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge. This blind zeal, where all love to man was wanting, led them to fight against God himself, and to resist the course of his mercy to the Gentiles, and thus plunged them into ruin. Our temptation, in these days, is of an opposite kind, but not less dangerous. There is now, among most of our politicians, no zeal for God, but a great shew of zeal for man, of which the features may be seen clearly in the late speech of your noble colleague. Like theirs, alas, it is a zeal without knowledge. It boldly sets aside the first and great commandment, the love of God with all the heart, and tells us that our first duty is unbounded charity toward all mankind. But the charity, in which God is forgotten, is an empty meteor, a mockery of the true wants of the human heart. Man cannot be really happy, while ignorant of God; he cannot advance the real good of his fellow creatures, until he knows its true nature, to believe in Christ

and to keep His commandments. And hence that zeal for man, in which Christ is forgotten, must prove itself, soon or late, to be a worthless deception. But when once this philanthropy, like the religious zeal of the early Jews, ventures to cross the path of the Divine counsels, it becomes not only delusive, but impious and fatal. When it pretends to secure peace and honour to a nation, not only without any faith in Christ, but in spite of that unchanged unbelief which God himself has visited for ages with heaviest judgments; and would thus blot out, by its petty devices, the main lesson of His righteous Providence for two thousand years; then, however captivating it may appear to worldly minds, it becomes a moral nuisance in the sight of heaven. Like the zeal of the early Pharisees, it will hurry those, who follow its voice, into a direct opposition to the revealed purpose of God towards the Jewish people. This league between the open unbelief of the Jews and the secret unbelief of the liberal Christian, now celebrated with pœans of triumph, will be dissolved, like the philanthropic dreams of the last century, amidst a new reign of terror and desolation. Little will it then avail to have despised the warning voice of truth as prejudice and bigotry, when men's hearts are failing them for fear, and the earth itself shall reel, like a drunkard, under the anger of God, in His controversy with apostate and rebellious nations.

Such is the natural, if not rather the certain and



inevitable issue of that measure, which you, my Lord, are patronizing with a well-meaning, but misguided zeal. It degrades our nation from its high standing, as a public witness for the name of Christ, founded on the rock of His gracious covenant, and sinks it into a mere uncemented confederacy of so many Gentile sinners, who will have rolled away, with their own hands, the canopy of redeeming mercy, so long stretched out as a pavilion over them. Woe there must be to any nation, when God departs from them ! And when can it be more certain that God will depart from us, than when we publicly depart from Him ; when our statesmen formally renounce the words of Christ, adopt the words and maxims of His crucifier for the guide of their policy, and reject deliberately, from the counsels of our land, any public sign of allegiance to the Son of God ?

May He still avert from us, if it be not too late, the sin of so grievous an apostasy ! But if the current of delusion is too strong, and our nation must learn, from its own bitter experience, the lesson it has ceased to learn from the history of the Jews, even then, my Lord, the protest of all faithful Christians in the land, who resist and deplore this destructive measure, will not have been in vain. Success at the hustings, or in the walls of Parliament, has never yet been the test of truth or wisdom. The prosperity of fools, it has been said by the wisest of men, will destroy them. When-

ever our Parliament, by its votes, shall proclaim that allegiance to Christ is no longer an element in their counsels, not all their fancied omnipotence can shield them from that sentence of infallible truth. But the seeming triumph of falsehood and delusion will only work out, in due season, its painful cure. After years of abasement and holy discipline, of deep and agonizing repentance, it may please God to restore our nation, in future days, to the privileges it now despises, and the faith it is now casting away, and to grant it a large share, as a younger and beloved sister, in the glory and happiness of restored Israel. In those days, whenever they arrive, her rulers will awake, like Nebuchadnezzar after his years of madness, to a juster and nobler view of their high office. They will no longer think to bribe their subjects into harmony by propagating idolatrous worship, nor to secure their happiness, by renouncing all care or thought for their eternal interests, and providing them a rich pasture of sensual abundance, in which to graze ; nor hope to promote universal charity, but casting aside its only true source and fountain, which can be no other than sincere faith in Christ, and an open confession of the Son of God. They will then retrace the downward steps which their fathers had trodden. They will own, with gladness and reverence, that Christ is the true Prince over all the kings of the earth, that His word is the true fountain of national greatness and honour ; and that,

alike for men and nations, an open confession of His name, and a hearty allegiance to His revealed will, are the only sure pathway to peace, happiness, and glory.

I remain, my Lord,

Yours with deep respect and honour,

**T. R. BIRKS.**

THE

ROYALTY OF THE CROWN

IN

EPISCOPAL PROMOTIONS;

ACCORDING TO THE JUDGMENT OF

DIVINES, CANONISTS, AND OTHERS,

OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

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“ Enquire, I pray thee, of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers ;

“ Shall not they teach thee, and tell thee, and utter words out of their heart ? ”  
Job, viii. 8, 10.

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LONDON :

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1848.

*Price One Shilling.*



## P R E F A C E .

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A SUBJECT involving the interests and engaging the passions of the living is rarely argued without intemperate heat ; and the more important the question is, the more violent is the debate likely to be, and the greater mischiefs to arise from it. In order to do justice to the weightiness of the question, and to avoid all temptation to bitterness, unfairness, and vehemence in discussing it, it appears to be a prudent course to retire from the present to the past ; and to consult the wisdom of those who have spoken from experience and authority on the matter at issue, without being implicated in the circumstances, or being biassed by the partialities, of our own times. With this view the following extracts have been made from the writings of some the most eminent writers of the Church of England, concerning the grounds, nature, and extent of the Royal Prerogative in Episcopal Promotions ; and they are now commended to the calm consideration of the candid and dispassionate Reader.

LONDON :  
*December 16th, 1847.*



# THE ROYALTY OF THE CROWN

IN

## EPISCOPAL PROMOTIONS, &c.

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RICHARD HOOKER. Ecclesiastical Polity, book VIII. cap. vii. vol. III. p. 524, ed. Oxon. 1836.

“Touching the advancement of Prelates unto their rooms by the King; whereas it seemeth in the eyes of many a thing very strange that Prelates, the officers of God’s own sanctuary, than which nothing is more sacred, should be made by persons secular; there are that will not have Kings be altogether of the laity, but to participate that sanctified power which God hath endued his Clergy with, and that in such respect they are anointed with oil. A shift vain and needless. For as much as, if we speak properly, we *cannot* say Kings do *make*, but that they only do *place*, Bishops. For in a Bishop there are these three things to be considered: the power whereby he is distinguished from other pastors; the special portion of the Clergy and people over whom he is to exercise that bishoply power; and the place of his seat or throne, together with the profits, preeminences, honours thereunto belonging. The first every Bishop hath by *consecration*; the second his election investeth him with; the third he receiveth of the King alone.

“With *consecration* the King intermeddleth not further than only by his letters to present such an elect Bishop as shall be consecrated. Seeing therefore that none but Bishops do consecrate, it followeth that none but they only do give unto every Bishop his being.”

IDEM, p. 537.

“The hurts accustomed to grow from ancient elections *we* do not feel. Howbeit, lest the Church in more hidden sort should sustain even as grievous detriment by that order which is now of force, we are most humbly to crave at the hands of our sovereign Kings and governors, the highest patrons which this Church of Christ hath on earth, that it would please them to be advertised thus much.

“Albeit these things which have been sometimes done by any sort



may afterwards appertain unto others, and so the kind of agents vary as occasions daily growing shall require; yet sundry unremovable and unchangeable burthens of duty there are annexed unto every kind of public action, which burthens in this case Princes must know themselves to stand now charged with in God's sight no less than the people and the Clergy, when the power of electing their Prelates did rest fully and wholly in them. A fault it had been if they should in choice have prefer any wherein desert of most holy life and the gift of Divine wisdom did not commend; a fault, if they had permitted long the rooms of the principal Pastors of God to continue void; not to preserve the Church patrimony as good to each successor as any predecessor did enjoy the same, had been in them a most odious and grievous fault. Simply good and evil do not lose their nature: that which was is one or the other, whatsoever the subject of either be. The faults mentioned are in Kings by so much greater, for that in what Churches they exercise those regalities whereof we do now entreat, the same Churches they have received into their special care and custody, with no less effectual obligation of conscience than the tutor standeth bound in for the person and state of that pupil whom he hath solemnly taken upon him to protect and keep. *All power is given unto edification, none to the overthrow and destruction of the Church.*

“Concerning therefore the first branch of spiritual dominion, thus much may suffice; seeing that they with whom we contend do not directly oppose themselves against regalities, but only so far forth as generally they hold that no Church dignity should be granted without consent of the common people, and that there ought not to be in the Church of Christ any episcopal rooms for Princes to use their regalities in. Of both which questions we have sufficiently spoken before.”

BISHOP ANDREWES. *Tortura Torti.* Lond. 1609, p. 380.

“Atque vt semel defungar totâ hac de Primatu Regio quæstione, semel vt constet Primatus apud nos quæ iura sint, quid illius nomine intelligendum veniat; atque ita cesset vestra dehinc, cesset aliorum calumnia de vestro, et à vobis conficto, non nostro, et à nobis agnito Primatu: paucis sic accipe sententiam nostram.

“Primò, sub primatus nomine Papatum nouum Rex non inuehit in Ecclesiam; sic enim statuit, vt nou Aaroni pontifici, ita nec Ieroboamo Regi ius vllum esse, conflatum à se vitulum populo proponendi vt adoret (id est) non vel fidei nouos articulos, vel cultus diuini nouas formulas procudendi.

“Neque verò id agit Rex, ne patitur quidem, vt sibi potestas sit, vel

incensum adolendi cum Ozâ, vel aream attractandi cum Ozâ, quod vos toties tam odiosè inculcatis.

“ Vestrum illud (quod ad primatum pontificium propriè pertinere dicitur) docendi munus, vel dubia legis explicandi, non assumit, non vel conciones habendi, vel rei sacræ præundi, vel sacramenta celebrandi; non vel personas sacrandi, vel res; non vel clauium ius, vel censuræ. Verbo dicam; nihil ille sibi, nihil nos illi fas putamus attingere, quæ ad sacerdotale munus spectant, seu potestatem ordinis consequuntur. Omnino vestra hæc calumnia est, in odium conficta, et Regis, et nostrum: Regis, quòd ille sibi hæc arroget; nostrum quòd nos illi ista tribuamus. Procul hæc habet Rex; procul à se abdicat.”

BISHOP BILSON. Perpetual Government of Christ's Church, cap. xv. p. 448. Lond. 1593, ed. Oxon. 1842.

“ It cannot be denied, but the Prince of right hath, and ever had, as great interest in the choice of Bishops, as the people. There can no reason be pretended for the multitude, but it concludeth more strongly for the magistrate. If the people by God's law were to choose their Bishop, the King, as the principal part and head of the people, by the same law must be suffered to have the chief place amongst them. Did ever God's or man's law prefer the feet before the head, the rout before the ruler, or the people before the Prince? ‘The servant is not above his master,’ no, not in elections of Bishops; for if the rule be general, it includeth even that particular. Wherefore though there were no Princes christened in the apostles' times, nor in three hundred years after, to claim or use their right; yet against the head, that it shall not be head, to rule and guide the feet, can be no prescription, by reason God's ordinance for the head to govern the body is a perpetual and eternal law; and the usurpation of the members against it is no prescription, but a confusion, and the subversion of that order which the God of heaven hath immutably decreed and settled. And even in the Primitive Church, when leisure from greater affairs, and occasion of popular uproars, put Christian emperors in mind to use their right, they were by councils acknowledged to have good interest in the elections of Bishops, and by the whole Church suffered not only to have a several and sovereign consent, but by their laws to moderate, restrain, and punish the attempts and abuses as well of Bishops and clerks that were electors and ordainers, as of the people that were the likers and supporters of the parties so corruptly or disorderly chosen.”

IDEM, p. 472 to 476.

“ To close up this question—if the allowance given at first to the Ministers of each parish by the lord of the soil were matter enough, in

the judgment of Christ's Church, to establish the right of Patrons that they alone should present clerks, because they alone provided for them ; the Prince's interest to confer Bishoprics hath far more sound and sufficient reason to warrant it : for besides the maintenance which the Kings of this land yielded, when they first endowed Bishoprics with lands and possessions, to unburden their people of the support and charges of their Bishops ; and in that respect have as much right as any Patrons can have : the pre-eminence of the sword whereby the Prince ruleth the people, the people rule not the Prince, is no small enforcement, that in elections, as well as in other points of government, the Prince may justly challenge the sovereignty above and without the people, God's law prescribing no certain rule for the choice of Bishops ; the people may not challenge the like without or against the Prince. And lastly, though the people in former ages, by the sufferance of magistrates, had somewhat to do with the elections of their Bishops, yet now for the avoiding of such tumults and uproars as the Primitive Church was afflicted with, by the laws of this realm and their own consents, the people's interest and liking is wholly submitted and enclosed in the Prince's choice, so that whom the Prince nameth, the people have bound themselves to acknowledge and accept for their Pastor, no less than if he had been chosen by their own suffrages. And had they not hereunto agreed, as by Parliament they have, I see no let by God's law, but in Christian kingdoms when any difference groweth even about the elections of Bishops, the Prince, as head and ruler of the people, hath better right to name and elect than all the rest of their people. If they concur in judgment, there can be no variance ; if they dissent, the Prince (if there were no express law for that purpose, as with us there is) must bear it from the people ; the people by God's law must not look to prevail against their Prince.

“ If we might safely do it, we could object against the Prince's giving of Bishoprics, that Athanasius saith : ‘ Where is there any such Canon, that a Bishop should be sent out of the palace ? ’ \* And the second council of Nice allegeth an ancient Canon against it : ‘ All elections of Bishops, Presbyters, or Deacons, made by the magistrate, are void by the Canon which saith : ‘ If any Bishop obtain a Church by the help of the secular magistrate, let him be deposed and put from the Lord's table, and all that communicate with him. ’ † The council of Paris likewise in earnest manner : ‘ Let none be ordained Bishop against the wills of the citizens, but only whom the election of the people and Clergy shall seek with full affection. Let him not be intruded by the Prince's command-

\* Athanasii Hist. Arian. ad Monachos. Paris. Benedict. 1698, tom. i. part i. p. 375.

† Concil. Nicæni. II. can. iii. t. vii. col. 597.

ment, nor by any other means, against the consent of the Metropolitan and the Bishops of the same province. And if any man by overmuch rashness presume to invade the height of this honour by the Prince's ordination, let him in nowise be received by the Bishops of the same province.\* Rules of discipline be not like rules of doctrine. In Christian faith whatsoever is once true, is always and every where true; but in matters of ecclesiastical government, that at some times and in some places might be received and allowed, which after and elsewhere was happily disliked and prohibited. If any father or council affirm, that by God's law the people have right to elect their Bishop, the Prince hath not; the assertion is so false, that no man need regard it. No proof can be made, that the people have by the word of God an essential interest in the choice of their Pastors. If we speak of man's law, what some councils decreed, other councils upon just cause might change; and what some Princes permitted, their successors with as great reason might recall or restrain, as the variety of times and places required. Of councils, St. Austin saith: 'Who can be ignorant that general councils are often amended, the former by the latter, when by the experiment of things, that is opened which before was hid, and seen which before was not perceived, and that without any smoke of sacrilegious pride, obstinate arrogance, or envious contention.'† Of Princes' edicts, I take the case to be so clear, that no man doubteth whether human laws may be altered or no. All Princes have the sword with like commission from God, and bear their sceptres with one and the same freedom that their progenitors did. As they may with their own liking abridge themselves of their liberty, so may they, with the advice and consent of their state, resume the grants of former Princes, and enlarge the privileges of their royal dignity as far as God's law permitteth.

"For answer then to your authorities, I say: first, Athanasius and the other two councils might speak of those times, when as yet Christian Princes had not revoked elections of Bishops to their own power, but by their public laws commanded their Clergy and people to make choice of their Pastors. And in that case, he that contrary to the positive laws any kingdom or commonwealth made secret means, or procured to be placed by the private letters of Princes against the open laws of the realm where he lived, was an ambitious and violent intruder, and not worthy to bear the name of a Pastor and Bishop in Christ's Church. Next, Athanasius and the rest may speak not of election, but of examination and ordination, which by God's law is committed to Bishops, and not to Princes; and then their meaning is, It is not sufficient for a

\* Concil. Paris. III. can. viii. t. v. col. 817.

† Augustin. de Baptismo contra Donatistas, lib. ii. cap. 3, t. vii. col. 392.

Bishop to have the Prince's consent and decree; he must be also examined and ordained by such as the Holy Ghost hath appointed to impose hands on him, which no man may omit though he be never so much allowed and elected by the Princes; and so both their words and proofs seem to import.

"Athanasius misliketh that Constantius sent such as should be Bishops\* out of his palace, and forcibly invaded the Churches by his soldiers and captains, none of the comprovincial Bishops approving or admitting them. The second council of Nice doth not impugn that Princes should elect, but that the decree † of the magistrate is not enough to make a Bishop. And why? he must be approved and ordained by the Bishops of the same province, and by the Metropolitan, as the Nicene Canons witness. Now the fourth Canon of the Nicene council which they mention, speaketh not a word who shall elect and name Bishops, but who shall examine and ordain them, as is evident to be seen. And so the council of Paris: 'Let him not be imposed by the Prince's precept against the Metropolitan's good will.‡ And therefore if any rashly presumed to invade that honour, *per ordinationem regiam*, 'as ordained by the King,' and not by the Metropolitan and his comprovincials, no man might accept him or acknowledge him for a Bishop. Neither hath the ancient Canon any other sense, which saith; 'If any Bishop resting on worldly governors, by their help get any Church, let him be deposed and excommunicated, and all that join with him. § They do not exclude Princes from naming and electing of Bishops, no more than they do the people; only they reject violence, forso much as a Bishop by the rules of the Holy Ghost must be thoroughly examined, and peaceably ordained by such as shall impose hands on him, and not peremptorily intruded or imposed by any earthly force or power.

ARCHBISHOP BANCROFT. Survey of Pretended Holy Discipline.

Lond. 1593, p. 254.

"I haue omitted his earnestnes in the behalfe of his own and Caluins discipline: that the authority (thus denied to Princes) might be yeilded to them, and their followers, and that all men (both Princes and others) would be content to submitte their neckes vnder that yoke. Which were to make Princes (saith Erastus trulie) quasi carnifices; as it were the executioners onely of their pleasures, quemadmodum in papatu factum videmus, as we see it practised in the papacy; and in truth is nothing

\* Athanasii Hist. Arianorum ad Monachos. Vide p. 473, not. °.

† Nicæni Synodi II. can. iii. t. vii. col. 905.

‡ Concil. Paris. III. can. viii. t. v. col. 817.

§ Canon. Apoc. xxix. t. i. col. 32.

els, but (that I may vse their phrases) to banish one Pope, and admitte of thousands ; or to deliuer their scepters from the tyrannie of the old Pope, and to subiect them to the tyranny of these new Popes, euen to excommunication (as Cartwright with his English crue doe affirme) and so consequently to deprivation or death, as Buchanan the Scottishe consistorian teacheth.

“ My purpose is only in this place, to make it knowne from whence our brotherhood haue furnished themselues, with their inuectiues against the authoritye of Princes in causes ecclesiasticall ; and that whatsoever they pretend in words, yet they are of the same minde, that Viretus is, if they durst so plainly vtter it. Or if they be not, let them confes in print, that the premisses cited (out of his sayde dialogue) are false ; and then for that pointe, let them be credited. But that (I am perswaded) they will neuer doe. I am sure if they should, that besides their opposition with Geneua, they should also recant their owne assertions, which directly exclude the ciuile magistrates from dealing in ecclesiasticall causes, as for example : the whole gouernment of the Church is to be committed to Ministers, Elders, and Deacons ; the Church is now to the worldes end to haue no other offices in it, but of Pastors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons. They which are no Elders of the Church haue nothing to doe in the gouernment of the same. They deuide the Church wherein anye magistrate King or Emperour is a member, into those which are to gouerne, vz. Pastors, Doctors, and Elders ; and into such as are to obey, vz. magistrates of all sortes, and the people.

“ Indeed, Beza will haue the ciuile magistrate one of the church-officers ; but Cartwright will not consent for his part to yeald them so much. For (saith he) as Pastors cannot bee officers of the common wealth, no more can the magistrate bee called properlye a church-officer ; and in truth, what Beza graunteth, it is in effect nothing, sauing for a shew, and to serue their own turnes (forsooth) vt tranquillitatem ecclesiae procurent et tueantur ; their office is to procure and defend the peace of the Church, whereas else where hee agreeth with Viretus, yee may bee sure, and in his booke against Erastus peremptorily affirmeth, that Princes haue no more to doe with matters of the Church, then Ministers haue with the affayres of the common wealth, which by their doctrine generallie is none at all ; but, saide I, hee agreeth with Viretus. I might saie rather with Cardinall Allen and Saunders, if he bee the author of the booke, intituled, *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, as it was reported, for there hee saith that if anie Prince shall challenge to himselfe both tributes (that is, authoritie aswell in ecclesiasticall causes as ciuile ; as by the circumstances of the place it is eident) hee doth, as if hee would (like the old giants) scale heauen, and surprise it, and is guiltie

of treason, and doth thereby forfeite his fee, that hee holdeth no lesse than a subiect or vassall shall, that vsurpeth the Kinges royalties; and in this respect such Kinges are very often deprived thereof, much more iustlye, then a vassall or subiecte maye bee, insomuch as there is some proportion of comparison betwixte a vassall or subiect, and his Lorde; but betwixt God and the King, betwixt a wretched man and the Almightye, there can bee no proportion at all.

“ And all this (as I take it) they haue learned of the Papists. For whereas maister Harding saith, that the office of a King in it selfe is all one, euerie where, not onely amongst the Christian Princes, but also amonge the Heathen; and thereupon concludeth, that a Christian Prince hath no more to doe in the deciding of Church matters, or in making ceremonies and orders for the Church, then a Heathen. Cartwright alloweth of his iudgement, and doth expresly affirme that hee himselfe is of the same opinion, professing his mislike of those who teach another right of a Christian and of a prophane magistrate. Whereat Trauerse his scholler aymeth in like forte, when hee saith in effect, that Heathen Princes being conuerted to the fayth, receiue no further increase of their power, whereby they maye deale in causes ecclesiasticall, then they had before. And lastly, it is no lesse agreeable vnto their seconde assertion, that whereas the Papists saye, the Pope with his Cardinalls and Bishops are a true representation of the Catholicke Church of Christ, vnder whom the Pope (being Peter's supposed successor) is the ministeriall and immediate chiefe gouernour of it here vpon earth; now Cartwright and others doe affirme, that euerye particular parish hauing such an eldershippe in it (as they desire,) is a liuelye patterne and representation of the whole and Catholicke Church of Christe, vnder whom (saye they) their Pastors, Doctors, and Elders, are the ministeriall and immediate gouernours by right, of euery such Catholicke parish Church vpon earth. And thus, (if I bee not deceiued,) that playnely appeareth, which was in the beginning of this chapter propounded, *vz.* that, for all their protestations, they derogate from Christian Princes and arrogate to their elderships the supream and immediate authority vnder Christ in causes ecclesiasticall.”

DR. RICHARD FIELD on the Church. Oxf. 1635, p. 680, book v.

“ The onely question is, touching things naturally and meerely spirituall: the power in these is of two sorts: of Order and of Jurisdiction. The power of order is the authority to preach the word, minister the sacraments, and to ordaine Ministers to doe all these things; and this power the Princes of the world have not at all, much lesse the supream authority to doe these things, but it is proper to the Ministers of the

Church. And if Princes meddle in this kinde, they are like to Uzziah, that offered to burne incense, for which he was stricken with leprosie. The power of jurisdiction standeth first in prescribing and making lawes : secondly, in hearing, examining, and judging of opinions touching matters of faith : and thirdly, in judging of things pertaining to ecclesiasticall order and ministry, and the due performance of God's divine worship and service. Touching the first, the making of a law is the prescribing of a thing under some paine or punishment, which hee that prescribeth hath power to inflict. Whence it is consequent, that the Prince (having no power to excommunicate, put from the sacraments, and deliver to Satan) can of himselfe make no Canons, such as councils of Bishops doe ; who command or forbid things under paine of excommunication, and like spirituall censures ; but (having power of life and death, of imprisonment, banishment, confiscation of goods, and the like) he may with the advice and direction of the Clergy, command things pertaining to God's worship and service under these paines, both for profession of faith, ministration of sacraments, and conversation fitting to Christians in generall, or men of ecclesiasticall order in particular ; and by his princely power establish things formerly defined and decreed against whatsoever error, and contrary ill-custome, and observation. And herein is so farre forth supream, that no Prince, Prelate, or Potentate, hath a commanding authority over him ; yet doe we not whatsoever our clamorous adversaries untruely report, to make us odious, make our Princes with their civill states, supream in the power of commanding in matters concerning God, and his faith and religion, without seeking the direction of their Clergie (for the statute that restored the title of supremacie to the late Queene Elizabeth, of famous and blessed memory, provideth, that none shall have authority newly to judge any thing to bee heresie, not formerly so judged, but the High Court of Parliament with the assent of the Clergie in their Convocation), nor with them, so as to command what they thinke fit, without advising with others, partakers of life precious faith with them, when a more generall meeting for farther deliberation may bee had, or the thing requireth it."

IDEM, p. 695.

" At first the Clergie and people were to choose their Bishops and Ministers ; yet so, that Princes by their right were to moderate things, and nothing was to bee done without them. But when they endowed churches with ample revenues and possessions, and disburdened the people of the charge of maintaining their pastours, they had now a farther reason to sway things than before. And thence it is, that the statute above-



mentioned saith : the Kings gave power of free elections, yet upon condition of seeking their licence and confirmation, as having the right of nomination in themselves, in that they were founders. Likewise touching Presbyters, the ancient Canon of the Council of Carthage (which was, that Bishops should not ordaine clerkes without the consent of their Clergie, and that also they should have the assent and testimony of the citizens) held while the Clergie lived together upon the common contributions and dividant, but when not onely titles were divided and distinguished, and men placed in rurall churches abroad ; but severall allowance made for the maintenance of such as should attend the service of God by the lords of those countrey-townes, out of their owne lands and their lands of their tenants, they that thus carefully provided for the Church were much respected. And it was thought fit they should have great interest in the choosing and nominating of clerkes in such places. Justinian the Emperour, to reward such as had bene beneficial in this sort to the Church, and to encourage others to doe the like, decreed : That if any man build a Church or House of Prayer, and would have clerkes to be placed there, if hee allow maintenance for them, and name such as are worthy, they shall be ordained upon his nomination. But if he shall choose such as he prohibited by the Canons as unworthy, the Bishop shall take care to promote some whom he thinketh more worthy. And the Councell of Toledo, about the yeare of Christ 655, made a Canon to the same effect. The words of the Councell are these. Wee decree, that as long as the founders of churches doe live, they shall be suffered to have the chiefe and continuall care of the said churches, and shall offer fit Rectors to the Bishop to be ordained. And if the Bishop, neglecting the founders, shall presume to place any others, let him know, that his admission shall be voyde, and to his shame ; but if such as they choose, be prohibited by the Canons as unworthy, then let the Bishop take care to promote some whom he thinketh more worthy. Whereby wee see, what respect was anciently had to such as founded churches, and gave lands and possessions to the same ; yet were they not called lords of such places, after such dedication to God, but patrons only ; because they were to defend the rights thereof, and to protect such as there attended the service of God ; and though they had right to nominate men to serve in these places, yet might they not judge or punish them if they neglected their duties ; but onely complaine of them to the bishop or magistrate. Neither might they dispose of the possessions thus given to the Church, and dedicated to God ; but if they fell into poverty, they were to bee maintained out of the revenues thereof. This power and right of nomination and presentation resting in Princes and other founders, can no way prejudice or

hurt the state of the Church, if Bishops (to whom examination and ordination pertaineth) doe their duties in refusing to consecrate and ordaine such as the Canons prohibite."

FRANCIS MASON. *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*; or, Vindication of the Church of England, and of the lawful Ministry thereof, i. e. of the Succession, Election, and Consecration of Bishops. Lond. 1625. Translated into English by John Lindsay. Lond. 1734, book III. chap. vii. p. 278.

"The Objections of the Papists, that our Bishops are the Queen's Bishops, and Parliament Bishops, answered, in general, by explaining our method of making Bishops.

"PHILODOXUS (*a Priest of Rome*).—Your new pretended Bishops (as Scultingius saith) derive their counterfeit authority, not from lawful consecration, or catholick inauguration, but from the Queen and \* Parliament. They are therefore properly styled by Sanders, the † Queen's Bishops, and ‡ Parliament Bishops. For (as Bristow relates) in England the King, yea and the Queen, grants letters patent to whom they wilt; and they thenceforth bear themselves for Bishops, and begin to ordain § Ministers. Hence Bellarmine had reason to say, that in Queen Elizabeth's time there was a woman pope in || England.

"ORTHODOXUS (*a Priest of the Church of England*).—These saucy shameless Papists proclaim aloud, that the Bishops of the Church of England derive not their orders from Bishops, but from Kings and ¶ Queens. A monstrous lye, and an impudent slander! For our Kings do that only which belongeth to the office of Kings, and our Bishops to that of Bishops. For 'at every avoidance of any Archbishoprick or Bishoprick, the King grants to the dean and chapter of that church a licence under the great seal of England (which is commonly called the *congé d'eslire*) to proceed to election, with a letter missive (as it is call'd) containing the name of the person which they shall elect and chuse. Then the electors do certify under their common seal (the election to be duly perform'd) to the King (humbly beseeching him to grant his royal assent thereto). The King (giving his assent to their election) signifieth the same to the Archbishop and Bishops, re-

\* Scalting. *Bibl. Cathol.* l. 5, p. 106.

† Sand. de *Chism.* p. 348.

‡ *Ibid.* p. 349.

§ *Brist. Antihæer. motiva*, p. 264.

|| Bellarm. de *Notis Eccles.* l. 4, c. 9, § 4, *Peputiani hæretici*, &c.

¶ See a Collection of their Calumnies, book I. chap. ii. fol. 8, &c.

quiring and \* commanding them by his royal authority to confirm the said election, and to invest the said person so elected, and to give and use to him all such benedictions, ceremonies, and other things requisite for the † same.' After this, the Archbishop and Bishops, following the example of their predecessors, take care, publicly and peremptorily, to cite all manner of persons, who have any thing to say or object, either against the form of the election, or the person elected, in general, or particular, personally to appear before them. And when it appears solemnly, and judicially, by publick acts, both that the election is valid, and the person elected of sufficient learning and probity, then at last follows the consecration; which is perform'd by a competent number of lawful Bishops, according to the direction of the ancient canons. This is the solemn and constant method of making Bishops in England."

IDEM, book IV. chap. xiii. p. 431 to 432.

"PHIL.—You pretended to treat of Kings electing Bishops, and conferring of Bishopricks: and now you ascribe not the election to Kings, but to the Clergy, and claim only nomination for Kings.

"ORTH.—The King's nomination is with us a fair beginning of the election. Therefore, when he nominates any person, he elects him, and gives, as I may say, the first vote for him.

"PHIL.—What kind of elections are these of your Deans and Chap-

\* "This Commission or Mandate must pass both through the Signet Office and Chancery, and be attested by the clerks of both those offices, and sign'd by the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Privy Seal, and be inrolled. So as it is morally impossible there should be any forgery in it." Bramhall, fol. 446.

† Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20. Note. By this statute, the sending of the licence is said to be done as of old time hath been accustomed. The Dean and Chapter are not to delay their election above twelve days after such licence receiv'd, or else the King may nominate by his letters patents. After the election, the elected is called Lord Elect of such a See, and makes his oath of homage to the King. And And if the Dean and Chapter do not proceed to election and signify the same within twenty days after the licence receiv'd; or if the Bishops do not confirm, invest, and consecrate him, according to this Act, within twenty days after the same is signified to them by the King, the penalty is a premunire. Now, the ancient method of electing Bishops in the English Church, was by the Canons and Chapter, without any conge d' eslire. But (as a learned Church historian observes) even "this method—tho' less foreign than the excesses of the regale—was yet a deviation from the primitive practice. For, by the ancient canons, a Bishop ought to be chosen by the Metropolitan and his Suffragans. And to prevent the inconvenience by the interposal of the State, the Apostles' Canons forbid the Clergy making application to the Court for a Bishoprick, under the penalty of being depos'd and excommunicated. And this custom of making the Provincial Bishops the electors continued in France till the latter end of the tenth century." Collier's Eccles. Hist. vol. i. fol. 213.

ters? 'Tis certain, they can't be call'd free elections, since nothing is to be done without the King's previous authority.

"ORTH.—The freedom of election doth not exclude the King's sacred authority, but force and tyranny only. If any unworthy person should be forc'd upon them against their wills, or the Clergy should be constrain'd to give their voices by force and threatenng, such an election cannot be said to be free. But, if the King do nominate a worthy person according to the laws, as our Kings have used to do, and give them authority to chuse him, there is no reason why this may not be call'd a free election. For here is no force, nor violence us'd.

"PHIL.—But if the King, deceiv'd by undeserved recommendations, should happen to propose to the Clergy a person unlearned, or of ill morals, or otherwise manifestly unworthy of that function, what's to be done then?

"ORTH.—Our Kings (Philodox) are wont to proceed in these cases maturely and cautiously; I mean, with the utmost care and prudence: and hence it comes to pass that the Church of England is at this time in such a flourishing condition.

"PHIL.—Since they are but men, they are liable to humane weakness: and, therefore, what is to be done, if such a case should happen?

"ORTH.—If the electors could make sufficient proof of such crimes or incapacities, I think, it were becoming them, to represent the same to the King with all due humility, modesty, and duty; humbly beseeching his Majesty, out of his known clemency, to take care of the interest of the widowed Church. And our Princes are so famous for their piety and condescension, that, I doubt not but his Majesty would graciously answer their pious petition, and nominate another unexceptionable person, agreeable to all their wishes. Thus a mutual affection would be kept up between the Bishop and his Church.

"Thus I have shew'd you, that our Kings have had a singular prerogative in the election of Bishops: and now I am to prove that they had the same lawfully. And that will be manifest enough, whether we consider the Kings themselves, or the Bishops. This privilege belongs to Kings by a twofold right; to wit, in right of their sovereignty, and in right of their patronage."

ARCHBISHOP BRAMHALL. *Schism Guarded*, vol. II. p. 403, ed. Oxf. 1842.

"To begin with the first.—If it were necessary to call in any foreign subsidiary supplies, for the further fortifying of the King of England's sovereign patronage, under God, of the Church within its territories; I might find strong recruits from the Greek emperors to shew that they always practised this power within their dominions, to place Bishops

in vacant sees; and that the contrary was '*hactenus inauditum*'— 'never heard of' in St. Gregory's days. To them I might add the French and German emperors, who not only enjoyed the same privilege by ancient custom, but to whom the Roman Bishops disclaimed it, with all their clergy, judges, and lawyers; Adrian the First to Charles the Great anno 774, and Leo the Eighth to the Emperor Otho anno 964. I might produce the precedents of the Spanish monarchs, Conc. Tolet. XII. cap. 6. It were a most unreasonable thing, that sovereign princes should be trusted with the government of their people, and have their Bishops, who must participate in the government by informing the consciences of their subjects, be obtruded on them by strangers.

"But our case is strong enough without twisting any foreign precedents with it. William the Conqueror, William Rufus, and Henry the First, did enjoy the right of placing in vacant sees, by the tradition of a ring, and of a crosier staff, without ever seeking for foreign approbation, or ordination, or confirmation; as their predecessors, Kings of England and Britain had done before them; else it had been very strange. The Roman Rota will give decisive sentence for him to be patron of a church who first builded it and endowed it. But then after eleven hundred years were effluxed (a strange time to set up a Divine right), Gregory the Seventh (otherwise called Pope Hildebrand), and after him Pope Callixtus, did condemn all investitures taken from a lay hand, and prohibit the Archbishops to consecrate any persons so invested. '*Præsens audivi in Romano concilio prohiberi,*' saith Anselm,— 'I heard it with my own ears prohibited in the Roman Court.' But what were their reasons? I believe, not over 'rigorous demonstrations.' The first was frequent suspicion of simony: an unheard of piece of justice, to take away an hereditary right for suspicion of a personal fault. The second and third reasons are contained in the letter of Adrian the Fourth to Frederick the First;— '*Ab his qui Dii sunt, et filii Exceli omnes, homagium requiris, fidelitatem exigis, et manus eorum sacratas manibus tuis innectis*'— 'Thou requirest homage of those who are Gods, and all the children of the Most High, thou exactest an oath of fidelity, and knittest their sacred hands within thy hands: ' a strange presumption in a sovereign prince, if you mark it well, to hold his subject's hands within his hands, while he was swearing his allegiance. But the main exception was the homage or oath of fidelity itself. And was it not high time, think you, to except against their swearing of fidelity to their native prince, whom the Bishops of Rome intended to exempt from his jurisdiction, and to make them turn subjects to themselves; as they did in a great part effect it very shortly after. Then was the time whereof Platina speaks, that 'there was great

consultation about the **homage** and fealty and oaths of Bishops, which in former times were sworn to laymen.' Were they so indeed? Here is an ingenious confession of the Pope's own library keeper.

"Indeed at the first, whilst they were robbing the King of the jewels of his crown, they preached up nothing but free elections; but after they had once seized their prey, they changed their note forthwith to '*Dei et Apostolicæ sedis gratia*'—'By the grace of God, and the Apostolic See;' or, '*Ex plenitudine ecclesiasticæ potestatis*'—'Out of the fulness of our ecclesiastical power.' And when this bell had rung out a while, Egypt never abounded more with caterpillars, than our native country did with provisions, and reservations, and pensions, with all the hellish arts of sublimated simony. Then our best dignities and benefices were filled with strangers (who could not speak an English word, nor did ever tread upon English ground), daily more and more, until these well chosen pastors, who knew how to shear their flocks, though they did not know how to feed them, received yearly out of the kingdom more than the revenues of the Crown.

"There remaineth but one thing to be done, to stick the guilt of this intolerable usurpation undeniably upon the See of Rome; that is, to shew, that the investiture of Bishops was the undoubted right of the Crown.

"This is as clear as the sun, both in our most authentic historians and records, if I had the means to produce them, and also in our ancient laws, published long since to the world in print, and these not enactive of new law but declarative of the fundamental law of the land."

IDEM, vol. I. p. 271.

"We believe Episcopacy to be at least an apostolical institution, approved by Christ himself in the Revelation, ordained in the infancy of Christianity as a remedy against schism; and we bless God that we have a clear succession of it."

"Neither do we draw or derive any *spiritual* jurisdiction from the crown; but either liberty and power to exercise, actually and lawfully, upon the subjects of the crown, that habitual jurisdiction which we received at our ordination; or the enlargement and dilatation of our jurisdiction objectively, by the Prince's referring more causes to the cognizance of the Church than formerly it had: or, lastly, the increase of it subjectively, by their giving to ecclesiastical judges an external coercive power, which formerly they had not. To go yet one step higher; in cases that are indeed spiritual, or merely ecclesiastical, such as concern the doctrine of faith, or administration of the sacraments, or the ordaining or de-

grading of ecclesiastical persons, Sovereign Princes have (and have only) an 'architectonical' power, to see that Clergymen do their duties in their proper places. But this power is always most properly exercised by the advice and ministry of ecclesiastical persons; and sometimes necessarily, as in the degradation of one in holy orders by ecclesiastical delegates. Therefore our law provides, that nothing shall be judged heresy with us *de novo*, but 'by the High Court of Parliament' (wherein our Bishops did always bear a part), 'with the assent' (that is more than advice) 'of the Clergy in their convocation.' In sum, we hold our benefices from the King, but our offices from Christ; the King doth nominate us, but Bishops do ordain us."

"The confounding of those two distinct acts, intimated by me in this paragraph, that is, nomination or election, with ordination or consecration, hath begotten many mistakes in the world on several sides."

SIR THOMAS RIDLEY. View of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Law, part III. chap. i. sect. i. Oxon. 1662, p. 162 to 168.

"A *præmunire*, therefore, is a writ awarded out of the King's Bench, against one who hath procured out any bull or like process of the Pope from Rome, or elsewhere, for any ecclesiastical place or preferment within this realme; or doth sue in any forreine Ecclesiastical Court to defeat or impeach any judgement given into the King's Court, whereby the body of the offender is to be imprisoned during the King's pleasure, his goods forfeited, and his lands seised into the King's hand, so long as the offender liveth.\*

"This writ was much in use during the time the Bishop of Rome's authority was in credit in this land, and very necessary it was it should be so, for being then two like principall authorities acknowledged within this land, the spirituall in the Pope and the temporall in the King; the spirituall grew on so fast on the temporall, that it was to be feared (had not† these statutes been provided to restrain the Pope's enterprises)

\* 25 Ed. II. 27 Ed. III. c. 1. 38 Ed. III. c. 1 and 2. 7 Rich. II. c. 2. 13 Rich. II. c. 2. 2 Hen. IV. c. 3.

† Nevertheless even out of these statutes, have our professors of the common law wrought many dangers to the jurisdiction ecclesiastical, threatning the punishment contained in the Statute Ann 27 Edw. 3 and 38, *ejusdem*, almost to every thing that the Court Christian dealeth in, pretending all things dealt within those Courts to be the disherison of the Crown (from the which and none other fountaine, all ecclesiastical jurisdiction is now derived) whereas in truth Sir Thomas Smith saith very rightly and charitably, that the uniting of the supremacie ecclesiastical and temporall in the King, utterly voideth the use of all those statutes: (*Nova cessante ratione cessat lex*) and whatsoever is now wrought or threatned against the jurisdiction ecclesiastical, is but in emulation of one Court to another, and by con-

the spirituall jurisdiction had devoured up the temporall, as the temporall now on the contrary side hath almost swallowed up the spirituall. But since the forreine authority in spirituall matters is abolished, and either jurisdiction is to be agnised to be settled wholly, and onely in the Prince of this land, sundry wise men's opinion is, there can lie no præmunire by those statutes at this day, against any man exercising any subordinate jurisdiction under the King, whether the same be in the King's name, or in his name who hath it immediately from the King: for that now all jurisdiction whether it be temporall or ecclesiasticall is the King's, and such ecclesiasticall lawes as now are in force are the King's ecclesiasticall lawes, and the King's Ecclesiasticall Courts; for that the King cannot have in himselfe a contrarietie of jurisdiction fighting one against another, as it was in the case betweene himselfe and the Pope, although he may have diversity of jurisdiction within himselfe, which for order sake, and for avoyding of confusion in government he may restraine to certain severall kindes of causes, and inflict punishment upon those that go beyond the bounds or limits that are prescribed them; but to take them as enemies, or underminers of his state, he cannot; for the question here is not who is head of the cause, or jurisdiction in controversie, but who is to hold plea thereof, or exercise the jurisdiction under that head, the ecclesiasticall or temporall judge, neither is that to move any man that the statutes made in former times against such provisors, which vexed the King and people of this land with such unjust suits, do not onely provide against such process as came from Rome, but against all others that came elsewhere, being like conditioned as they; for that it was not the meaning of those statutes, or any of them, thereby to tax the Bishops Courts, or any Consistorie within this land; for that none of them ever used such malepert sawcinesse against the King, as to call the judgements of his courts into question, although they went farre in straying upon those things and causes, which were held to be of the King's temporall cognisance, as may appeare by the King's prohibition thereon framed. And beside the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates of this land, in the greatest heat of all this business, being then present in the Parliament with the rest of the nobility, disavowed the Pope's insolencie toward the King in this behalfe; and assured him that they would and ought to stand with his Majestie against the Pope, in these and all other cases touching his Crowne and regalitie as they were bound by their allegiance: so that they being not guilty of these enterprises against the King, but in a sequent a derogation of that authority from which all jurisdiction is now derived, and the maintenance whereof was by those Princes especially purposed. D. Cowel in the Interpreter.



great a measure troubled in their own jurisdiction by the Pope, as the King himselfe was in the right of his Crown, as may appeare out of the course of the said statutes ; the word (elsewhere) can in no right sence be understood of them, or in their Consistories ; although some of late time thinking all is good service to the realme, that is done for the advancement of the common law, and depressing of the civile law, have so interpreted it, but without ground or warrant of the statutes themselves, who wholly make provision against *forreine authority*, and speak no word of *domesticall proceedings*. But the same word (elsewhere) is to be meant and conceived of the places of remove the Popes used in those dayes, being sometimes at Rome in Italy, sometimes at Avignon in France, sometimes in other places, as by the date of the bulls, and other processe of that age may be seen ; which severall removes of his gave occasion to the Parliament of inserting the word (elsewhere,) in the body of those statutes, that thereby the statutes providing against processe dated at Rome, they might be eluded by like processe dated at Avignon, or any other place of the Pope's abode, and so the penalty thereof towards the offender might become void and be frustrated. Neither did the lawes of this land at any time whiles the Pope's authority was in his greatest pride within this realm, ever impute a *præmunire* to any spirituall subject, dealing in any temperall matter, by any ordinary power within the land, but restrained them by prohibition onely ; as it is plaine by the King's prohibition, wherein are the greatest matters that ever the Clergie attempted by ordinary and domesticall authority, and yet are refuted onely by prohibition. Bnt when as certaine busie-headed fellowes were not content to presse upon the King's regall jurisdiction at home, but would seek for meanes, for preferment, for forrain authority, to controule the judgements given in the King's Courts by processe from the Pope ; then were *præmunires* decreed, both to punish those audacious enterprises of those factious subjects, and also to check the Pope's insolencie, that he should not venter hereafter to enterprise such designments against the King and people. But now, since the feare thereof is past, by reason all entercourse is taken away between the King's good subjects and the Court of Rome, it is not to be thought the meaning of good and mercifull Princes of this land is that the cause of these statutes being taken away the effect thereof should remain ; and that good and dutifull subjects stepping happily awry in the exercise of some part of their jurisdiction, (but yet without prejudice of the Prince, or his regall power) shall be punished with like rigour of law, as those which were molesters, grievors, and disquieters of the whole estate. But yet notwithstanding the edge of those *præmunires* which were then framed, remaine sharpe and unblunted still against Priests, Jesuits, and other

like runnagates, which being content with their own naturall Prince's government, seek to bring in again, that and like forreine authoritie, which those statutes made provision against; but these things I leave to the reverend judges of the land, and others that are skilfull in that profession, onely wishing that some which have most insight into these matters, woulde adde some light unto them, that men might not stumble at them, and fall into the danger of them unawara."

BISHOP SANDERSON. Episcopacy, as established by law in England, not prejudicial to Regal Power. Lond. 1673, p. 32 to p. 34.

"All power, to the exercise whereof our Bishops have pretended, cometh under one of the two heads, of order or of jurisdiction. The power of order consisteth partly in preaching the word and other offices of publick worship, common to them with their fellow Ministers; partly in ordaining Priests and Deacons, admitting them to their particular cures, and other things of like nature, peculiar to them alone. The power of jurisdiction is either internal in retaining and remitting sins *in foro conscientia*, common to them also (for the substance of the authority, though with some difference of degree) with other Ministers: or, external for the outward government of the Church in some parts thereof peculiar to them alone. For that external power is either directive in prescribing rules and orders to those under their jurisdictions, and making canons and constitutions to be observed by the Church; wherein the inferior Clergy, by their representatives in Convocation, have their votes, as well as the Bishops; and both dependently upon the King (for they cannot either meet without his writ, or treat without his commission, or establish without his royal assent): or judiciary and coercive, in giving sentence *in foro exteriori* in matters of ecclesiastical cognisance, excommunicating, fining, imprisoning offenders, and the like. Of these powers some branches, not only in the exercise thereof, but even in the very substance of the power it self, (as namely, that of external jurisdiction coercive,) are by the laws declared, and by the Clergy acknowledged to be wholly and entirely derived from the King, as the sole fountain of all authority of external jurisdiction, whether spiritual or temporal within the realm; and consequently not of divine right."

IDEM, p. 37 to p. 44.

"It shall suffice to shew that the *jus divinum* is pleaded by the episcopal party with more calmness and moderation, and with less derogation from regal dignity, then by any other of the three.

"For first, the rest when they spake of *jus divinum* in reference to

their several wayes of Church government, take it in the highest elevation, in the first and strictest sense. The Papist groundeth the Pope's œcumenical supremacy upon Christ's command to Peter to execute it, and to all the flock of Christ (Princes also as well as others) to submit to him as their universal pastor. The Presbyterian cryeth up his model of government and discipline, (though minted in the last by-gon century,) as the very scepter of Christ's kingdome, whereunto all Kings are bound to submit theirs; making it as unalterable and inevitably necessary to the being of a Church, as the Word and Sacraments are. The Independent Separatist also, upon that grand principle of Puritanisme common to him with the Presbyterian (the very root of almost all the sects in the world), viz. that nothing is to be ordered in Church matters other or otherwise than Christ hath appointed in his Word; holdeth that any company of people gathered together by mutual consent in a Church way is *jure divino* free and absolute within it self to govern it self by such rules as it shall judg agreeable to God's Word, without dependence upon any but Christ Jesus alone, or subjection to any Prince, Prelate, or other humane person or consistory whatsoever. All these you see do not onely claim to a *jus divinum*, and that of a very high nature; but in setting down their opinions weave in some expresses tending to the diminution of the ecclesiastical supremacy of Princes. Whereas the episcopal party neither meddle with the power of Princes, nor are ordinarily very forward to press the *jus divinum*, but rather purposely decline the mentioning of it, as a term subject to misconstruction (as hath been said) or else so interpret it as not of necessity to import any more than an apostolical institution. Yet the Apostle's authority in that institution being warranted by the example, and (as they doubt not) the direction of their master Jesus Christ, they worthily esteem to be so reverend and obligatory; as that they would not for a world have any hand in, or willingly and deliberately contribute the least assistance towards (much less bind themselves by solemn league and covenant to endeavour) the extirpation of that government; but rather, on the contrary, hold themselves and their consciences obliged, to the uttermost of their powers, to endeavour the preservation and continuance thereof in these Churches, and do heartily wish the restitution and establishment of the same, wheresoever it is not, or wheresoever it hath been heretofore (under any whatsoever pretence) unhappily laid aside or abolished.

“Secondly, The rest (not by remote inferences, but) by immediate and natural deduction out of their own acknowledged principles, do some way or other deny the King's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical: either claiming a power of jurisdiction over him or pleading a priviledge of exemption from under him. The Papists do it both wayes; in their

several doctrines of the Pope's supremacy and of the exemption of the Clergy. The Puritans of both sorts, who think they have sufficiently confuted every thing they have a mind to mislike, if they have once pronounced it Popish and Antichristian, do yet herein (as in very many other things, and some of them of the most dangerous consequence) symbolize with the Papists, and after a sort divide that branch of Antichristianism wholly between them. The Presbyterians claiming to their consistories as full and absolute spiritual jurisdiction over Princes, (with power even to excommunicate them, if they shall see cause for it,) as the Papists challenge to belong to the Pope; and the Independents exempting their congregations from all spiritual subjection to them in as ample manner as the Papists do their Clergy. Whereas the English Protestant Bishops and regular Clergy, as becometh good Christians and good subjects, do neither pretend to any jurisdiction over the Kings of England, nor withdraw their subjection from them; but acknowledge them to have sovereign power over them, as well as over their other subjects; and that in all matters ecclesiastical as well as temporal. By all which it is clear that the *jus divinum* of Episcopacy, as it is maintained by those they call (*stylo novo*) the prelatical party in England, is not an opinion of so dangerous a nature, nor so derogatory to the regal powers, as the adversaries thereof would make the world believe it is; but that rather, of all the forms of Church government that ever yet were endeavoured to be brought into the Churches of Christ, it is the most innocent in that behalf."

IDEM, p. 69 to p. 72.

"There is yet a more special and peculiar reason to be given in the behalf of the Bishops for not using the King's name in their processes, &c. in the ecclesiastical courts, then can be given for the judges of any other the above-mentioned courts (either of the common or civil laws) in in the said respect; arising (as hath been already in part touched) from the different nature of their several repective jurisdictions. Which is, that the summons and other proceedings and acts in the ecclesiastical courts are for the most part in order to the ecclesiastical censures and sentences of excommunication, &c. The passing of which sentences and others of like kind, being a part of the power of the keys which our Lord Jesus Christ thought fit to leave in the hands of his Apostles and their successors, and not in the hands of lay-men; the Kings of England never challenged to belong unto themselves: but left the exercise of that power entirely to the Bishops, as the lawful successors of the Apostles, and inheritours of their power. The regulating and ordering of that power in sundry circumstances concerning the outward exercise thereof

*in foro externo*, the godly Kings of England have thought to belong unto them as in the right of their crown ; and have accordingly made laws concerning the same, even as they have done also concerning other matters appertaining to religion and the worship of God. But the substance of that power, and the function thereof, as they saw it to be altogether improper to their office and calling, so they never pretended or laid claim thereunto ; but, on the contrary, when by occasion of the title of Supream Head, &c. assumed by King Henry the Eighth, they were charged by the Papists for challenging to themselves such power and authority spiritual, they constantly and openly disavowed it to the whole world, renouncing all claim to any such power or authority, as is manifest, not onely from the allowed writings of many godly Bishops, eminent for their learning in their several respective times, in vindication of the Church of England from that calumny of the Papists, as Archbishop Whitgift, Bishop Bilson, Bishop Andrews, Bishop Carleton, and others ; but also by the injunctions of Queen Elizabeth, and the Admonition prefixed thereunto ; by the 37th Art. of the Church of England required to be subscribed by all that take orders in the Church or degrees in the Universities ; and by constant declared judgment and practice of the two late Kings of blessed memory, King James and King Charles the I.”

IDEM, p. 130 to p. 135.

“ We are to know, that when King Henry the VIII. abolished the Papal power, resuming in his own hand the ancient rights of the crown, which the Bishops of Rome had unjustly usurped, he took also upon himself also that title which he then found used by the Bishops of Rome, but which none of his progenitors, the Kings of this realm, had ever used, of being the supream head of the Church within his dominions. This title continued during the reign of his son King Edward the VI., by whom the statute aforesaid was made, and is mentioned in that very statute. Now, albeit by that title or appellation was not intended any other thing then that supremacy ecclesiastical which the Kings of this land have, and of right ought to have, in the governance of their realms over all persons and in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as other, and which is in the oath of supremacy acknowledged to belong unto them ; yet the Papists took scandal at the novelty thereof, and, glad of such an occasion, made their advantage of it, to bring a reproach upon our religion, as if the Protestants of England were of opinion that all spiritual power did belong unto the King, and that the Bishops and Ministers of England had their whole power of preaching, administring the sacraments, ordaining, excommunicating, &c. solely and originally from the

King, as the members of the body live by the influence which the head hath into them. Upon their clamours, that title of supream head and governour was taken into farther consideration in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign; and although that style, in the true meaning thereof, was innocent and defensible enough, yet for the avoiding of scandal and cavil, it was judged more expedient that the word head should thenceforth be laid aside, and the style run onely supream governour, as we see it is in the Oath of Supremacy and other-where ever since, without mentioning the word head, according to the intimations given in the Queen's Injunctions, and elsewhere in that behalf; and it seemeth to me very probable, that for the same reason especially (besides those other reasons already given) it was thought fitter by her then, and by her successours hitherto, that the Bishops, in all their ecclesiastical courts and proceedings, should act in their own names as formerly they had done, then that the statute of King Edward should be revived, for doing it in the King's name. For the serving out processes, &c. in order to excommunication, and other Church censures, in the King's name would have served marvellously to give colour (and consequently strength, in the apprehension at least of weaker judgments) to that calumny wherewith the Papists usually asperse our religion, as if the Kings of England took themselves to be proper and competent judges of censures meerly spiritual in their own persons, and the prelates accordingly did acknowledge them so to be.

“ Thus have I shewen to the satisfaction (I hope) of the ingenuous and unprejudiced reader, that episcopacy is no such dangerous creature, either in the opinion or practice, as some would make the world believe it is, but that the King's crown may stand fast enough upon his head, and flourish in its full verdure, without plucking away or displacing the least flower in it, notwithstanding episcopacy should be allowed to be of divine right in the highest sence, and the Bishops still permitted to make their processes in their own names, and not in the King's. By this time, I doubt not, all that are not wilfully blind (for who so blind as he that will not see?) do see and understand, by sad experience, that it had been far better, both with King and kingdom, then now it is or (without God's extraordinary mercy) is like to be in haste, if the enemies of episcopacy had meant no worse to the King and his crown then the Bishops and those that favoured them did.”

DEAN COMBER. Companion to the Temple, vol. v. A Discourse upon the Office of Consecrating Bishops, chap. i. sect. II. p. 291 to p. 292.

“ The Kings of England have as just a right to the patronage of

bishopricks as private patrons, founders and endowers of lesser benefices have to present to them. And this title is urged in that excellent letter to Pope Clement the Sixth, writ by King Edward the Third, together with the former claim of immemorial usage; where he thus speaks: 'From the very beginning of the Church in this our kingdom of England, the memorable piety of our progenitors, nobles, and faithful subjects have built Churches, endowed them with large possessions, and given great immunities to them; for which reason they placed fit ministers in them. As to cathedrals, our progenitors aforesaid have for a long time, upon any vacancy, by their royal prerogative freely bestowed them on fit persons,' &c. The whole letter is extant in Tho. of Walsingham,\* and deserves to be read, because it shows the ill consequences of the Pope's interposing in these elections, from meddling wherein he was soon after excluded by the statutes of this realm, an. 25 Edw. III. and an. 13 Rich. II. The former of which statutes mentions a grant from former Kings 'to Deans and Chapters, that they might freely elect their Bishop.' Provided, 'and upon these conditions, first, that they desired the King's leave to elect; and, secondly, that after they had chosen they did obtain the royal assent;' which method is still observed among us, only the King recommends a person to the Clergy, when he grants them licence to elect; yet so, as there have been instances (where just ground of objection appeared against the person so nominated by the King) where the Clergy have humbly remonstrated to the King's Majesty, in order to obtain a second nomination. There is one reason more why our Kings should nominate their own Bishops, and that is, because they are Peers of their realm, and divers of them are or may be employed in offices of the highest trust under the King; and therefore it is fit he should choose the person who is to make so considerable a figure in the government, and may have so great a share in the administration thereof; yet still, not only the Chapter of the vacant Church, but the Bishops who consecrate him, have sufficient security as to his ability for so sacred an office, and his care to perform all the duties of it, by the very form of consecration, which now we shall go on to explain."

IDEM, chap. vii. sect. v. p. 342 to 344.

"Sidonius severely censures those Kings of France who kept many bishopricks vacant, to gain the profits of them as a right to their crown, 'which,' he saith, 'threatened ruin to the Gallican Church, because Bishops had the sole power to constitute successors to supply the ministrations proper to the lower orders.' Since, therefore, they have this sole privilege, doubtless it is very necessary strictly to require

\* Tho. Walsing. Hist. in Ed. III. an. 1343, p. 150.

a promise from them at their consecration, that they will faithfully perform this great trust, of ordaining and sending out fit persons to execute the priestly and episcopal offices. For if they promote any that are heterodox or schismatical in their opinions, weak or unripe in their judgments, or vicious and debauched in their lives, either by negligence in due examining them before, or, which is worse, by fear or favour be imposed upon, it is the greatest sin they can possibly commit, and they are answerable for all the ill effects of admitting such persons into so holy an employment. The Roman writers record of their famous Pope Leo the Great, that for forty days together he fasted and prayed for pardon of all his transgressions, and that at last St. Peter appeared to him, 'and told him all should be forgiven him, but the sins of his ordinations.' And there is thus much moral in the story, that if a Bishop be of never so holy a life, and hath few sins of his own, by this means, as St. Paul speaks, he becomes partaker of other men's sins, because he is the occasion of all the ill consequences of putting an ill man into sacred orders. And therefore many pious Bishops have opposed the commands and menaces of Princes, and those of the highest quality, who have urged them to ordain such as were evil and unfit; and have therein shewed a commendable zeal for God's glory and the good of the Church. In the ignorant and wretched ages before our Reformation, this neglect had brought the Clergy into extreme contempt, which I choose to express in the words of an honest Romish author then living, who says of Bishops of his time: 'They thrust men into holy orders that are like a company of jackdaws, infamous, boys, and illiterate, such as are not fit for any thing else, and are not called by God, contrary to the rules of our forefathers; yet, if any suffer a repulse, he flies to Rome, where the most holy fathers admit hostlers, cooks, and idiots, to the altars of the great God; yea, such as in Germany would not be allowed to communicate among the laity, to the shame and grief of all good men, till they have made the name of Priest to be a reproach: surely they must have evil thoughts of religion and themselves, or design to abuse Christian people, who do such things; the work shews the artificer, the tree is known by its fruit; may Christ save us; St. Peter is asleep, and the other Simon, not to say Antichrist, hath got the dominion.' Thus, alas! it was then, and no doubt it hastened the Reformation; and since that in our Church, though some few do creep in that prove very unworthy, by fair certificates gained by favour, yet generally our Bishops and their Archdeacons are very careful to keep out ignorant and scandalous men, for which they deserve the highest applause; and the general good character of most of the Clergy shews that all due caution was taken in their admission."



A.D. 1681. The King's Warrant concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs.

EX. M.S. penes Tho. episc. Assaven. Wilkins's Concilia, vol. IV. pp. 607-8.

“CHARLES R.—Having taken into our serious consideration how much it will conduce to the glory of God, our own honour, and the welfare both of our church and universities, that the most worthy men be preferred and favoured according to their merits; and being satisfied that the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; John, Earl of Radnor; George, Earl of Halifax; Lawrence, Viscount Hyde; the Lord Bishop of London, and Edward Seymour, Esq. are proper and competent judges in such cases; we have thought fit, and do hereby declare our pleasure to be, that neither of our principal secretaries of state do at any time move us on the behalf of any person whatsoever, for any preferment in the Church, or any favour or dispensation in either of our universities, without having first communicated both the person and the thing by him desired unto the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, now and for the time being, John, Earl of Radnor; George, Earl of Halifax; Lawrence, Viscount Hyde; the Lord Bishop of London, now and for the time being, and Edward Seymour, Esq. and without having the opinion and attestation of them, or any four of them, on the case. And if at any time we be moved in like manner by any other person whatsoever, our pleasure is, and we do hereby declare, that neither of our principal secretaries of state shall present any warrant unto us for our royal signature in such a case, until the said Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; John, Earl of Radnor; George, Earl of Halifax; Lawrence, Viscount Hyde; the Lord Bishop of London, and Edward Seymour, Esq. have been acquainted therewith, and have given their opinion and attestation as aforesaid. And to the end that this our declaration may stand as a lasting and inviolable rule for the future, our will and pleasure is, that the same be entered not only in both the offices of our said principal secretaries, but also in the signet office, there to remain as upon record. Given at our court at Windsor the 12th day of August, MDCLXXXI., in the xxxiii. year of our reign.

“By his Majesty's command,

L. JENKINS.”

Original in the hands of Dr. Edward Tenison, Archdeacon of Caermarthen. Le Neve, Archbishops of Canterbury, pp. 245-54.

“William III., by the grace of God, King, &c. To the most Reverend Father in God, our right trusty and right entirely-beloved counsellor, Thomas, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all

England and Metropolitan ; and to the most Reverend Father in God, John, Lord Archbishop of York, Primate of England and Metropolitan ; and to the Right Rev. Fathers in God, Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum ; William, Lord Bishop of Worcester ; Simon, Lord Bishop of Ely ; and John, Lord Bishop of Norwich, greeting. We, being sensible that nothing can conduce more to the glory of God, our own honour, and the welfare of the Church, than our promoting to preferment therein the most worthy and deserving men according to their merits ; and conceiving you, the said Thomas, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury ; John, Lord Archbishop of York ; Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum ; William, Lord Bishop of Worcester ; Simon, Lord Bishop of Ely ; and John, Lord Bishop of Norwich, to be proper and competent judges in such cases : Know ye, therefore, that we, reposing special trust and confidence in your approved wisdoms, fidelities, and circumspections, have nominated, constituted, ordained, and appointed, and by these presents do nominate, constitute, ordain, and appoint you, the said Thomas, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury ; John, Lord Archbishop of York ; Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum ; William, Lord Bishop of Worcester ; Simon, Lord Bishop of Ely ; and John, Lord Bishop of Norwich, to be our commissioners for the purposes hereinafter mentioned. And we do hereby give and grant unto you, our said commissioners, or any three or more of you, (whereof we will that you, the said Thomas, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to be always one ; and, where any preferment or place to be disposed of lies within the province of York, you, the said John, Lord Archbishop of York, to be also one,) full power and authority to meet at such convenient times and places as you, the said Thomas, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, shall, by your summons of the rest of our said commissioners, from time to time appoint, for the putting the powers hereby granted in execution, in such manner as is hereby appointed. And we do hereby declare our will and pleasure to be, that when our royal person shall be resident within our kingdom of England, you do, at such meetings, consider of one or more person or persons proper to be recommended to us to succeed to any bishopric in England, or any other ecclesiastical preferments in England above the tax or real value of twenty pounds in our books which are in our gift or disposal from time to time as they shall respectively become vacant during our residence within our said kingdom of England. And that you, or a sufficient number of you, impowered as aforesaid, do signify, under your hands, your recommendation of such person or persons as you in your wisdoms shall think most fit to be appointed by us to succeed to any such vacant preferments, to the end that the names of such person or persons may

be presented to us by one of our principal secretaries of state, that our royal pleasure may be further known therein.

“ And further, we do hereby declare our pleasure to be, that neither of our principal secretaries of state do, at any time, either when we shall be resident in England or in parts beyond the seas, move us in behalf of any person whatsoever for any place or preferment which we have hereby left to the recommendation or disposal of our said commissioners, as aforesaid, without having first communicated both the person and the thing by him desired to you, our said commissioners, or so many of you as are hereby impowered to act; and without having your opinion and recommendation in such manner as hereinbefore is directed. And if at any time we be moved in like manner by any other person whatsoever, our pleasure is, and we do hereby declare, that neither of our principal secretaries of state shall present any warrant to us for any royal signature in such a case, until you, our said commissioners, or so many of you as are hereby impowered to act, have been acquainted therewith, and have given your opinion and recommendation as aforesaid. And, further, our will and pleasure is, that this our commission, and the powers hereby granted, shall continue in force until we shall declare our pleasure to the contrary, notwithstanding the same commission be not continued by adjournment. And lastly, we have revoked and determined, and by these presents do revoke and determine certain letters patents under our great seal of England, bearing date the sixth day of April, in the seventh year of our reign, whereby we constituted and appointed you, the said Thomas, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; John, Lord Archbishop of York; William, Lord Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield; Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum; and Simon, Lord Bishop of Ely, together with the then Right Reverend Father in God, Edward Lord Bishop of Worcester, lately deceased, to be our commissioners for the purposes above mentioned, and every clause, article, and thing therein contained. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness ourself at Westminster, the ninth day of May, in the twelfth year of our reign.

“ Per Breve de Privato Sigillo—CHUTE.”

EARL SOMERS. Plea for the Seven Bishops at their Trial in 1688.

“ It was the opinion of all the judges in the great case of Thomas and Sorrell in the Exchequer, that the King had no power to suspend any law; that by the law of all civilized nations if the Prince does require something to be done which the person who is to do it takes to be unlawful, it is not only lawful but his duty *rescribere principi*.”

BISHOP STILLINGFLEET on Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. Lond.  
1704. Ecclesiastical Cases. Vol. II. p. 95 to p. 99.

“ To prevent mistakes and cavils about this matter, it will be necessary to clear the notion of supremacy, as it hath been owned and received in the Church of England.

“ And for this we have two authentic declarations of it to rely upon.

“ The first is mentioned, 5 Eliz. c. 1, s. 14, where the supremacy is declared to be taken and expounded in such form as is set forth in the admonition annexed to the Queen’s Injunctions, published in the first year of her reign. And the words there are, that the Queen neither doth nor will challenge any authority, but such as was of ancient time due to the imperial crown of this realm, that is, under God to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estates, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them.

“ The second is in the 37th Article, wherein it is declared, that by the supremacy is meant that only prerogative which we see to have been always given to all godly persons in Holy Scriptures by God himself, that is, that they should rule over all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers.

“ So that granting a commission for proceeding by ecclesiastical censures is no part of that supremacy which our Church owns; and thus the divines of our Church have understood it. By the supremacy, saith Bishop Andrews, we do not attribute to the King the power of the keys, or ecclesiastical censures.

“ R. Thompson, in his Defence against Becanus, saith, the supremacy is not to be defined by ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but by supream government.

“ Becanus urged this as an argument against the King’s supremacy, that he had no ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Dr. Burrhil answered, that the supremacy implied many other things, as the power of calling convocations, of confirming canons, of giving commissions of delegates, of taking cognizance of the misdemeanors of Churchmen (as well as others); but for proper ecclesiastical jurisdiction, he denies it to belong to supremacy; and after asserts, that the King’s supremacy is preserved, if he takes care that those who have the power of ecclesiastical censures do exercise them; and not as though it belonged to the supremacy to give an immediate power to proceed by ecclesiastical censures, which was not

supposed to belong to it, but a supreme right of governing all sorts of persons by our laws.

“The King’s supremacy in ecclesiastical matters doth not, saith Mason, imply the power of the keys, which the King hath not; but he may command those who have them to use them rightly.

“All these wrote in King James I. his reign, when the point of supremacy was thoroughly sifted on both sides. And the King himself, who very well understood these matters, saith, that the oath of supremacy only extended to the King’s power of judicature over all persons, as well civil as ecclesiastical, excluding all foreign powers and potentates to be judges within his dominions. Not as though the King hereby challenged to himself a power of inflicting ecclesiastical censures on persons; but leaving the spiritual jurisdiction to those who have the power of the keys, it belonged to him to exercise his supreme authority over ecclesiastical persons and causes, as he did over temporal. For, saith Archbishop Bramhal, our laws never invested the King with any spiritual power or jurisdiction. Witness the Injunctions of Q. Eliz.; witness the public Articles of our Church; witness the professions of King James; witness all our statutes themselves.

“The King of England, saith he, by the fundamental constitution of the monarchy, hath plenary power, without the licence or help, or concurrence of any foreign prelate or potentate, to render final justice, that is, to receive the last appeals of his own subjects, without any fear of any review from Rome, or at Rome, for all matters ecclesiastical and temporal; ecclesiastical by his Bishops, temporal by his Judges.

“And thus our laws were in the right when they called the Act of Supremacy restoring the rights of the crown; for if we take away all the Papal usurpations as to appeals, exemptions of persons, dispensations, provisions, making canons, sending legates to hold courts, to call convocations, &c., we may easily understand what the supremacy is, viz. a power of governing all sorts of men, according to the laws ecclesiastical and temporal, without any foreign jurisdiction.

“But as in temporal matters the King’s supreme authority is exercised in his ordinary courts, so likewise in ecclesiastical, which deriving their jurisdiction from the King as supreme, his supremacy is preserved in the ordinary Ecclesiastical Courts.”

BISHOP BEVERIDGE on the XXXIX. Articles, Art. xxxvi. p. 351.

“For my own part I dare not but look upon the practice of the Primitive Church in this case to be lawful in itself and binding unto others. For if we once suppose that the Primitive Church generally erred in their ordination of Ministers, then we must grant also that there hath

been never a lawful ministry since, the lawfulness of their ministry depending principally, yea only, upon the lawfulness of their ordination; and if there were no lawful Ministers to ordain them, they who were ordained could not be lawful Ministers; and if there be no lawful ministry there cannot be any true Church, because the word is not lawfully preached nor the sacraments lawfully administered in it. And therefore we must needs grant that in this besure, though in nothing else, the general practice of the Primitive Church must be allowed of.

“ Now to find out the general practice of the Primitive Church in this case we must not consult particular persons, but rather universal and provincial councils, wherein whole churches met together. The practice and judgment of particular persons cannot be said to be the practice and judgment of the whole Church; but what whole councils decreed or did cannot be looked upon but as the practice and judgment not of many particular persons only, but of the Church itself.

“ First therefore for the *consecration of Bishops*. The ancient council at Antioch put forth this decree, ‘ Let\* not a Bishop be ordained without the assembly and presence of the Metropolitan of the province. And he being present, it is very convenient that all his fellow Bishops in the province be present with him, and it is fitting that the Metropolitan should by his letter call them together. And if they can all meet, it is better. But if that be difficult, many of them should howsoever be present, or else give in their suffrages by their letters; and so the constitution be made with the presence and suffrage of many of them. But if it be done otherwise than is here decreed, let the ordination be invalid, or of no force.’ The first council at Nice, ‘ But† this is altogether manifest, that if any one be made a Bishop without the sentence of the Metropolitan, this great council decrees, that such a one ought not to be a Bishop.’ And so the council at Laodicea determined, ‘ that ‡ Bishops be consecrated by the judgment of the Metropolitan and Bishops there about, unto ecclesiastical government, being before long examined in the matter of their faith and polity, or dispensation of right reason;’ ‘ which § Canon,’ as Balsamon saith, ‘ forbids Bishops to be chosen by the multitude, and decrees that they be consecrated by the Metropolitan and other Bishops.’ The second council at Arles, ‘ Let || no Bishop without the permission of the Metropolitan, nor any metropolitan Bishop, without three Bishops of

\* Concil. Antioch, can. 19, [p. 601, vol. i. Conc. Hard.]

† Concil. Nicen. can. 6, [p. 325, ibid.] v. et can 4.

‡ Concil. Laodic. can. 12, [p. 783, ibid.]

§ Balsam. in loc. [Bever. synod. vol. i. p. 458.]

|| Concil. Arlat. 2, can. 5. [Ivonis decret. v. 138.]

the same province, presume to ordain a Bishop.' And again, 'But\* let this be clear above all things, that he is made a Bishop without the Metropolitan, according to the great synod, (viz. the Nicene before cited,) ought not to be a Bishop at all.' To these we might add also the first of the apostolical canons, 'Let† a Bishop be ordained by two or three Bishops.' The council of Hippo, 'Let‡ not a Bishop be ordained by less than three Bishops.' The like was also decreed by the first council at Arles,§ and another at Rhegium.|| And what these Bishops were to do at the consecration of a Bishop, the fourth council at Carthage expressly tells us, decreeing thus, 'When¶ a Bishop is ordained, let two Bishops hold the Book of the Gospels over his head, and one pouring forth the blessing upon him, let the other Bishops that are present touch his head with their hands, or put their hands upon his head.' So then in the Primitive Church both the Metropolitan or Archbishop, and other Bishops, were to be present at the consecration of a Bishop, and put their hands upon him, which exactly answers the manner of making and consecrating Bishops now in use amongst us, and decreed in this article."

CHARLES LESLIE. Case of the Regale. Lond. 1701, p. 106.

"The instances which Mr. Prynne has collected of Bishops chosen by the Clergy without the King were in the Popish times. And he tells us likewise that the Kings took this ill, and sometimes proceeded to punish these Bishops by seizing their temporalities, and making them compound, &c.

"There is another record I have met with; that is, an inscription now to be seen in the parlor of the hospital at Ledbury, in Herefordshire (which for the satisfaction of the reader I have hereunto annexed), wherein is told that Hugh Foliot, Bishop of Hereford, the founder of that hospital, was elected by the Presbytery of the Cathedral Church of Hereford in October, an. Dom. 1219, without letters from the King, written to the prejudice of their free election (even as it is testify'd of Robert Foliot to have been chosen before him in the year of our Lord 1173). He liv'd Bishop in the reign of King Henry the 3d, &c.

"Mr. Prynne in his Records, 2 vol. p. 355, shews that this same Hugh Foliot was Archdeacon of Shrewsbury, and then recommended

\* Concil. Arelat. 2, can. [6, p. 773, vol. ii. Conc. Hard.]

† Can. apost. 1, [vol. i. *ibid.*]

‡ Concil. Hippon. [39, p. 979, *ibid.*]

§ Concil. Arelat. 1, can. 20, [p. 266, *ibid.*]

|| Concil. Rhegiens. c. 1, 2, [p. 1748, *ibid.*]

¶ Concil. Carthag. 4, c. 2, [p. 979, *ibid.*]

by K. John to the Bishoprick of St. David's, which it seems was rejected, for his name stands not in the list of the Bishops of St. David's, but is amongst the Bishops of Hereford; so that he was refus'd by the Clergy of St. David's, to whom he had the King's recommendation, and chosen by those of Hereford without it, which, as before shewn, they thought a prejudice to their free election.

"It was here taken notice of that the form of the *congé d'esliers* in those days (as in the records produc'd by Pryune) was not by way of command to the Clergy, as now, but of request and desire only. The King called it his petition to the Clergy, and besought them to lend a favourable and benign ear to it. *Vt huic petitioni meæ favorem præbeant benignum* was the form then in use, and shews plainly where the right of election lay.

"And likewise the force of præscriptions, which in time grow up to create a right, and construe petition to mean command."

DR. JOHN AYLIFFE. *Parergon Juris Canonici Anglicani*. Lond. 1734, p. 127 to p. 129.

"The Parliament, in Henry the VIIIth's time, passed an Act,\* that Bishops should not be presented to the Pope, or sue out bulls of confirmation from Rome; but that on the vacancy of any see, the person should be presented to the Archbishop: and likewise if an archbishoprick should become void, the successor should be presented either to an Archbishop in the King's dominions, or to four other Bishops, whom the King should appoint; and that upon such vacancy, the Dean and Chapter should certify to the King in Chancery, and pray they may proceed to a new election. Whereupon the King grants them a licence under the Great Seal (called a *congé d'eslire*) to elect the person whom he has nominated and appointed by his letters missive; and they are to chuse no other under a severe penalty. Within twelve days after the receipt of this licence or *congé d'eslire*, they are to proceed to the election: which is done after this manner, viz.—The Dean and Chapter having made their election, must certify it under their common seal to the King, and to the Archbishop of the province, and to the Bishop elected: and then the King gives his royal assent, under the Great Seal, directed to the Archbishop, commanding him to confirm and consecrate the Bishop thus elected. And the Archbishop subscribes it, viz.—*Fiat Confirmatio*; and grants a commission to his Vicar-General to perform all acts requisite for that purpose. Thereupon the Vicar-General issues forth a citation to summon all persons who oppose this election to appear, &c. which citation is affix'd by an officer of the Arches on the

\* 25 H. 8. c. 20.



door of Bow Church, and he makes three proclamations for the opposers, &c. to appear; after the same officer certifies what he has done to the Vicar-General; and no person appearing, &c. at the time and place appointed, &c. the Proctor for the Dean and Chapter exhibits the royal assent, and the Archbishop's commission directed to his Vicar-General, which are both read, and then accepted by him. Afterwards the Proctor exhibits his proxy from the Dean and Chapter, and presents the new-elected Bishop to the Vicar-General, returns the citation, and desires that three proclamations may be made for the opposers to appear: which being done, and none appearing, he desires that they may proceed to confirmation *in pœnam contumaciæ*; and this is subscribed by the Vicar-General in a schedule, and decreed by him accordingly. Then the Proctor exhibits a summary petition, setting forth the whole process of election, in which 'tis desired that a certain time may be assigned him to prove it; and this is likewise desired by the Vicar-General. Then he exhibits the King's and Archbishop's assent once more, and that certificate which he return'd to the Vicar-General, and of the affixing the citation on the door of Bow Church, and desires a time may be appointed for the final sentence, which is also decreed. Then three proclamations are made again for the opposers to appear, but none coming, they are pronounced contumacious; and 'tis then decreed to proceed to sentence; and this is in another schedule read and subscribed by the Vicar-General. Then the Bishop elect takes the oaths of supremacy, canonical obedience, and against simony; and then the Dean of the Arches reads and subscribes the sentence. The Dean and Chapter are to certify this election in twenty days after the delivery of the letters missive, or they incur a *præmunire*: and if they refuse to elect, then the King may nominate the person by his letters patents.

“Next after confirmation follows the consecration of the Bishop elected,\* according to the King's mandate, which is solemnly done by the Archbishop, with the assistance of two other Bishops, according to the approv'd rights and ceremonies of the Church of England, and in conformity to the manner and form of consecrating Bishops according to the rule laid down in the fourth council of Carthage, about the year 470, generally receiv'd in all the provinces of the Western Church. After the premises, there issues a mandate from the Archbishop to the Archdeacon of his province, to install the Bishop elected, confirm'd, and consecrated, who either by himself or Proctor (which last is most usual) being in the presence of a public notary introduced into the Cathedral Church, on any day, between the hours of nine and eleven, by the said Archdeacon, he first declares his assent to the King's supre-

\* 25 H. 8. ch. 20. § 5.

macy, &c. and the Archdeacon being accompany'd with the Canons, &c. leads him to the choir; and, placing him in the episcopal seat, pronounces as follows,\* viz.—*Ego Autoritate mihi commissâ Induco et Inthroniso Reverendum in Christo Patrem Dominum J. S. Episcopum; et Dominus custodiat Introitum suum et Exitum ex hoc, nunc et in sæculum, &c.* Then after Divine Service proper for the occasion, the Bishop being conducted into the Chapter-house, and there placed on a high seat, the Archdeacon and all the Prebendaries of the Church acknowledge canonical obedience to him. And the public notary, by the Archdeacon's order, records the whole matter of fact in this affair, in an instrument to remain as authentick to posterity: and this is called investiture. After all which, the Bishop is introduced into the King's presence to do his homage for his temporalities or barony, which he performs by kneeling down and putting his hands between the King's hands, sitting in a chair of state, and by taking a solemn oath to be true and faithful to his Majesty, and that he holds his temporalities of him."

BISHOP BURNET. History of his own Time, A.D. 1693, Lond. 1733, vol. IV. p. 209.

"The state of Ireland leads me to insert here a very particular instance of the Queen's pious care in the disposing of Bishoprics: Lord Sidney was so far engaged in the interest of a great family of Ireland, that he was too easily wrought on to recommend a branch of it to a vacant see. The representation was made with an undue character of the person; so the Queen granted it. But when she understood that he lay under a very bad character, she wrote a letter, in her own hand, to Lord Sidney, letting him know what she had heard, and ordered him to call for six Irish Bishops, whom she named to him, and to require them to certify to her their opinion of that person: they all agreed, that he laboured under an ill fame; and, till that was examined into, they did not think it proper to promote him; so that matter was let fall. I do not name the person; for I intend not to leave a blemish on him; but set this down as an example, fit to be imitated by Christian Princes.

BRETT on Church Government. Lond. 1710, cap. xxi. p. 429 to p. 434.

"As Princes were the endowers of Episcopal Churches, all the temporalities of Bishops being held in capite of them, so they nominated Bishops to supply vacancies as they should happen, but the Metropolitan and his comprovincial Bishops always appointed them to their office, and consecrated them. And so it is at this day in this realm. Wherefore

tho' the nomination be in the Prince, the appointment to the duty or charge is in the Metropolitan and the comprovincial Bishops, and their spiritual authority is as much derived from them as ever it was.

"I have already shewed in the beginning of this book that all spiritual authority must be derived only from Christ, who is the sole supreme head of the whole Church; that he delegated no authority to the magistrate in spiritual matters, but to his Apostles, who exercised it not only without a license from, but sometimes even in opposition to the civil powers; that the Apostles committed the same authority to their successors, the Bishops and Pastors of the Church, with whom it continues to this day; and with whom, according to our Saviour's promise, it shall continue to the end of the world. And their appointing a person to the Episcopal office nominated to them by the Prince, is no more an argument that that person does not receive his spiritual power from them, than it is an argument that the Deacons did not receive their power from the Apostles, because the people chose them. It is one thing to choose or nominate, and another to confer the power. The Patron of a Church may give a friend leave to nominate a clerk to him, nay, some body may have such a tie upon the Patron, that he shall not dare to refuse to present the clerk that person nominates, yet 'tis not the nomination, but the presentation that empowers that clerk to go the Bishop for institution. Now such a tie our Princes have on the Chapters which elect, and on the Metropolitan and Bishops that consecrate a Bishop, they dare not refuse to elect and consecrate the person nominated under the penalty of a premonire, yet it does not therefore follow he receives his spiritual authority from the Prince; for if the Prince could give that, why should he send him to the Bishops for consecration? If this author could show that our Princes might make Bishops by their letters patents only, without any consecration at all, he would speak, indeed, to the purpose. If he could prove that a royal commission would make a Bishop, or that it ever did so, as fully and completely as it can make a civil officer, then, indeed, it would be a proof that the Episcopal power is wholly derived from the Regal. But to say that the Prince can compel the Bishops by his temporal authority to consecrate whomsoever he shall nominate, is no more than to say that all Bishops are subject to the temporal power, and that the civil magistrate has authority to punish them if they disobey the temporal laws. There being therefore an Act of Parliament which obliges the Bishops to consecrate the person nominated to a Bishopric by our Sovereign Prince, under a severe penalty, it is not to be wondered that our Bishops have always complied to do so. And yet if any Prince should nominate a person wholly unfit and unqualified to exercise the Episcopal function, the Metropolitans and the other Bishops ought rather to incur the penalty than to consecrate such a person. And the most

that can be said is, that this is a right of patronage vested in the supreme magistrate extended something beyond the bounds of what was allowed in former ages ; because the clerks presented by all Patrons ought to be tried and examined, which is not allowed here. However, this shakes not the fundamentals of Church government, and howsoever the person is nominated by the Prince, yet the Archbishop and Bishops must lay their hands on him, and invest him with the spiritual power. It is they that actually give him his commission for the work of this ministry, saying, Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Bishop in the Church of God, now committed to thee by the imposition of our hands, &c. By which it is evident that he receives his authority from their commission, and not from any commission from the Prince, for they tell him at his consecration, that it is now committed to him by the imposition of their hands ; a sure testimony that our law conceives him to have no such authority before, notwithstanding his nomination by the Prince ; for this form by which the Bishops consecrate is confirmed by an Act of Parliament as well as the Prince's right of nomination. And if the Bishops should refuse to consecrate him, the Parliament neither has declared, or, indeed, can declare, that he shall be a Bishop without it. They have appointed a severe penalty in case of refusal, but they are sensible it is no more in their power to make a Bishop than 'tis to make a Christian.

“ As to what he says, that the Bishops cannot act in their own right, or by a power inherent in themselves dispose of the power of the deceased Bishop, as upon his death devolving to them ; because the power of the deceased Bishop devolves to the people, to be disposed of by them, or by an authority derived from them. (For this gentleman places all authority in the people, and makes the magistrate no more than their trustee.) In this case he is plainly out as to matter of fact ; for according to the constitution of this realm, as the temporalities of a deceased Bishop devolve to the Crown, so the spiritualities devolve to the Metropolitan, or, in case the metropolitanical see be vacant, to the Dean and Chapter of the metropolitanical Church, and they are the guardians of the spiritualities of every Church in this realm so long as it continues vacant. So that even according to this gentleman's own argument, if they to whom the power devolves have the right to transfer it on another, then since the spiritual right of the deceased Bishop is in fact devolved on the Metropolitan, it is he that must have the right to transfer it to the successor. And, though the Prince nominate that successor, yet he sends him to the Metropolitan to be confirmed and consecrated. And tho' the King or Queen may in default of the Archbishop, or if the archiepiscopal see be vacant, appoint other Bishops, three or four (not

any single Bishop, as this gentleman says, for the statute expressly says, an Archbishop and two other Bishops, or else four Bishops) this makes no material difference in the case; for all Bishops, besides the care of their own particular Churches have a general right to see that the Catholic Church be duly provided with its proper officers; and where the Presbytery of a Church, which we now call the Dean and Chapter, have signified to their neighbouring Bishops that they wanted a Pastor, those neighbouring Bishops have consecrated one for them. All the difference therefore between what the Bishops did originally and what they do now is, that now they are liable to temporal penalties if they have not a royal commission for that which in the Primitive Church they might do without one. The Prince's commission plainly gives them no spiritual authority, but only authorises them to execute that authority within his dominions, in such manner as may exempt them from the penalty of the temporal laws. But if the civil magistrate shall abuse his temporal authority by preferring unqualified persons when he nominates to a Bishopric, the Bishops whom he orders to consecrate such a person ought to suffer any penalties rather than to obey him. And if no Bishops will consecrate such a person, no temporal authority whatsoever can make him a Bishop, And therefore, notwithstanding this right which our Princes exercise in nominating to vacant Bishoprics, enjoying and commanding elections and consecrations, yet our Bishops do not derive their sacerdotal power of consecration from our Kings and Queens in the same manner as civil officers derive their authority from them, merely by virtue of the royal commission. For the royal commission alone will make a civil officer, but a Bishop was never so made within this realm, or can be so otherwise than by having the Episcopal power committed to him by other Bishops."

THE PARALLEL; or, Vindication of Archbishop Wake for his opposing the promotion of Dr. Samuel Clark to a Bishoprick. Lond. 1735, p. 4.

"The reflections made by him you will find are not singular, but against all who are of the same Church of England principles; I thought it therefore not improper to take it in the present view; for though his Grace \* be not once mentioned, and possibly not intended to have been reflected on in particular, yet his arguments, if they have any weight or influence, tho' principally levelled at another, must, in the consequence, hurt his Grace's character, whose pious labours and steady adherence to the principles and doctrine of the Church of England in the most

\* Archbishop Wake.

dangerous times, whose hearty zeal for the Protestant succession in the present Royal Family, his tender compassion for scrupulous consciences and universal benevolence towards all mankind, with an abhorrence of persecution upon account of religion, made him worthy of and raised him to that high post which he has filled with so much honour; and yet, who without the least diminution of his great character, or hurting the cause of liberty, as a faithful counsellor to his Sovereign, a diligent Pastor of his Church, a friend to the peace and quiet of the kingdom, gave a strenuous opposition to the promotion of Dr. Samuel Clark to a bishoprick, by reason that he was suspected of some unhappy errors in points of religion, inconsistent with the doctrine of the Church of England, and the true faith of a Christian; notwithstanding that his great learning and probity, his pious example, his labours in support of religion in general against atheism and infidelity, had gained him the friendship, and even the recommendation, of many of high rank.

“It is asserted, that the present opposition to Dr. Rundle arose from the principles of that great man (Bishop Gibson) whose opinion (especially since the age and infirmities of our Metropolitan had withdrawn him from the publick) concerning the fitness of persons for spiritual preferments, has been frequently required by his Majesty. Where persons act alike, we may presume that they act upon the same principles; it will not therefore be foreign to my present purpose to observe, that these principles of Church power and Church government were not thought unworthy the patronage of Archbishop Tenison, whose memory will ever be blessed amongst all those who are true friends to our constitution, to whom that work \* which is now censured, was dedicated; and I doubt not but it will appear, that this learned Prelate has always acted a very consistent part, a part suitable to his great character, equal to the example his great patron set him in his zeal for religion, his steady adherence to our constitution both in Church and State, together with all those shining virtues that compose a faithful subject, a great and good man.”

**BISHOP WARBURTON.** Divine Legation of Moses. Dedication to Lord Mansfield, Feb, 2, 1765. Vol. IV. Lond. 1811, p. 2 to p. 6.

“I had lived to see—it is a plain and artless tale I have to tell—I had lived to see what lawgivers have always seemed to dread as the certain prognostic of public ruin, that fatal crisis when religion hath lost its hold on the minds of a people.

\* Bishop Gibson's Codex Juris Eccl. Angl.

“I had observed, almost the rise and origin, but surely very much of the progress, of this evil ; for it was neither so rapid to elude a distinct view, nor yet so slow as to endanger one’s forgetting or not observing the relation which its several parts bore to one another. And to trace the steps of this evil may not be altogether useless to those, whoever they may be, who, as the instruments of Providence, are destined to counterwork its bad effects.

“The most painful circumstance in this relation is (as your Lordship will feel), that the mischief began amongst our friends ; by men who loved their country, but were too eagerly intent on one part only of their object, the security of its civil liberty.

“To trace up this matter to its source, we need go no further back than to the happy accession of that illustrious House to whom we owe all which is in the power of grateful monarchs, at the head of a free people, to bestow ; I mean, the full enjoyment of the common rights of subjects.

“It fortuned that at this time some warm friends of the accession, newly gotten into power, had too hastily perhaps suspected that the Church (or at least that party of churchmen which had usurped the name) was become inauspicious to the sacred æra from whence we were to date the establishment of our civil happiness, and therefore deemed it good policy to lessen the credit of a body of men, who had been long in high reverence with the people, and who had so lately and so scandalously abused their influence in the opprobrious affair of Sacheverell. To this end they invited some learned men who in the preceding reign had served the common cause, to take up the pen once more against these its most pestilent enemies, the Jacobite Clergy. They readily assumed the task, and did it so effectually, that under the professed design of confuting and decrying the usurpations of a Popish hierarchy, they virtually deprived the Church of every power and privilege which, as a simple society, she had a claim to ; and, on the matter, delivered her up gagged and bound, as the rebel-creature of the state. Their success (with the prejudice of power, and, what is still stronger, the power of prejudice, on their side) became yet the easier, as the Tory Clergy, who opposed these Erastian notions, so destructive to the very being of a Church, reasoned and disputed against the innovators on the principles commonly received, but indeed supported on no sounder a bottom than the authority of Papal or (if they like it better) of Puritanical usurpations ; principles, to speak without reserve, ill founded in themselves, and totally inconsistent with the free administration of civil government.

“Is this then, that is, in humbling disaffected churchmen, the friends of liberty and the accession carried their point. But in conducting a

purpose so laudable at any time, and so necessary at that time, they had, as we observe, gone much too far ; for instead of reducing the Church within its native bounds, and thereby preserving it from its two greatest dishonours, the becoming factious, or the being made the tool of faction, which was all that true politics required, and all perhaps that these politicians then thought of ; their instruments, by discrediting every right it had, and even stripping it of some of them, in a little time brought it into general contempt.

“ But this was not the worst. These enemies of obnoxious Churchmen found much assistance in the forward carriage of the enemies of religion itself, who at this time, under pretence of seconding the views of good patriots, and serving the State against the encroachments of Church-power, took all occasions to vent their malice against Revelation itself ; and passion, inflamed by opposition, mixing with politics throughout the course of this affair, these lay-writers were connived at ; and, to mortify rebellious Churchmen still more, even cried up for their free reasonings against religion, just as the Clergy-writers had been for their exploits against Church-government. And one man in particular, the author of a well known book called the Independent Whig, early a favourite, and to the last a pensioner, carried on in the most audacious and insulting manner these two several attacks together : a measure supported perhaps in the execution by its coinciding with some statesmen’s private opinions though the most trite maxims of government might have taught such to separate their private from their public character. However, certain it is that the attack never ceased operating till all these various kinds of free-writing were gotten into the hands of the people.

“ And now the business was done ; and the sober friends of the government were become, before they were aware, the dupes of their own policy. In their endeavours to take off the influence of a Church, or rather of a party of Churchmen, inauspicious to a free state, they had occasioned at least the loosening all the ties which till then religion had on the minds of the populace ; and which till then statesmen had ever thought were the best security the magistrate had for their obedience. For though a rule of right may direct the philosopher to a principle of action, and the point of honour may keep up the thing called manners amongst gentlemen, yet nothing but religion can ever fix a sober standard of behaviour amongst the common people.

“ But those bad effects not immediately appearing, our politicians were so little apprehensive that the matter had already gone too far, that they thought of nothing but how to improve some collateral advantages they had procured by the bargain ; which, amongst other uses, they saw likewise would be sure to keep things in the condition to which they were



reduced. For now, religion having lost its hold on the people, the ministers of religion were of no further consequence to the State; nor were statesmen any longer under the hard necessity of seeking out the most eminent for the honours of their profession; and, without necessity, how few would submit to such a drudgery! for statesmen of a certain pitch are naturally apprehensive of a little sense, and not easily brought, whether from experience or conviction, to form ideas of a great deal of gratitude in those they have to deal with. All went now according to their wishes. They could now employ Church-honours more directly to the use of government, that is, of their own, by conferring them on such subjects as most gratified their taste or humour, or served best to strengthen their connexions with the great. This would of course give the finishing stroke to their system. For, though stripping the Church of all power and authority, and exposing it naked and defenceless to its enemies, had abated men's reverence for it, and the detecting Revelation of imposture, serving only for a State-engine, had destroyed all love for religion, yet they were the intrigues of Church-promotion which would make the people despise the whole ordinance.

“Nor did the hopes of a better generation give much relief to good men's present fears or feelings. The people had been reasoned out of their religion by such logic as it was; and if ever they were to be brought back to a sober sense of their condition, it was evident that they must be reasoned into it again. Little thought and less learning were sufficient to persuade men of what their vices inclined them to believe; but it must be no common share of both which, in opposition to those vices, shall be able to bring them to themselves.”

**BISHOP MANT.** History of the Church of Ireland, vol. II. p. 537.

“On the death of the Bishop of Durham, his son, the Lord Chancellor Talbot, particularly distinguished Dr. Rundle as his friend, and entertained him on the same terms as his father had done, and endeavoured to promote his advancement by a measure which caused him, as Dr. Johnson observed, to become ‘unfortunately famous.’ For the see of Gloucester having been vacated in December, 1733, he was nominated to it on the Lord Chancellor's solicitation, and publicly announced as the successor, when his preferment was stopped by the interposition of Gibson, Bishop of London. In filling up vacancies in the English episcopate at that time, Bishop Gibson's influence was most powerful; and he refused to sanction the appointment of Dr. Rundle, against whom he had conceived a strong objection, founded on his former connection with Whiston, notorious for his heterodox opinions, and on some sceptical

sentiments, vaguely imputed to him by a Mr. Venn, as having been uttered in conversation many years before.

“ The editors of Archbishop Secker’s works, Bishop Porteus and Dr. Stinton, speaking of the Archbishop’s early association with Dr. Rundle, describe the latter as ‘ a man of warm fancy and very brilliant conversation, but apt sometimes to be carried by the vivacity of his wit into indiscreet and ludicrous expressions, which created him enemies, and on one occasion produced disagreeable consequences.’ And in a letter to a friend, Dr. Rundle gives the following description of himself :—‘ I am an open, talkative man, and not one of my acquaintances ever suspected my disbelief of the Christian religion from any expression that ever dropped from me in the most unguarded hour of vehemence in dispute. I never omitted one opportunity of defending it in private, when the turn of conversation made it decent, or in public, when the disputes of the age made it necessary. I have spoken charges to the Clergy, or preached on the most solemn occasions, against Collins, Woolston, Tindal, as multitudes will and have testified. But, from a chance conversation, Mr. Venn thinks otherwise . . . . I do not doubt but the Bishop of London thinks me a very bad man, and thinks in opposing me he doth God and the Church good service ; but it is not me, but the phantom represented to him under my name, that he so vehemently opposes. If he knew me possibly I should have the favour of his esteem and recommendation. I only complain that he prefers a tittle-tattle hearsay character from men that have no intimacy with me to the Dean of Christ Church (Dr. Conybeare) whom he loves ; to all my acquaintance, whom he hath examined ; to the Speaker, whom he cannot but esteem ; and the Lord Chancellor, whom every man in England, unless those who are angry on this occasion, loves and esteems, and rejoices in his integrity . . . . If these testimonies on my behalf are insufficient, I am contented to be disregarded, and must submit to an usage that is as unexampled as undeserved.’

“ The consequence, however, of the Bishop of London’s opposition was, that the bishoprick of Gloucester, which had been designed for Dr. Rundle, was given to his friend Dr. Benson, whom the Bishop of London with much difficulty prevailed on to accept that dignity. And the influence of the Lord Chancellor was soon afterwards exerted to procure for Dr. Rundle the lucrative see of Derry.”\*

\* A great deal of interesting information concerning the disposal of higher Church preferment since the Reformation will be found in the following volumes of the *British Magazine* : vol. XI. p. 139, 255, 381, 506, 625 ; vol. XII. p. 25, 144, 260, 381, 502, 627 ; vol. XIII. p. 30, 139 (see p. 141, “ Goodman of Gloucester effected a remove to the see of Hereford in 1633, and had so far prevailed with some officer of state that his *congé d’élire* was issued out, his election

DR. RICHARD BURN. Ecclesiastical Law. Ed. Phillimore,  
 Lond. 1842, vol. i. p. 204 to p. 205.

"The method and order of confirmation of Bishops will be best understood by a brief account of the several instruments exhibited and applied in the course of it :

"(1) The King's letters patent ; by which the royal assent to the election is signified, and the Archbishop required to proceed to confirmation.

"(2) A citation against opposers ; which (the time of confirmation being first fixed) is published and set up, by order, and in the name of the Archbishop, at the Church where it is to be held ; as well to notify the day of confirmation, as to cite all opposers (if any there be) who will object against the said election, or the person elected, to appear on that day : according to the direction of the ancient canon law."

IDEM, p. 206.

"(8) The second schedule : Before sentence, a second præconization of the opposers (if any be) is made at the fore-door of the Church, and (none appearing) they are declared contumacious, by a second schedule.

"But if any appear, it seemeth that they shall be admitted to make their exceptions in due form of law. To which purpose, a passage in Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 745, is applicable. 'Soon after the recess of the Parliament, Bishop Laud was translated from Bath and Wells to London, and Montague promoted to the see of Chichester. Before he was consecrated, an unexpected rub was thrown in the way. At the confirmation of Bishops there is public notice given, that if any persons can object either against the party elected, or the legality of the election, they are to appear and offer their exceptions at the day prefixed. This intimation being given, one Jones, a bookseller,

passed. But the Archbishop coming opportunely to the knowledge of it, so laboured the business with the King that the Bishop was glad to make his peace not only with the resignation of his election, but with the loss of his bribe." Heylin's Life of Laud, lib. iv.), 391 ; vol. xiv. 269, 387, 629 ; vol. xv. 23, 149, 259, 380, 504, 630 ; vol. xvi. p. 26, 141, 272, 279, Royal Warrant concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, A.D. 1681, 387, 391, 399, concerning the case of Dr. Parker of Oxford, 509, 617, 619, on Queen Mary's Religious Care in the Disposal of Preferments. (Bishop Burnet's Essay on Queen Mary's Character, 1695), vol. xvii. p. 16, on the Episcopal Commission for appointment to Vacant Sees after Queen Mary's Death. See also *ibid.* p. 269-273.—135, 267 ; vol. xviii. p. 17, 154, 384, 495, 630 ; vol. xix. p. 21, 266 ; vol. xxi. p. 18, 257 ; vol. xxii. p. 18, 256, 496, 499, on Queen Caroline's Religious Care in Disposal of Preferments ; vol. xxiii. 15, 265, 516 ; vol. xxiv. 35 ; vol. xxv. 267, 623.

attended with the mob, appearing at the confirmation, excepted against Montague, as a person unqualified for the episcopal dignity. And to be somewhat particular, he charged him with Popery, Arminianism, and other heterodoxies, for which his books had been censured in the former Parliament. But Dr. Rives, who then officiated for Brent the Vicar-General, disappointed this challenge. For Jones had made some material omissions in the manner, and not offered his objections in form of law. Particularly, the exceptions were neither given in writing, nor signed by an advocate, nor presented by any proctor of the court. Upon the failure of these circumstances, the confirmation went on.' The Parliament, not at first apprised in point of form, were dissatisfied with the conduct of the Vicar-General, and inquired into the behaviour of Dr. Rives on that occasion.—Upon which it hath been observed, that Dr. Rives, a most eminent civilian and canonist, admitted that the opposition was good and valid, had it been legally offered; and that the Parliament of that time proceeded upon the same opinion."



THE  
YOUTH OF INDIA

SPEAKING FOR THEMSELVES.

BEING THE SUBSTANCE OF THE

**Examination Papers**

OF

THE STUDENTS OF THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY'S  
CHRISTIAN INSTITUTION OR COLLEGE IN CALCUTTA.

WITH A FEW INTRODUCTORY REMARKS,

By REV. T. BOAZ,

PASTOR OF UNION CHAPEL, CALCUTTA.

9

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## TO THE FRIENDS OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN THE EAST.

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ESTEEMED FRIENDS,

The accompanying document needs only a few prefatory and explanatory remarks. It will, I am confident, best tell its own tale, and gratify all who feel an interest in the religious welfare of our fellow-subjects in the East.

It is, I doubt not, known to you, that British India, with her one hundred and fifty millions, is open to the efforts of Christian enterprise in every form. Free as the air we breathe, and the message of mercy we would impart, are its teeming millions to Christian benevolence. *It is one of the great facts of the age, that India is open to the gospel, is open to Christ.*

This, to a great extent, is attributable to the labours of Christian Missionaries of all evangelical sections of the church. They have been materially aided in the work by the princely generosity, elevated piety, and lucid examples, of not a few connected with the civil and military services of the East India Company, by the researches and publications of learned orientalists, and by the protection, *without interference*, which the Indian government affords to all religions.

The fears and alarming prognostications of a by-gone age have, by the *results* of Christian efforts, been proved to be without foundation, that they were but the idle dreams of a morbid or interested imagination. The issue of missionary labour



demonstrates, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that we can maintain our rule over our Hindu and Mussulman fellow-subjects in India, while we endeavour to teach them the gospel of Christ. The early opponents of missions prophesied the contrary, the *facts* of mission history have proved that they were wrong, and the friends of truth right; that the gospel is the true conservator of human rights, and the best security of all well-intentioned governments.

Missionaries of all sects have laboured in many ways in different parts of India, and with various success. The Word of God has been translated into most of the oriental languages, and has had a wide and hopeful distribution; *Educational establishments*, conducted on Christian principles, have been raised; a Christian literature has sprung up, and the minds of a most influential class of the rising generation are imbued with a knowledge of our language, science, literature, and religion.

The people of India are in a *transition state*; they are emerging from the superstition of ages, and are eager to acquire new ideas, new feelings, and to entertain and cherish nobler and higher aspirations than were ever dreamt of by their forefathers. Amidst all this change, the sway of Britain over her millions in the East *abides*—nay, not merely abides; it has become more firm, potent, and respected, than ever. It is manifest to, and must be acknowledged by, the most casual observer, that the legitimate effects of Christian effort, instead of disturbing the security of our Eastern possessions, have tended, as was anticipated by all right-minded Christian men, to render our rule more humane and just, and to make the people more contented and enterprising, because more observant and intelligent.

India and her people are not what they must, not what they will be. Much remains to be done for her by British mercy and energy, before she will be what she is capable of becoming—

“The first flower of the earth.”

Though she is not what she will be, she is vastly improved, is now improving, and will one day be not the first gem of the sea, but one of the richest in the crown of Britain, and the brightest in the diadem of Christ. India and her people are now like the beautiful, the joyous earth in which we dwell, when lit up by the beams of the sun, in the morning of the year. As he, the source of light and heat, comes forth from his eastern chambers, the mountain-tops catch the tints of his golden rays, and win their way into the deep recesses of every glen and valley. Nature, obedient to his voice, awakes to

beauty, harmony, and joy; streams, rivers, trees, plants, flowers, shrubs, birds, beasts, and the inhabitants of the waters, are all quickened to new energy, enjoyment, and hope. Universal nature shakes herself from the dews and drowsiness of winter. The dream is past, but its impress still rests upon the mind. The mists of the morning mingle with the rays of the orb of day, and create a rich variety of bewildering, but pleasing fantasies. So at least is it to the image, the representative of God, *man*. He stands in the midst of the opening and clustering beauties, delighted, bewildered, and hopeful; delighted with the dissolving views which encircle him, bewildered with the myriad fantasies with which resurrectionised nature invests things near and remote, and hopeful of that future of which the present affords such bright and cheering prospects; nor is he without his anxieties lest that future should be blighted, lest the budding plant should not ripen into the beautiful, the fragrant, the matured flower.

Thus is it now with India and her children, only in relation to higher and nobler things than nature in her richest, her most gorgeous attire, can present to the eye of imagination, judgment, or faith. The Sun of Righteousness has begun to shed his refreshing and vivifying rays upon the people of India. He has cheered those who dwell in her mountain fastnesses, and has cast out his beams to the dense masses that people her valleys and plains—into the dark crevices of Hindoo superstition he has won his way, and on the hard and sterile heart of the Moslem has he cast his softening and fructifying beams.

The mind of India has been invoked to listen to the still small voice of truth; she is listening to that voice and stretching her eyes, that she may look upon, appreciate, and admire, the grace and love with which redemption invests the present, and robes the future.

What strange and bewildering creations must present themselves to the newly-awakened mind of India, as long-cherished errors and prejudices dissolve, and give place to more rational, just, and heavenly views of men and things; the past, present, and future, of God, and all matters by which present enjoyment and future salvation are to be secured. The *past*—how must it be peopled with dreary and startling spectres—the *present*—how full of entrancing delights—and the *future*—how pregnant with anxiety and hope! An exchange of worlds, even to a Christian, however fraught with advantage, cannot be contemplated without tremulous and anxious hope; nor can an exchange of faiths be seriously anticipated, without some misgivings, amidst many and bright hopes.

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Such is now the condition of the children, the people of India, at this crisis in their history. It *is* a crisis in their history.

Much, nay all, depends upon the present conduct of the church of Christ, as to what shall be the character of the coming generations of the masses of India. It may now, under the Divine direction, be moulded into a generous, intelligent, and Christian form; and once so formed, it shall give its impress to the mind of coming ages. Church of the living God! shall those who have been turned from dumb idols to serve the living God, chiefly through Christian agency, shall they become the prey of scepticism, infidelity, popery, or other form of religious error, which may be ready to accomplish that for a bad cause, which the church of Christ is either not prepared or unwilling to accomplish for the cause of Christ? I hope better things of the church; not a sect or sects, but of the whole church. I have brighter hopes for India, that she will speedily be brought clothed, and in her right mind, to sit at the Saviour's feet, resting alone for salvation on his complete atonement, and perfect righteousness. That this day *will* come, I am sure; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it; the earth shall be full of his glory, as the waters cover the sea.

The improved state of things in India to which I have referred, has been mainly effected through the efforts of Christian labourers; and if that still more delightful era to which prophecy points, and on which the hope of the church is suspended, is to be realized, the work must be sustained and extended by the same instrumentalities, only in a vastly increased degree, which, by the blessing of the Head of the church, first produced the impression—nor shall they fail. They shall all, translations, preaching, teaching, Christian writings, and other labours, accompanied by the Divine Spirit, be full of life and salvation; for because, says the risen Lord, "because I, the Head, live, ye the members shall live also, and ye shall diffuse that life which ye possess from me to all." Continue, increase, and strengthen, efficient agencies in the East, and soon shall the people, yea, all the people, bless and adore the Lord.

Amongst the many means which have been employed, and on which the Divine approbation has rested, is *Christian Education*. This holds no mean place in the efforts of the church to subdue the nations of the East to Christ. *The people are eager to learn*. They have tasted of the streams of better and more correct knowledge; and are anxious to drink more copiously, and at the fountain-head. India has acquired a new impulse. This impulse, this eagerness to acquire

knowledge, *is one of the signs of the times*; it indicates the approach of a great moral, religious change.

It is, or ought to be, the privilege and duty of the church of Christ to provide ample means for directing the mind of the youth of India, through the means of education, into a sound, influential, Christian channel; and were the means for supplying a religious education at all commensurate with the demand, the time would not be far distant when, the Spirit of God co-operating, we should see a nation born in a day.

Something, nay much, has been done to meet this growing demand for instruction. A portion of the funds and energies of the various bodies of missionaries in India has been devoted to this purpose, and the results have shewn the wisdom as well as propriety of such appropriation. Our labours in this department have not been in vain. The number of intelligent and hopeful converts which have been added to the church through this agency would be an ample recompence did they stand alone, but they do not. The general influence of Christian education on the rising race who shall be able to trace or calculate? Who shall be able to trace it in all its various influences? In the lives and conduct of thousands of educated youth who have diffused the knowledge of correct science and Christian truth into the domestic circle, and into villages and districts where the foot of the missionary could never have trod or his voice been heard—who shall be able to calculate the amount of good effected in the removal of prejudice, the sapping of error, the infusion of new and truthful ideas, and the permeation of all classes of society with the theory and doctrines of the gospel? Who shall be able to trace or who calculate the good that has been and is now being effected by the educated youth of India? For this we must wait for the revelations of the last day, when that which has been done in the corner, secretly and almost unintentionally, shall be proclaimed on the house-top, openly, before all men. Then, we doubt not, it will be discovered that many who are now the Lord's hidden ones, were brought to their Father's house by the nameless, noiseless missionary, the Christianly educated youth of India.

Thousands of youth are ready and anxious to receive the message of salvation at our hands, through the means of that auxiliary to preaching, the Christian school.

"Shall we whose souls are lighted with wisdom from on high,  
Shall we to souls benighted this lamp of life deny?"

I must not, however, wander farther into this wide and tempting field, but proceed to narrate the history of this pamphlet and the more immediate object of its publication.

It is published as a specimen of the educated mind of India ; of the kind and degree of information given in our missionary seminaries, and of the proficiency to which our pupils attain under missionary guidance. It is hoped, moreover, that its perusal may serve to interest a larger body of people in the absorbing and important subject of Christian education in the East.

The more especial object of the publication is, however, to aid in *the establishment of a Christian Institute or College in Calcutta in connection with the London Missionary Society.*

This object has now been before the Christian public for some time, and with the design many may be familiar. For the better information of those interested in the object, and for the instruction of others not yet acquainted with it, I may state, that the pamphlet consists of the Examination Papers of the Students of the College. The replies and essays were handed in by the pupils at a public examination, in the English language, with which they had only been familiar between five and six years. The replies and essays are, *bonâ fide*, the productions of the students, and appear almost *verbatim* as they were handed in to the Tutors.

I feel, I confess, an honest pride in the talents and proficiency of the Hindu youth for whom I plead, and they are only specimens of a large class. I scarcely think that our British youth, taken promiscuously from the streets and sent to a Bengali school, would express themselves in that language in six years with more propriety or accuracy on such subjects as those embraced in the pamphlet, than have our native youth, in the English tongue and on subjects of such deep and commanding interest as those which formed the substance of their studies. The intellect of India is not limited, nor is it unteachable ; it is capacious, docile, and retentive, and needs only Christian direction to guide it into a channel which shall render it a blessing to itself and to all around.

Give to the conversion of India a right direction, and we shall have an agency ample for the ingathering of the millions of the East to the fold of hope. Light will once more arise from the East, and shed its genial influence on the surrounding nations, until kings should hail its brightness, and the people who sit in darkness rejoice in its rays.

The institution, or college, the interests of which it is hoped this publication may subserve, is not a *mere scheme or untried experiment* : it has been tried, and up to the present time has been successful. Past success we make the ground of future hope. It was commenced in the year 1836, with only *six* or

*seven scholars.* After considerable toil had been bestowed upon it, it numbered not more than sixty or seventy pupils.

Its history, like that of other similar institutions which have been the offspring of providence, has been full of vicissitudes; it has had to contend with not a little prejudice and opposition; but like everything which is of God, it has, up to the present time, as far as numbers are concerned, been more prosperous than we could have reasonably hoped. The little one has not become a thousand, but between *seven and eight hundred*. In the year 1836, it began with six or seven, and advanced to between sixty and seventy; in 1847 it has 780 pupils. Well may we say, What hath God wrought! We will thank him for the past, and hope in him for the future.

The *studies* of the pupils range over all branches of learning, from the merest elements of knowledge, to the most complete forms of information. To what extent the studies are carried, and to what proficiency the students attain, the pamphlet will best bear witness, and I leave it in this respect to speak for itself. I do not think it would be discreditable to the students of some of our theological and literary seats of learning. The short critique on *Milton*, and the digest of *Whately*, will, I think, bear me out in this remark.

These interesting young men have been taught up to the present time in a building little better than an *English barn*, a frail, but ultimately expensive erection, with but little apparatus and a limited library.

These great disadvantages have long been felt by the missionaries and their friends in India, and at length it has been resolved to place the institution *upon a more permanent and useful basis*. To accomplish all the objects contemplated will require upwards of £5,000. Towards the £5,000, Five hundred pounds have been raised by the friends of education in India. Those interested in the subject in Britain have up to the present time subscribed about £1,500. The London Missionary Society has promised £1,000, making a total, with books, apparatus, &c., of upwards of £3,000. With the London Society's donation £2,000, without it about £3,000, will be needed to complete the required sum of £5,000; and I could wish in the present depressed state of that Society's finances, the whole sum, £5,000, could be raised independently of the promised gift of the Directors. It would be equivalent to a noble donation to its exhausted treasury.

Gifts of apparatus, models, maps, curiosities, books, specimens of arts, manufactures, and natural productions for the college and museum, would be of essential service.

The establishment of *scholarships*, which may be compassed for £16 or £20 per annum, would be a source of increased influence. They would enable the tutors to retain young men of promise under their influence until maturer life.

It may, perhaps, be well to explain the different branches into which the college has been, is now, and will, in its more perfect form, be distributed.

There is, *First, a Central Institution*, with its affiliated schools. In this department, the natives, Hindu and Mohammedan, are taught all secular knowledge, and the truths of the Christian faith.

Secondly, *an Orphanage*, for male and female orphans. There are at present about thirty children, the offspring of Hindus, Mohammedans, and Christians, in the institution. Ten pounds per annum will support one orphan. Annual gifts for the support of these destitute ones will bring down on the donors the blessings of the orphan's heart and the orphan's God.

*Thirdly, a department for the education of the children of native Christians.* This is an important branch of labour, and one which is immediately identified with the welfare of the native church in India. They are taken from heathen circles and influence, educated in the midst of Christian habits and example, and then sent back to their relatives to be, we hope, useful members of society.

Fourthly, *a department for the education of those who, converted, are called to be missionaries and ministers to their own people.* This, though last, is not least in importance. Without an efficient native ministry, the knowledge of the gospel will never be effectively propagated in the East.

To these may be added the interesting fact, that this and all similar institutions will be *Normal schools*, in which efficient teachers will be raised up and qualified for the important and onerous work of educating the people of India and its adjacent territories.

To enquirers and catechumens the college will afford a temporary and secure asylum.

It is for the erection of a Central Hall, with class rooms, orphans' houses, dwelling places for students and enquirers, and the purchase of apparatus, books, and other necessaries, that the proposed fund is needed.

In treating however briefly on Christian education in the East, it would be ungenerous not to refer to the labours of other churches, some in the pioneer, others in the more mature departments of the work: all deserve praise, for all have been anxious to aid in this great enterprise; while to the missionaries

of the church of Scotland, both of the Established and Free communions, but more especially to the latter, while members of the Established Church, and since their secession, must be rendered high praise for their devoted, persevering, and intelligent labours in the work of Christian education in India. This has been their mission to the East, and they have done it well : other churches have had their missions, and they have pursued them with assiduity and success ; but to the missionaries of the Scottish churches must be conceded a very high place in the more matured efforts to educate the people of India. To emulate these brethren in a right spirit in the higher departments, as we and our Baptist brethren preceded them in the pioneer work of education,—to give stability and hopefulness to our mission, one of the oldest in Calcutta, and to promote, in common with all who love the Saviour, his praise and honour amongst the people, is our alone desire.

I must bring these remarks, which have exceeded my original outline, to a close, and I know not that I can more appropriately do this than by an extract from a letter addressed to me by the pupils of the college, immediately previous to my departure from India for England.

“ SIR,—We cannot describe the sorrow we feel on the occasion of your departure for England, and we feel it our duty to express our deep sense of gratitude for the innumerable advantages we have derived from your connexion with this Institution, whose beneficial influence is widely and sensibly felt in this country ; however, we feel somewhat relieved from understanding that your absence from us will be only for a time.

“ By the Christian liberality of the supporters of our Institution, we are instructed in the science and literature of England, and, above all, are made acquainted with the path that leads to heaven—the richest favour that can be shown to any mortal being. For this we offer our unceasing thanks and praises to them, and praises higher, and thanks more grateful, to the all-merciful God, for having blessed them with such liberal and Christian hearts. As you are going to visit them, we request you will kindly communicate our cordial thanks, and mention to them the inconveniences to which we are at present exposed through the want of a suitable School-house and proper scientific apparatus.

“ Our School-house is a thatched Bungalow, and does not afford us a good shelter against the storms and heavy showers of the rainy season, so frequent in this country. How often are we obliged to move about our classes at the time of rain ! In summer, the danger of our School-room being burnt is so great, on account of the frequent conflagrations in this country, by which hundreds of huts around our school are consumed, that we can ascribe its safety to nothing but the providence of God.

“ The want of instruments is not less felt, and you know, Sir, how difficult it is to understand well the different branches of the Physical Sciences which, from time to time, form the subjects of our study, and how imperfect are we in them in consequence.

“ These, and similar disadvantages, constrain us to ask you to trouble the Christian men of England once more, and request them to add to the innumerable favours they have shown to us, by giving us a proper building and the necessary instruments. We earnestly hope you will—like Rev. W. S. Mackay, who



has lately brought out many useful instruments, to the great benefit of the boys of the 'Free Church of Scotland's Institution'—return, to our great joy, from England, with funds sufficient for the erection of the school, and with the requisite scientific apparatus. Our sincere prayers shall be offered for your good health and prosperity during the time you may be absent from us, and we earnestly hope you will return to us with renewed health, for it will always prove a great blessing to us and to our friends in this country.

"May the kind providence of God bless you in all your efforts to do good unto us and others, land you safe in your native land, prosper your hopes there, and bring you back to our country again.

"We are, your most affectionate

"PUPILS OF THE BHOWANIPORE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTION.

"*Bhowanipore, 2nd Feb., 1847.*"

I hope, however feeble or inefficient my advocacy of this subject may have been, that this appeal of the youth of India on their own behalf will not be in vain.

Intreating an interest in the sympathies and prayers of all who desire the salvation of India,

I am, yours in the bonds of the Gospel,

THOMAS BOAZ,

Pastor of the Union Chapel, Calcutta.

*London, May 19, 1848.*

# CHRISTIAN INSTITUTION, BHOWANIPUR, CALCUTTÁ.

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## SYLLABUS OF STUDIES.

### FIRST CLASS.

1. Scriptures. 2. Evidences of Christianity. 3. Church and General History. 4. Natural Theology, Paley's. 5. Logic, Whately's. 6. Natural Philosophy. 7. Astronomy. 8. Conic Sections and Algebra. 9. Poetry. 10. Composition.

### SECOND CLASS.

1. Scriptures, Gospels. 2. Evidences of Christianity. 3. History of Greece. 4. Poetical Instructor. 5. Elements of Mechanics. 6. Geometry. 7. Geography. 8. Arithmetic. 9. Bengálí Grammar and Translations.

### THIRD CLASS.

1. Scriptures, Gospels. 2. History of Rome. 3. Poetical Instructor. 4. Elements of Mechanics. 5. Geography. 6. Arithmetic. 7. Bengálí Grammar and Translations.

### FOURTH CLASS.

1. Scriptures, Gospels. 2. History of India. 3. No. IV. Instructor. 4. Geography. 5. Elements of Mechanics. 6. Arithmetic. 7. In Bengálí, Manoranjan.

### FIFTH CLASS.

1. Scriptures, Gospels. 2. History of Bengal. 3. No. IV. Instructor. 4. Geography. 5. Arithmetic. 6. In Bengálí, Manoranjan.

## SIXTH CLASS.

1. Scriptures, Gospels, in Bengálí.
2. No. III. Instructor.
3. Grammar.
4. Geography.
5. Arithmetic.

## SEVENTH CLASS.

1. Scriptures, Gospels, in Bengálí.
2. No. III. Instructor.
3. Grammar.
4. Geography.
5. Arithmetic.

## EIGHTH CLASS.

1. Scriptures, Gospels, in Bengálí.
2. No. III. Instructor.
3. Grammar.
4. Arithmetic.

## NINTH CLASS.

1. No. II. Instructor.
2. Bengálí.
3. Arithmetic in Bengálí.

## TENTH CLASS.

1. No. II. Instructor.
2. Arithmetic in Bengálí, Nítí Kathá.

## ELEVENTH CLASS.

1. No. I. Instructor.
2. Barnamálá.
3. Arithmetic in Bengálí, Nítí Kathá.

## TWELFTH CLASS.

- Alphabet in English, and in Bengálí, Barnamálá.

QUESTIONS  
IN  
NATURAL THEOLOGY.

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1. *What is the object of Natural Theology ?*

The object of Natural Theology is to evince the existence and the attributes of a God, from the multifarious evidences of design manifested in the works above and around us—as deduced from the various exquisite mechanism discoverable in them ; from the beautiful arrangement of these with respect one to the other, and from their admirable adaptation for the purpose of producing a common end or purpose.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DE.

2. *State and illustrate the two kinds of argument used to prove the being of a God.*

The two kinds of argument used to prove the being of a God, are what are termed the *a priori* and *a posteriori* argument. The former of these, which was attempted by Dr. Samuel Clarke, consists in an endeavour to prove the existence of God by reasoning on necessary existence, and the incompatibility of this necessary existence with the qualities of matter, independent of any external object or a single proof of design. “The only true idea,” says he, “of a self-existent or necessary existing being is the idea of a being the supposition of whose not existing is an express contradiction. But the material world cannot possibly be such a being, for unless the material world exists necessarily by an absolute necessity of its own, so as that it must be an express contradiction to suppose it not to exist, it cannot be independent and in itself eternal.” The latter, or the *a posteriori* argument, is the argument deduced from the observation of the works of nature, and based upon that constitutional tendency of the mind, which seeks for a contriver wherever it finds contrivance.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DE.

3. *Point out the defects of one kind of argument and the advantages of the other.*

The defects of the first, or of the *a priori* argument, consist, first, in this. That the arguments which have been employed to prove the being of a God from the non-existence of anything in the

universe, by Dr. Samuel Clarke, and by other eminent writers on the subject, are so difficult and metaphysical, that very few persons are capable of comprehending them. They are only suited to the capacities of those who have attained a high degree of perfection in the science of metaphysics, and, consequently, they are quite unsatisfactory to the vast majority of mankind. Secondly, It confounds a logical necessity with a physical necessity.

The advantages of the second, or of the *a posteriori* argument, are the following. The arguments which have been adduced to prove the being of a God from the adaptations and collocations of the parts of animals and vegetables, are satisfactory to every one; both to a philosopher and to a peasant. Because the universe is composed of an infinite number of objects, each of which is beautifully adapted to indicate decisive proofs of design and contrivance. But we are so constituted, that, whenever we see marks of design and contrivance, we are invincibly led to infer the existence of a designing cause; therefore all persons, by the contemplations of the works of nature, can infer the existence of God.

MAHESH MUKURJYA.

4. *Mention some of the physical sciences which have been successfully employed to prove the being of a God.*

Among the principal writers on the subject of Natural Theology, such as Derham, Ray, Paley, and the authors of the Bridgewater Treatises, the physical sciences which have been successfully used to prove the existence of a God are Chemistry, Botany, Anatomy, Geology, Astronomy, Optics, and Mineralogy, or the science of minerals.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DE.

5. *Is the mere existence of material objects sufficient to prove the being of a God?*

No; for if the world had been without any of its present form, adaptation of parts to parts, to produce certain ends, and only a mass of matter irregular in form without order, then, as having nothing indicative of a design, we could never infer the existence of a God. Suppose, for instance, I were to see a piece of silver lying on the ground irregular in its shape, without bearing the marks of contrivance and design, all that I can say about it is, that it was there for ever; but again, if I see that piece of silver in the form of a watch, in which certain contrivance is employed to produce certain ends, I must, by the very constitution of our nature, be led to believe that it was made by a designer.

GOPÁL BĀNURJYA.

6. *Show that the evidences of design prove the existence of a designer.*

It is an instinctive and intuitive principle in our nature, to infer the existence of an antecedent whenever we see a consequent. This principle of our nature can neither be strengthened by demonstra-

tion, nor weakened by metaphysical fallacy. When in our examination of any piece of mechanism, we perceive combinations and relations of parts which indicate design, we are most irresistibly led to infer the existence of a designing cause. Suppose, for instance, I found a watch, which I had never seen in my life, then after examining it, I saw that it consists of several parts, such as the spring, the balance, the fusee, the wheels of different sizes, &c., all of which are so disposed as to produce motion, and that motion is so regulated as to point out the hour of the day. We find first a chain communicating the action of the spring from the box to the fusee. We next observe a series of wheels furnished with teeth, which catch in and apply to each other, communicating from the fusee to the pointer; and at the same time by the size and shape of these wheels, the motion is so regulated as to pass over equal space in equal times. Now, after a careful examination, when we have discovered such combination and adaptation of parts, for the purpose of indicating time, we cannot but infer that the watch must have had a maker, that there must have existed at some time or other, an artist who formed it for the purpose which it answers. So in our examination of the works of nature, when we see in them evidences of contrivance and design, we are led by the very constitution of our nature to infer the existence of a designing cause.

JAYGOPÁL DĒ.

*7. Show some of the evidences of design in the mechanism of animal bodies.*

The eyes of animals furnish us with a remarkable example of the evidences of design. First, the eye is composed of a number of transparent lenses different from the opaque materials of which the rest of the body is composed. Secondly, a black canvas spread out behind these lenses so as to receive the image formed by rays of light coming through them, and placed at the concourse of the refracted rays, at which place only a distinct image could be formed. Thirdly, a large nerve communicating between this membrane and the brain, without which the action of light upon the membrane would be lost to the purposes of sensation. Now in these respects the mechanism of the eye shows design.

MAHESH.

*8. Refute the objections against the power and wisdom of God, arising from the alleged imperfections of the works of nature.*

The objections against the wisdom and power of God arising from the alleged imperfection of his works may be thus refuted: the instances in which God has displayed his consummate skill, power, and wisdom are so numerous, that when the few alleged imperfections are viewed in conjunction with them, the former so much overpower the latter, as to induce us to believe, that these are referrible to our ignorance, rather than any defect of knowledge in the Author: thus, for instance, it is true that the appearance of venomous animals, and animals preying upon each other, seems to

us an apparent exception of the general appearance of wisdom. But from the vast plurality of instances in which the unexceptionable evidences of power, skill, and benevolence are displayed, we presume to say that these apparent imperfections (as the atheists call them) are for some beneficial end, though we may be ignorant of it.

JAYGOPÁL DĒ.

9. *What are the indications of design in the adaptation of the parts of animals to their functions?*

Amongst various examples that are discoverable in the animal frame of design, let us take one, in order to show the indications of design in the parts of animals to their peculiar functions. As the leg, for instance, requires a constant backward and forward motion, and without which we could not walk a step, so it is provided with a hinge-joint, by which it plays freely backward and forward, and the necessity of circular motion in the hip is provided for by a ball and socket: the former enters into the latter, and thus the free motion in all directions is produced. Now these adaptations are exactly placed where they ought to be placed. Suppose again, if the ball and socket had been placed at the knee, and hinge-joint at the hip, fatal then would have been the consequence. The thighs would have been kept together, and legs have been loose and straddling, and then there would have been no use. The adaptation of the hinge-joint and ball and socket therefore is a strong proof of a designer.

GOPÁL.

10. *Show the evidences of design in the adaptations of the various classes of animals to their peculiar circumstances.*

The adaptations of the various classes of animals to their peculiar circumstances, furnish us with remarkable instances of the indications of design. Fishes, in general, appear to be admirably adapted to the circumstances in which they are placed. Their centre of gravity lies near the back, therefore they require some kind of fins to enable them to float with their backs upwards. Accordingly, they are furnished with fins which are only fitted for living in water. The air bladder which lies in the abdomen enables them to increase or diminish their specific gravity, and thus sink and rise in water. Now if these aquatic animals were transferred to land, then the transition from one density to another, would destroy the life of the animal, which evidently shows to us that they are only suited to the element in which they are placed.

Among the different circumstances in which animals are placed, the formations of the mouths of different animals exhibit a greater variety than the structure of any other parts; a variety tending to their respective conveniency and preservation. In the human species, the mouth is generally flat: the reason of this is very evident. In the human species there are hands to carry food into the mouth, and therefore flatness is only suited for reception. Whereas in dogs, the projected jaws and pointed teeth enable

them to apply their mouths to snatch and seize the objects of their pursuit. Or sheep, deer, horses which browse upon their pasture, are furnished with full lips and the rough tongue, to enable them for browsing upon their pasture. These different adaptations to the circumstances of the animals in which they are placed are the strongest proofs of the indications of design.

MAHESHCHANDRA MUKURJYA.

11. *Refute the assertion that the use of the parts of animals arose from a knowledge of their fitness, and that the parts were not intended for their use.*

This assertion may be refuted in two ways: first, by applying it to those parts of the animal frame, the action of which does not depend upon the will of the animal; and secondly, by applying it to those actions which depend upon the will of the animal. With regard to the first, it is fraught with glaring absurdities. For instance, can it be rationally believed that the senses of the animals were formed without any regard to their peculiar functions, such as the eye for vision, the ear for hearing, the hand for feeling, the nose for smelling, &c.; that it was the animal itself which found that, though formed with no such intention, they would answer these respective functions, and that their use resulted from this discovery? None of them are really dependent upon his election, and consequently neither upon his sagacity nor his experience. It is the impression which objects make upon them that constitutes their use. Under this impression he is passive. He may bring objects to the senses or within their reach; he may select objects, but over the impression he has no power. With regard to the second, it is equally unsatisfactory. If we apply it, for instance, to the human body, it forms itself into questions to which no reasonable mind can doubt—such as whether the teeth were made for the purpose of mastication, the hands for holding, the feet for walking, and so forth; or whether, they being in the animal's possession, his ingenuity taught him that they would answer these purposes, though the purposes were not intended in their formation.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DE.

12. *What are the indications of design in the vessels of animals?*

The vessels of animal bodies afford us many obvious and satisfactory indications of design. To prove this, let us take only one set of vessels. Let us take, for instance, blood-vessels, and see how they indicate design. In this set of vessels design is beautifully and strikingly manifested in two things; first, the disposition of the vessels, that is, the laying of the pipes; and secondly, the construction of the engine at the centre, viz., the heart for driving the blood through them.

*First.* There are in the animal body two sets of blood-vessels, called the arteries and veins. The office of the former is to carry out the blood and distribute it in every part of the body, where it is



wanted. The office of the latter is to bring back the superfluous blood to its source again. In conformity with these two offices, each of them is mechanically disposed. The arteries (forasmuch as they have to carry out the blood and distribute it to every part, every extremity, every nook and corner of the body,) first issue from the heart in the form of a large trunk, then branch off by small pipes, and these again by still narrower ramifications, so on just like the waterpipes in a city. The veins which are to carry back the blood to the heart, first unite at their extremities with the extremities of the first system by minute ramifications, and these gradually forming and coalescing into larger and larger branches, at last terminate in two large veins, by which the whole current of the venous blood is brought back in a direction contrary to that of the blood in the arteries, and poured into the right side of the heart. Now can any one doubt design in the disposition of these systems? Can the operations of blind chance produce all this? We might suppose that the arterial system with all its trunks and branches and small twigs, to grow from the heart. But can the venal, which continually unites the divided and subdivided streams of the first system, be referred to the same process?

*Secondly.* The next thing which shows the hand of a designer to be employed in the construction of the blood-vessels, is the engine which works this machinery, viz., the heart. The power by which the heart acts is wholly hidden from our view. But that is a circumstance which brings no uncertainty into our argument. We know that there is a power, and our inquiry should be, how is this power applied to the case before us? There is produced in the central part of the body a hollow muscle invested with spiral fibres, running in both directions, and the larger intersecting one another. By the contraction of these fibres, the sides of the muscular cavities are squeezed together, and consequently prepared to force out any fluid which they may at the time contain; by the relaxation of the same fibres, the cavities in their turn dilate and are of course prepared to admit every fluid which may be poured into them. Into these cavities, are inserted the great trunks both of the arteries and of the veins; consequently, by each contraction of the cavities, a portion of blood is forced into the arteries, and at each dilation an equal portion is received from the veins. But this is not all that is necessary. From the account which has been given of the mechanism of the heart, it is evident that it requires the interposition of valves, because when any of its cavities contracts, the necessary tendency of the force will be to drive the blood not only to the arteries where it ought to go, but also back to the veins. In like manner, when, by the relaxation of the fibres, the same cavity is dilated, the blood would not run into it from the veins only, but from the arteries also. The only method, therefore, of preventing the reflux, in both these cases, is to fix valves, and valves are accordingly disposed. Now the great

question which arises here is, How is it that we find exactly that thing in the apparatus which is absolutely requisite? can it be all without contrivance?

RUPNÁRÁYAN DE.

13. *What are the indications of design in the nature and structure of insects?*

Amongst many insects, the beetle tribe presents to us a beautiful example of wisdom and design. The true wing of most of the beetle species, which live in the holes in the earth, is a light transparent membrane, and is just in proportion to the size of the animal. To protect this fine delicate structure from injury, to which it is always subject, and to make its way through little holes, a strong hard case is provided for it. When the insect is at rest, this delicate membrane lies folded under this impenetrable shell, and when the beetle prepares for flight, it raises this hard case and spreads the thin membrane to the air. Now this is one of the most striking examples of design, for without such a hard case the animal would cease to exist. Leaving many other examples of design, let us take one in the gossamer spider. This animal, which has no wings to catch its prey, nor strong muscles to spring from one place to another, is provided by its Creator with a kind of substance by which it can make a kind of thin thread, which is much lighter than the air, and it can sail from one place to another in search of its prey, riding upon its balloon.

GOPÁL.

14. *In the structure and properties of vegetables?*

The examination of the structure and properties of vegetables, cannot fail to prove the existence of a great designing cause. We know that the ascent of sap is indispensably necessary for the nourishment and preservation of plants; accordingly, we find that these fluids being absorbed in the root where they are converted into sap, are carried up into the leaves by common vessels. A particular set of these are appropriated to each leaf, branching off from the main channels. A portion of the sap is conveyed into the flowers and fruit, and a portion of it is carried into the leaves. In these organs the sap is exposed to the action of light, air, and moisture, by which it is enabled to form various secretions. These secretions are returned by another set of vessels into the new layer of bark, which they nourish and bring to perfection.

Another striking proof of admirable contrivance in the vegetable economy, is the production and protection of the seed. Sometimes the seed is packed up in a capsule, a vessel composed of tough and strong coats; sometimes, as in the stone-fruit, and nuts, it is inclosed in a strong shell; at other times, as in apples and pears, it is imbedded in the heart of a firm fleshy substance. These and many other varieties exist; in fruits we have the seeds, as in the pea tribe, irregularly disposed in parchment pods, which entirely exclude wet. We have the seed enveloped in wool, as

in the cotton plant. One thing we find in them, that they are all disposed in such a manner, as conduces for their nourishment and protection. The plants of different countries have separate and peculiar characters, according to the nature of the soil in which they grow, and to the degree of solar heat to which they are exposed. Plants of polar regions are generally low with small close-set vessels, and flowers proportionally longer. Asiatic countries are particularly rich in splendid flowers. The extraordinary manner by which they are nourished, protected, and adapted to their peculiar circumstances, can arise from no other cause but from a designing mind.

MAHESHCHANDRA MUKURJYA.

15. *In natural philosophy ?*

In natural philosophy, there are abundant proofs of design, which, when attentively examined, will undoubtedly prove the existence of God. When we examine the celestial bodies we find there are innumerable proofs of perpetual motion, which conduces to the harmony and regularity of the system of the universe. But the prevalence of such a motion on the earth's surface would destroy the order, regularity, and repose which are indispensably necessary for the preservation of the various beings of which the world is composed; accordingly, we find there are innumerable obstacles to perpetual motion on the earth's surface, such as gravitation, resistance of the medium through which bodies pass, and friction of the ground, which, continually acting upon the moving bodies, prevent them of having perpetual motion.

MAHESHCHANDRA MUKURJYA.

16. *In astronomy ?*

In no science, are the design and wisdom of God displayed in a manner so sublime and wonderful as in astronomy. Amongst many, one example is, the placing of the sun in the centre of the planetary system. The sun is ignited and luminous, while the planets are opaque and dark bodies—then in fixing the sun in the centre, light and heat are equally distributed. Suppose, if one of the planets be ignited, and the sun were opaque, then the ignited planet would not be sufficient to illuminate and warm the rest of the system; its light and heat would be much more irregularly distributed to the other planets, than the light and heat now received by all from the sun. Secondly, all the planets are placed at proper distances from each other, otherwise they would have attracted each other, and have formed one lump of matter, one planet would have drawn another from its orbit, and these two would have fallen upon a third, and in this manner the whole system would have been destroyed. Lastly, the wisdom of God is displayed in giving a certain number of satellites to certain planets which stand in their need, such as Jupiter, Saturn, and Herschel, being far from the source of light, are provided with moons to give light in addition to the light

of the sun : Mercury living nearer to the sun than any other planet, is destitute of any moon.

GOPÁL.

17. *State and refute the doctrine of appetency.*

The doctrine of appetency, which has been maintained by some atheistical philosophers to account for the present order of things, is, that pieces of soft and ductile matter would, by constant endeavours carried on in a series of generations, work themselves into suitable forms, and at length acquire, by continual improvements, an organisation fitted to the action which their respective propensities lead them to exert. This theory may be refuted by saying, that first it is, like all other atheistical speculations, defective in evidence; it is a mere assertion without proof. If the theory were true, then why do not appetencies push into existence new beings which we can conceive to exist? the world is existing for many thousand years, yet no example is afforded of such a change taking place. We know that the perennial mountain stream operates insensibly, and in the course of ages hollows out a channel in the rock, but we know of no such operation producing either an animal or a plant. Secondly, we find no such tendency in the parts of animal bodies to produce others: valves, for instance, could not be produced by the action of the blood, the blood has no tendency to produce such things, but, on the contrary, it has a tendency to prevent their production by its constant action and pressure. Thus the theory falls to the ground.

JAYGOPÁL.

18. *State and refute the doctrine of an infinite series of each class of objects.*

The doctrine of an infinite series of each class of objects, which some atheistical philosophers produce as an objection against the existence of a God, is that each class of objects, which we now discover in the world, has been produced by another class which went before it, that from a former one, and so on indefinitely. Thus the present generation of animals, it asserts, has proceeded from the generation which immediately preceded it, that from a former generation, and so on indefinitely. This atheistical objection may be thus refuted. When we come to inspect the works of nature, we find, in the various adaptations and collocation of their parts, a general design to be prevalent in them. Now, by the constitution of our nature, we are led to infer that this design must have a designer, but this designer is not supplied by carrying the chain infinitely backward, or supposing that this order of things must have been produced by another which preceded it, that from a former one, and so on indefinitely. Our going back ever so far, brings us no nearer to the least degree of diminution of this necessity. Contrivance is still unaccounted for, we still want a contriver: where there is a tendency, as we go back, of a continual approach toward a limit, then by increasing to infinity we may conceive the limit to

be allowed. But we find no such tendency in the case before us. Whether we confine ourselves to the present order of things, or carry it back to infinity, we are in the same difficulty of accounting for a designer. We do not find any difference here between one series and another, between one which is finite and one which is infinite. A chain composed of an infinite number of links can no more support itself than a chain composed of a finite number of links. And this is true, that by increasing the number of links from ten to a hundred, from a hundred to a thousand, we do not make the smallest approach towards self-support; so is the case here, design is observable in the present order of things. Design must have a designer; whether this order of things proceeded from another order or not, that does not alter the case. This order of things may have proceeded from a former one, nor does that alter the case; that former one from one preceding it, no alteration still. It is the same with any succession of the order of things, a succession of ten, of a hundred, of a thousand, &c. But in all contrivance it is unaccounted for.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DK.

19. *Show that the present order of things cannot be accounted for by what the philosophers call a principle of order.*

It is the pride and cunningness of men that have led them to resolve everything to a principle of order; but what do they mean by such a principle, as different from an intelligent creature?—a principle of order is a word that has no import while it remains undefined or unexplained; but without such explanation, it would be to substitute words for reasons, names for causes. Order itself implies an adaptation of means for accomplishing an end, or purpose, and therefore indicates mind and intention which so adapt them. *Secondly*, we do not find any analogy, any experience whatever to sustain this principle. We find no such thing, as that a watch was ever produced from this principle, or a telescope; or if this principle were concerned in the formation of the world, why is it not universal, why do we not find order where it is wanted, and not find where it is not wanted? In the human eye, for instance, exact order is maintained, and no order whatever is perceived in the forms of rocks and mountains, in the line that bounds the coasts of continents and islands.

MAHENDRA MUKURJYA.

20. *Refute the assertion that the order of things does not prove a designer, but is only a motive to induce us to believe in the existence of one.*

The assertion that the present order of things does not prove the existence of a designer, but is only a motive to think so, may be thus refuted. A motive is that which influences us to do a thing. Now suppose that the present order of things does not prove the existence of a designer, but produces only a motive to think so, yet how is it that it produces that motive in our minds? How is it

that our minds are so peculiarly adapted to this order of things that the observation of the latter produces a general motive in the former? There must have been some one that so adapted the one to the other.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DE.

21. *Refute the doctrine of the eternity of the world.*

Infidels have tried to deny the existence of God, by saying that the world exists from eternity, that it had no beginning. Something (as it must be) exists from eternity, either mental or material, but the material world cannot possibly be that, for it is an universal maxim established by our experience, that that which bears marks of design and contrivance (whatever it be in its constitution) leads us to believe something beyond itself, to some other being prior to and out of itself. The same marks of design we do discover in the works of nature; to whatever side we turn our eyes, we behold it testify most of contrivance, and therefore the works of nature presupposes an agent, which must have existed before the world, for nothing can be eternal which is regulated by wisdom. Nothing contrived, says Paley, can in a strict sense be eternal, the contriver must have existed before the contrivance. Nor is there anything more absurd than to suppose that a thing is created by itself, for anything which did not exist can create nothing, as well said by Young—

“Had there e'er been naught, naught still had been.”

Again, a man, a tree, a bird, cannot be said to have existed from eternity, for, some years ago, they did not exist, and some years to come they will cease to exist. Now if one part of the world is not eternal or produced by itself, we have no right to suppose or to say that the other part is eternal or produced by itself.

GORÁL.

22. *State and refute the doctrine of chance.*

It is one of the groundless arguments of atheists, that the world, with all her magnificence and grandeur, and with all that is in her, was at once produced by chance. Now, if by chance the world is produced, then why not by the same chance another world is produced, or anything like it? why does not bare chance operate still? Why do not men now, and huts, and vegetables, suddenly start up from nothing, if by chance man, with his reason, hands, feet, eyes, ears, and everything for the preservation of his life, come at once from nothing? Then why does not, by the same chance, a house start up from the earth? Is it at all reasonable to suppose that a house can be formed by chance, that its materials, such as bricks, mortar, timber, iron, lead, and glass should fortunately come together, and form themselves into a beautiful palace? or who would believe that by a certain number of characters thrown together by chance, the *Iliad* of Homer was composed? All this supposition is too absurd and irrational even to the atheists.

In the same manner, when we observe the marks of nature, all manifestly related to each other, and producing a result, we cannot retire from observation of a designer.

GOPÁL.

23. *State and refute the objection of Hume to the a posteriori argument.*

The objection of Mr. Hume against the *a posteriori* argument, may be thus stated: After having once observed the conjunction between any two terms of an invariable sequence, it is granted that from the observed existence of either of the terms, we can conclude, without observation, the existence of the other, that from a perceived antecedent we can foretel its consequent, although we should never see it, or, on the other hand, from a perceived consequent we can infer the antecedent, although it should not have been seen by us. Thus, if we have but once observed a watch made and coming forth out of the hands of a watchmaker, we in all time coming can, on seeing the watch, only infer the watchmaker. But the world is a singular effect only; we have never seen a world made, or a God employed in making one. In refutation to this objection, we concede to Mr. Hume that, before we can infer an antecedent from a consequent or a consequent from an antecedent, we must see them, once at least, in conjunction. But in an invariable sequence it may so happen, that there be many accessory circumstances associated, both about the prior and posterior term; and, on account of the disparity between these circumstances, we ought not, from the observed existence of either of the terms, to look for a quite different result. Thus, *e.g.* between a watch and watchmaker the true antecedent is the designing mind, and the true consequent is the adaptation of means for the purpose of measuring time. But about these there are many incidental circumstances; thus, *e.g.* about the watchmaker, there is the colour of his hair, the quality of his clothes, the height of his stature, the features of his countenance, &c., and about the watch, there is the weight and magnitude of the materials, the species of metal, the colour of the materials, &c. Now, on account of the disparity between these accessory things, we ought to look for a different result: if we have once seen it made, we can in all future time infer the watchmaker from the watch, and the watch from the watchmaker. The next watch, or a watchmaker, may differ widely about the accessory circumstances we have specified. Yet from that are we entitled to look for a different result? In either case, the true antecedent is the designing mind, and the consequent is the adaptation of means for the purpose of measuring time; when we have found either of these, we can infer the other. Thus, then, if we can infer the agency of design in a watch made, can we not, on the same ground, infer the agency of design on the side of a world?

RUPNÁRÁYAN.

24. *State and refute the objection to the power of God arising from the existence of evil, and mention some of the speculations of the philosophers on this subject.*

The objection against the wisdom and power of God arising from the existence of evil is this. Some philosophers argued against the existence of the Deity, because they held that the existence of evil either proved him to be limited in power, or of a malignant nature. Some ancient philosophers, although maintaining the power of a Divine ruler, yet have accounted for the fact, by the doctrine of a double principle, or of two divine beings of opposite natures, one beneficent, the other mischievous. Others, unable to deny the existence of things which men denominate evil, both physical and moral, explained them in a different way. They maintained that physical evil only obtains the name from our own imperfect and feeble or vicious dispositions, and to a wise man there is no such thing. Whatever may be the metaphysical speculations of philosophers on this subject, it is impossible for the human faculties, in the present state, to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion concerning the origin of evil. Therefore we must come to Revelation in order to illuminate our path in inquiring into the origin of evil. Man, we learn from the Revelation of God, was at first created perfect, a holy and righteous being, but, owing to his disobedience to the commandments of God, he fell from that perfect and happy state in which he was created. Thus sin entered into the world, the immediate consequence of which was death, and this is the origin of moral evil. From this physical evil proceeded. Thus pestilence and wars, to which we are always subject, are the results of moral evil. All that we know on this subject beyond this is, that the all-wise and powerful Being has allowed these evils on the earth's surface, for the good of his rational creatures.

MAHESHCANDRA MUKURJYA.

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## QUESTIONS

ON

## THE EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY.

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### 1. *What is a Revelation?*

A Revelation is that which contains the development of the high will of God, and explains how God is to be served, and how we are to act towards our fellow-creatures.

MAHESH MUKURJYA.



*2. Show that a Revelation of God's will is necessary.*

That a Revelation of God's will is necessary, is an incontestable truth, for if we seriously attend to the condition of men, the corruption of their nature, the influence of their passions over the dictates of their understanding, and the evils and temptations with which we are surrounded, we can at once be convinced of the insufficiency of the light of our grovelling understanding, and that of silent nature in guiding us in the path of our duty; moreover, if we consult the history of the ancient world, we discover in it, that most moralists and profound philosophers did fail in conceiving the attributes of God; their opinions concerning God were low, their doctrines were base, and their characters were base. This plainly proves that man stands in need of a Revelation. Again, the universal voice of mankind proves the necessity of a Revelation. No nation is destitute of some Revelation. Lastly, that it is probable that when God created man, he gave him such knowledge as was absolutely necessary for his comfort and preservation.

GOPÁL BANURJYA.

*3. State and illustrate the two great divisions of the Christian evidences.*

The two great divisions of Christian evidence, are the external and internal evidences. The former of these is the historical evidence, in confirmation of the truth of the facts delineated in the Scriptures, and the latter is the evidence arising from the nature of the doctrines and moral precepts of the Bible, in confirmation of the truth of its Divine origin.

JAYGOPÁL DE.

*4. Prove the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament.*

There are two classes of evidences, by which the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament can be proved: first, by historical evidence, that is, by showing from the testimony of other writers that it existed, and was acknowledged in the age to which it refers; and secondly, by internal evidence, or by examining the contents of the book itself, and endeavouring to discover the probability of their being written by persons circumstanced as the authors to whom the book is attributed. For our purpose, one of these will be sufficient. Let us, therefore, begin with the former of these, and endeavour to establish the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament from the testimony of Christian, heretical, and other writers, commencing from the earliest ages of Christianity down to the present time.

The works of Christian writers, during the first ages of Christianity, abound with reference to the gospels and epistles. Some of these that I shall adduce are the following:—

1. Barnabas, the companion of St. Paul, wrote an epistle, which refers to the writings of the apostles, which is still extant.
2. Clement, the Bishop of Rome, wrote a long epistle, which contains many quotations from the New Testament, and is still

extant. 3. Hermas, the contemporary of Paul, who is mentioned in his epistle to the Romans, wrote a long book called the Shepherd of Hermas, which still remains, and shows that he was familiar with the Scriptures. 4. Ignatius, the Bishop of Antioch, who lived thirty-seven years after Christ's ascension, wrote several epistles, in which he quotes the identical words of the gospels. 5. Polycarp, the Bishop of Smyrna, wrote many epistles, one of which still remains, and in this he has no less than forty allusions. 6. To Polycarp succeeded Justin Martyr; he wrote two apologies for the Christians, which still remain, and show that the gospels then existed. 7. After this came Dionysius Hegeppus, Tertullian, and a multitude of other Christian writers, till at last the Council of Nice was called, when Christianity became the established religion of the Roman empire.

Thus we have a long train of the evidences of Christian writers for the genuineness and authenticity of the New Testament. But the historical evidence does not stop at this place. We have also the testimony of the heretics and heathens. We have the testimony of Cerinthus, the Ebionites, the Basilidians, and Valentinians, among the former; and of Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian, among the latter; and these all go to prove that the Bible which we now have was generally known in the beginning of the Christian era, and read even in the days of the apostles.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DE.

5. *Describe the nature of the argument arising from the miracles of Jesus and his Apostles.*

The highest species of argument that can be produced in attestation of the Divine origin of a book, is what arises from miracles. Because miracles are the counteraction of the laws of nature, established by God, therefore none but God has the power to perform miracles, or he to whom He gives that power for some important end. Now, since Jesus and his apostles worked miracles in attestation of the Divine origin of Christianity, they must have had Divine power given to them by God, and hence it follows that the religion, in attestation of which God gave them the power of working miracles, must be of Divine origin.

JAYGOPÁL.

6. *State the criteria of a true miracle.*

The criteria by which we can judge the truth of a miracle are three:—*First*, The miracles should be such that they can be the objects of men's senses, or that they can be seen, handled, and felt. *Secondly*, That they should be performed instantaneously, that they should be permanent in their effects, and independent of secondary causes. *Thirdly*, That they should be performed publicly in the presence of both friends and enemies.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DE.

*7. Show that the miracles of the New Testament can be proved by the above criteria.*

The application of the above criteria to the miracles of the New Testament may be shown in the case of the resurrection of Lazarus from the dead. Lazarus had been in his grave three days, when Jesus came and said, "Lazarus, come forth," and he instantaneously arose out of the sleep of death; that it was independent of secondary causes, is evident, from the very nature of the case; for no secondary cause whatever can restore a dead man to life; it was performed before a large assembly of people, many of whom were the enemies of Christ; they knew that Lazarus had been actually dead, and laid in his grave some days; they afterwards saw him, touched him, and heard him speaking; he lived many years after his resurrection, and conversed and attended to his family affairs like any other man.

JAYGOPÁL DE.

*8. How does the testimony of the first witnesses prove the truth of Christianity?*

The testimony of the first witnesses is as strong a proof of the truth of Christianity, as can possibly be imagined. For most of the Christian fathers did voluntarily undergo dangers, sufferings, persecutions, and even death, solely for the correctness of the accounts which they delivered. Their voluntary sufferings are the strongest proofs of their sincerity, and the truth of the accounts for which they suffered. They did not suffer merely for opinions, or in defence of doctrine which they might have espoused through ignorance, prejudice, or the darkness of their understanding, and which, therefore, may be false. But they suffered in attestation of the accounts in which they could not be deceived. They were the object of their senses—facts which they could see, and feel, and the nature of which is equally comprehensible to a philosopher, as well as to a peasant. If Christianity were false, these persons voluntarily underwent persecutions, distresses, and even death, for the mere purpose of persuading men to believe what they knew to be a falsehood, which is contrary to the first principles of human nature; in fact, that would be a greater miracle than the miracles performed by Jesus himself. For the first principles of human nature impel us to self-preservation; therefore, unless we have powerful motives to give our lives, we take the best way possible to preserve them: consequently, the testimony of the first witnesses directly proves the truth of Christianity.

MAHESHCHANDRA MUKURJYA.

*9. What is the nature of the argument arising from the prophecies of Scripture?*

A prophecy is a description, or representation of something future, beyond the power of human sagacity to calculate or foresee. A prophecy can, therefore, be only made by God, or one whom His Almighty will may please to inspire with that power. When,

therefore, we have a system of religion, supported by prophecies, we have, by the very nature of the fact, a strong proof of its Divine origin. The writings of the sacred Scriptures contain many prophecies as such, that is, which cannot be calculated or foreseen by the power of human sagacity. This, therefore, independent of every other consideration, is sufficient to prove the Divine inspiration of the Scriptures.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DE.

10. *Mention the fulfilment of some of the prophecies of the Old Testament, and how do they prove the Divine origin of the Bible?*

The prophecies which have been fulfilled are many; but let us take some from them. It is written in the Old Testament, "that the Lord shall send a nation against them (Jews) from afar, from the end of the earth, as swift as the eagle flieth, a nation whose tongue they shall not understand." This is one of the predictions, and was afterwards accomplished by the Romans. The Romans were the nation come from afar; the rapidity of their conquest resembled the eagle's flight, and whose tongue was foreign to the Jews. Again, it was prophesied, that there should be such a famine in Jerusalem, that the mother will eat the flesh of the child — so it was also fulfilled. When Titus besieged Jerusalem, we learn from Josephus, that two women, being in want of food, resolved to eat their children, and one of them did eat. It was also prophesied, the Jews shall be despised throughout the world, and a foreign nation should possess their country; so accordingly, we find there is no country where there are no Jews, and their country is in the possession of Turks. Again, it was prophesied, that Christ should suffer pain, reproach, and death; that he would come in the time when there was universal peace; and we accordingly find, that Jesus suffered everything that can be inflicted upon man, and he came when there was no war and battle—the temple of Janus was shut. These all prove the truth of the Divine origin of the Bible, for no man can presage any future events.

GOPÁL BĀNURJYA.

11. *Mention some of the pretended prophecies of the Hindu shástras, and expose their fallacy.*

The Hindu shástras contain many pretended prophecies, which, they assert, were written by persons who were inspired by God. The Rámáyan and Mahábhárat, the two greatest epic poems recorded in the Hindu history, were written by Vyás and Válmiki, which the Hindus believe were sent by God to them only, and as a proof of their Divine origin. They contain many prophecies. The fallaciousness of these pretended prophecies is very easy to be detected. The Rámáyan is supposed to have been written by way of prophecy, about 60,000 years before the birth of the hero of the book, by Válmiki. The Hindus, in order to prove the truth of the actions and exploits connected with the life of Rám, the hero of Rámáyan, instead of showing the fulfilment of these prophecies,

refer to the book which contains them, as a proof of their being fulfilled. The same may be said of the Mahábhárat. Thus they possess books which contain prophecies, but there are no fulfilments.

MAHESH MUKURJYA.

12. *State the argument for the truth of Christianity arising from its peculiar adaptation to the condition of man.*

The adaptation of Christianity, both to the moral and physical condition of man, is another proof of its Divine origin. Mankind, we all confess, are sinners and need salvation. Christianity is exactly adapted to save them; for Christ the Saviour of the world gave his own life for the salvation of men, who was capable of delivering them from sins. He was a holy, just, upright, benevolent, and perfect being. Therefore it is consistent with our reason that he can save us from our sins. *Secondly*, It is a religion adapted to the peculiar circumstances of man in whatever part of the world he is; for it is a religion of the heart: therefore in whatever part of the world he is, he can offer prayers to God.

MAHESH MUKURJYA.

13. *State the argument arising from its beneficial effects on individuals and communities.*

The beneficial effects which Christianity has produced on individuals and communities, furnish a species of evidence which can be best understood of all men. Every one who has but a little knowledge of the history of the world, might, by comparing the moral and religious state of those places where it is known, with those where its benign influence is not felt, at once perceive its inherent power in promoting the welfare of individuals and communities. Wherever Christianity has prevailed, it has abolished all the abominable heathen practices that tend to debase human nature. It has made the people sincere and just, by dispelling from their minds all that darkness which is the inevitable consequence of sin and superstition. It has enlightened the mind of every individual who has listened to its doctrines and precepts. It has meliorated the political state of the government. It has improved the sciences and literature; and, in short, has promoted all that good which tends to exalt human nature, and bring man nearer to the favour of his Maker. And what can be a stronger proof of the Divine origin of a religion than all this?

RUPNÁRÁYAN DR.

14. *Show that mankind are bound to believe and obey the Bible.*

That mankind are bound to believe and obey the Bible, may be shown thus. Mankind are all under the government of a just, wise, upright, and benevolent God. They have transgressed his laws, and have thus brought upon them his eternal wrath. But notwithstanding, he has sent his Divine will, the Bible, to bring them to the path of duty, and said that he who believes in it shall not die, but will have everlasting life. The miracles on which this book is

based, the prophecies by which it is supported, the morality which it contains, and the beneficial effects which it has produced, furnish us with unexceptionable evidences of its Divine inspiration, and if so, then should not every man who has any regard to eternity, believe and obey it? Is not every one who has any regard to the salvation of his soul, bound to believe and obey? Yes. No reasonable man will deny this.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DR.

### I.—ON THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

1. *Where, by whom, and in what language was the epistle to the Romans written?*

The epistle to the Romans was written at Corinth by Tertius under the direction of St. Paul; it was written in the Greek language, abounding with Hebrew idioms.

2. *Into how many parts is it divided, and what do these divisions treat of?*

The epistle is divided into two parts; the first, which comprises the first nine chapters, treats of the doctrines and precepts of the Christian faith; the remainder, of the practical duties incumbent on Christians. The arguments comprised in the first nine chapters are, first, that all the children of men, whether Jew or Gentile, are guilty before God; secondly, that no works of men, whether ceremonial or moral, can justify a man in the sight of God; thirdly, that Jesus Christ is the only Saviour of mankind.

GOPÁL.

3. *What were the characters of which the church at Rome was composed, and how is the wisdom of the apostle's argument manifest in the constitution of the church?*

The church at Rome was composed of pure Jews, proselyte Jews, and Gentiles; the apostle addresses himself to each of these classes, in such a way as to leave all without excuse. The Jews he addresses from the Old Testament, telling them that they will not be saved because of their privileges as Jews, such as circumcision and keeping the oracles of God, for Abraham the father of the Jews was justified before he was circumcised. The heathens and the proselyte Jews he condemns by the works of nature and the law of conscience; in this is the wisdom of the apostle's argument manifested, that while he convinces all of sin, he does so as to leave all without excuse, by addressing them through their own peculiar prejudices.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DR.

4. *What is the theme of the epistle, and in what chapter and verse is it to be found?*

The theme of the epistle is that the Gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth—chapter xvi.

5. *What is the leading doctrine inculcated by the apostle in the epistle?*

The leading doctrine inculcated in the epistle is justification by faith in the righteousness of Christ.

6. *What are the cardinal truths of the Christian faith set forth in the epistle?*

The cardinal truths of the Christian faith set forth in the epistle are the universal depravity of man, the sufficiency of Christ to save, the doctrine of regeneration by the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of grace to strengthen and save, the final perseverance of every one who really believes in Christ, and the immediate connexion between grace, justification, and works.

MANESH.

## II.—ON MILTON'S POETICAL WORKS.

1. *What is the peculiarity of Milton's poetical works?*

The poetical works of Milton are serious and sublime; he is certainly a poet who holds precedence over all others; his subjects are not common, and are full of grandeur and beauty; he is perfect in conceiving the characters of Satan, Adam and Eve in the state of innocence, and of God, and in the description of hell, heaven, and paradise. He has sublimity, beauty, and pathos in the highest degree. Fancy, learning, vividness of description, tenderness and closeness of thought, breathe in every part of his poem; his style is powerful but smooth; his language perspicuous and harmonious; and his versification superior in variety to all other blank verse. The greatness of his genius was equal to the loftiness of his subjects, particularly of *Paradise Lost*. Besides his two great poems, his small pieces display beauty, sweetness, and elegance in the greatest degree. But above all, his inventive powers seem to be great. Nothing can be more sublime than the description which Milton gives of the shield and spear of Satan, when he walked on the banks of the Stygian pool. Nothing can excite terror in the mind more than when it reads the description of hell—

“Hope never comes that comes to all,  
But torture without end.”

Again, when any person reads the beginning of the fifth book, he would find that tenderness and sympathy which flow from true love. Nothing can be more tender than when Adam wakes and finds Eve still asleep, whispers softly in her ear—

“Mild as Zephyrus on Flora breathes.”

But when we read these pathetic lines, which are written in the commencement of the third book on his own blindness, we cannot suppress our feelings—

“Seasons return, but not to me returns  
Day, or the sweet approach of ev'n or morn.”

The same pathos is displayed in the speech of Samson—

“ Why am I thus bereaved thy prime decree?”

Indeed, we cannot open a page of Milton, but we find dignity, beauty, tenderness, elegance, and everything that is requisite to adorn a poem.

GOPÁL.

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### III.—ON THE INTRODUCTORY ESSAY TO ROBERTSON'S HISTORY OF CHARLES THE FIFTH.

1. *What is the nature and object of Robertson's introductory Essay to the history of Charles the Fifth?*

The object of the introductory Essay of Robertson's history of Charles the Fifth, is to give information concerning the state of Europe previous to the sixteenth century, to point out and explain the great causes and events to the operation of which all the improvements in the political state of Europe, from the subversion of the Roman empire to the beginning of the sixteenth century, must be ascribed, and also to exhibit a view of the progress of society in Europe, not only with respect to the interior governments, laws, and manners, but with regard to the command of the national forces requisite for carrying on foreign operations.

JAYGOPÁL.

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## QUESTIONS IN LOGIC.

1. *What are the objects of Logic?*

The objects of Logic are to institute an analysis of the operations of the mind concerned in reasoning, and to furnish us with a number of practical rules to secure the mind from error in its deductions. When viewed in reference to the former of these objects, Logic may properly be called a science; when in reference to the latter, it is an art.

RUPNÁRÁYAN.

2. *Who first taught Logic as a science?*  
Aristotle first taught Logic as a science.

JAYGOPÁL.

3. *Describe the state of Logic before Aristotle's time.*

Before the time of Aristotle, Logic was in its infancy, for, before his time, only the materials of the system, not the system itself,



were laid down. There were only the division into simple terms:—propositions and syllogisms had been slightly sketched out; the doctrine of the categories, and perhaps that of the apposition of propositions, had been laid down, and, as some persons believe, the analysis of the species into genus and differentia had been introduced into the science.

MAHESH.

4. *Who revived the study of Logic in the beginning of the Christian era?*

The study of Logic is supposed to have been revived in the beginning of the Christian era, by Galen and Porphyry, for when this science experienced a considerable revival, there were no other men met with able to do it, except Galen and Porphyry.

MAHENDRA MUKURJYA.

5. *What were the errors of the schoolmen in reference to this subject?*

The errors of the schoolmen on this subject, consist in their utter miscomprehension of the true nature and object of the science. They attempted to employ Logic for the purpose of physical discoveries, involving every subject in a mist of words, to the exclusion of sound philosophical investigation.

MAHESH.

6. *State some of the modern objections to the study of Logic, and refute them.*

Some of the philosophers of modern times, equally mistaking the true nature and objects of Logic with some of the former logicians, from whom they form their judgment, have urged many objections against the study of the science. One of these is, that there are many persons who never studied the science of Logic, and can yet reason as well and correctly as those who have studied the syllogistic mode of reasoning. This objection (which is as absurd as to say that grammar is a peculiar language, and is therefore of no use, since many persons can talk correctly who never studied the principles of grammar,) may at once be removed, simply by replying that Logic does not furnish us with a peculiar mode of reasoning, but it is the mode of reasoning which must invariably take place in all correct reasoning, and to which all correct reasoning may be reduced, and which, consequently, serves the purpose of a test to try the validity of any argument.

Another objection of these philosophers has been, that Logic leaves untouched the greatest difficulties, and those which are the sources of chief error in reasoning, viz., the ambiguity of terms, and the truth or falsity of the various propositions. In refutation of this objection we say, that this does not fall within the proper province of Logic. In fact, it is unphilosophical to imagine any science to instruct us in the full meaning of every term, and the truth or falsity, certainty or uncertainty, of every proposition.

Such a science would supersede all other studies. To find fault, therefore, with Logic for not accomplishing this, is the same as to find fault with Optics for not giving sight to the blind, and Arithmetic for not explaining the nature of the things for which the numbers stand.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DE.

7. *What is an argument?*

Reasoning expressed in words is argument, or it is an expression in which, from something laid down as granted, something else is deduced.

GOPÁL.

8. *What operations of mind are concerned in an argument?*

The operations of mind that are immediately concerned in an argument are—first, simple apprehension; second, judgment; third, reasoning or discourse.

*First*, Simple apprehension is the notion of any object in the mind. It is either complex or incomplex; complex apprehension is the notion of several objects, viewed in relation with respect to one another, as, of a tree bearing its blossoms, a man in a chair, a school full of boys. Incomplex apprehension is the notion of one or more objects in the mind, viewed without any relation to one another, as, of a man, a chair, a number of dogs, &c.

*Secondly*, Judgment is that operation of the mind in which we compare two notions, which are obtained by complex or incomplex apprehension, and pronounce on their agreement or disagreement—it is therefore either negative or affirmative. A negative judgment, is that in which we compare two notions and pronounce on their disagreement, as, birds are not quadrupeds. An affirmative judgment is one in which we compare two notions and pronounce on their agreement, as, man is a rational animal.

*Thirdly*, Reasoning is the act of passing from one judgment to another founded upon that one as the result of it.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DE.

9. *What are the parts of a syllogism?*

Every syllogism consists of two parts, viz., that which is to be proved, and that by means of which it is proved. The former, before it is proved, is called the question; when proved, the conclusion, and it is always placed last in a regular syllogism. The latter, or that by means of which it is proved, is called the reason, or premises, and is always placed first when the conclusion is introduced by the illative conjunction therefore; e.g., All men are rational animals. A. is a man; therefore, A. is a rational animal.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DE.

10. *Mention the different kinds of terms employed in an argument.*

The different kinds of terms employed in an argument are the following:—1st, singular and common terms; 2nd, absolute and

relative ; 3rd, correlative ; 4th, compatible and apposite ; 5th, concrete and abstract ; 6th, positive, privative, and negative ; 7th, definite and indefinite ; 8th, contradictories ; 9th, contraries.

MAHESHCHANDRA MUKURJYA.

11. *Mention the different propositions of a syllogism.*

Every syllogism consists of three propositions; the first is called the major premise, (in which the major term is compared with the middle;) the second is called the minor premise, (in which the minor term is compared with the middle;) and the third is called the conclusion, (in which the major term is compared with the minor.)

JAYGOPÁL DE.

12. *State the rules of division.*

The rules of division are three in number:—1st, that each of the parts or any of them must be less, or, in other words, must have a narrower signification than the thing divided; 2nd, all the parts taken together must be equal to the thing divided; 3rd, that the parts must not be contained in each other. Thus, if one were to divide tree into large, young, oak, fruitful, &c., the division would be right, because the parts would be contained in each other, for a young tree may be an oak, and large, &c. We must therefore keep the principle of division, with which we set out, in our minds, that is, whether we divide according to kind, size, and so forth.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DE.

13. *What is the difference between generalisation and abstraction?*

When there are several objects which resemble each other in some part of their nature, and we contemplate them in that relation, disregarding all other in which they differ, and assign them one common name, which stands for all, as far as they agree, the process of mind thus employed is called generalisation. When we contemplate any object, or objects, and attend exclusively to some particular circumstance belonging to it, withholding from our attention all the rest, the process employed in this is called abstraction. Thus if there be a number of objects before me, a number of flowers for example, and I contemplate any of them in reference to any particular property belonging to it—such as smell—I am said to abstract. But if I abstract this property from every one or all of them, and view them in this relation, disregarding all the rest in which they differ, and arrange them under one head, I am said to generalise. Generalisation, therefore, implies abstraction, and the difference between the two cases is, that, in the one, we separate any particular quality of an object from all the rest, and contemplate it in this particular quality, while in the other, we contemplate various objects which agree in some particular quality, and arrange them under one head.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DE.

14. *Mention some of the logical fallacies.*

The logical fallacies, or those in which the conclusion does not follow from the premises, are—1st, undistributed middle; 2nd, illicit process; 3rd, negative premises; affirmative conclusion from negative premises and vice versa; 4th, those which have expressed more than three terms; 5th, all the cases of ambiguous middle, except non-distribution. Of these there are two kinds, the one being purely logical, the other semi-logical. Purely logical, are those in which the fallacy is manifest from the bare form of the expression, without any regard to the sense, and under these are comprised the undistributed middle, illicit processes, negative premises, and those which have expressed more than three terms. Under semi-logical, come all the cases of ambiguous middle, except its non-distribution, because in these cases, although, properly speaking, the conclusion does not follow from the premises, yet the ascertainment of it requires a knowledge of the science.

RUPNARAYAN DE.

15. *What is meant by illicit processes?*

When any term is distributed in the conclusion, while it is not or partially distributed in the premises, it is called an illicit process either of major or minor. All quadrupeds are animals. A bird is not a quadruped. Therefore it is not an animal, is an illicit process of the major.

GOPAL.

16. *What is petitio principii? Give an example.*

The fallacy which we call the *petitio principii*, or begging the question, takes place when a premise whether true or false, is either plainly equivalent to the conclusion, or depends on it for its own reception.

Thus, miracles cannot be credited, because they have never been observed in any age or in any country. The raising of Lazarus from his grave was a miracle. Therefore it cannot be credited.

The first premise being taken for granted, which ought not to be granted.

MAHESHCHANDRA MUKURJYA.

17. *How would you test the soundness of an argument?*

The axiom by which the soundness of any argument can be proved is what Aristotle calls, *dictum de omni et nullo*; that is, whatever is predicated of a term distribute, whether affirmatively or negatively, may, in like manner, be predicated of everything contained under it. But as this axiom is not directly applicable to all syllogisms, logicians have devised two canons as founded upon this to try the validity of all arguments. The first of these is, that when two terms agree with one and the same third, they agree with one another; the second, that when one term agrees and another disagrees with one and the same third, they disagree with one another. On the former of these rests the validity of

affirmative conclusions, on the latter the negative. For the practical observance of these two canons, the following six rules must be observed:—1st, every syllogism has three and only three terms, viz., the major, the minor, and the middle; 2nd, every syllogism has three and only three propositions, the major premise, the minor premise, and the conclusion; 3rd, the middle must at least once be distributed in the premises; 4th, no term must be distributed in the conclusion which was not distributed in one of the premises; 5th, from negative premises we can infer nothing; 6th, if one premise be negative, the conclusion must be negative.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DE.

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## QUESTIONS ON ASTRONOMY.

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### 1. *Describe the Copernican system and show its truth.*

The system of Copernicus, which is now universally received, places the sun in the centre, round which the planets are supposed to move from west to east in elliptical orbits. There are many proofs of the truth of this system, one of which is the exact corroboration of all appearances and motions of the heavenly bodies, which appearances and motions cannot be accounted for by referring the centre to any other body. For instance, some of the planets, such as Venus and Mercury, sometimes appear to go forward, at other times to remain stationary, and sometimes to retrograde. Now, if we suppose the earth to be the centre of these planets, their appearances at once become insolvable, for in that supposition, they must all appear to go in an uniform and regular manner. But in conformity with the Copernican system, if we suppose the sun to be placed at the centre of their motion, their appearances become quite solvable, because we, being not placed in the centre, might witness these appearances just as we do when we stand on the outside of a course and view a horse running in its various parts. The Copernican system, therefore, which supposes the sun to be in the centre of these planets, cannot but be true.

Another proof of the truth of this system is the following. By comparing the horizontal parallaxes of the planets, and sun, with their apparent angular diameter, we find that the sun is many thousand times greater than any of the planets, therefore to suppose the sun to revolve round any of these, would be to assume a contradiction in the laws of dynamics, viz., that a large body should revolve round a smaller one than itself. The sun is therefore the centre of these planetary motions.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DE.

## 2. *What is the real form of the earth, and how is it proved?*

The real form of the earth is an ellipsoid or spheroid, having its polar diameter one three-hundredth part shorter than its equatorial one. One proof which goes to establish this truth is the following: A degree of latitude has been astronomically measured at different parts of the earth's surface by commissioners of different nations, men of the first rank, supplied by their respective governments with the best instruments and furnished with every facility which could insure success to their important labours. By comparing the measures of these meridional sections, we find that the measured length of a degree increases with the latitude, being greatest near the poles, and least near the equator. Now this can only result from the spheroidal form of the earth, because in that case, the poles being much more flattened than the equator, the curvature there becomes greatest and of course measures most. The form of the earth, therefore, can be no other than an ellipse.

Another proof in the confirmation of this truth is what we deduce from the variation of gravitation on its surface. This is found by the oscillations of a pendulum. Pendulums have been constructed at the equator, which made a certain number of oscillations, but on their being transferred towards the poles, were found to make a greater number of oscillations. This variation of gravitation on the surface of the earth, can only be accounted for from the earth being a spheroid, for had it been a real sphere, then the intensity of gravity would have been the same at every part, being equi-distant from the centre. But being a spheroid, the polar parts are much nearer the centre than the equatorial regions, and of course are much more attracted; hence the variations of gravitation; the figure of the earth, therefore, can be no other than a spheroid.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DE.

## 3. *Describe the motions of the moon and their causes.*

In the annual circuit of the earth round the sun, it is constantly attended by its satellite the moon, which revolves round the earth, or both revolve round their common centre. The reason why the moon revolves round the earth is, that the moon, being much more near to the earth than any other planet, and being smaller than the earth, is much influenced by its attraction; consequently it revolves round the earth. The time which the moon takes in performing her journey round the earth is called a month, of which there are two kinds, one periodical, the other synodical. A periodical month is less than the synodical nearly by two days. The reason of this shall be presently explained. A synodical month is determined by the recurrence of the moon's phases; it reckons from new moon to new moon, that is from leaving its conjunction with the sun, to its return to conjunction. If the sun stood still like a fixed star, the interval between two conjunc-

tions would be the same as the period of the moon's sidereal revolution, but as the sun apparently advances in the heavens in the same direction with the moon, only slower, the moon has more than a complete sidereal period to perform, to come up with the sun again, and will require for it a longer time. This is called a synodical month, consequently it is greater than the sidereal month.

MAHESH MUKURJYA.

4. *State the cause of the lunar eclipses, and the circumstances in which they take place.*

An eclipse of the moon is caused by the interposition of the earth between the moon and sun. The circumstances in which it takes place are, that the moon must be in opposition to the sun, and that she must be in or near the node. If the plane of the lunar orbit coincided with the ecliptic, then there would be an eclipse at every opposition; but as her orbit is inclined to the ecliptic at an angle of  $5^{\circ} 8' 48''$ , one-half of it is elevated so many degrees above that of the earth, and the other half is depressed so many degrees below it; hence she passes above or below the shadow of the earth. The utmost distance from the node at which a lunar eclipse can happen is  $12^{\circ}$ , and in that case, the eclipse would be partial; and if the eclipse happen when the moon is full in the node, in that case the eclipse would be total.

JAYGOPÁL DE.

5. *How is the longitude and latitude of a place determined?*

The latitude of a place is determined by observing the altitude of the elevated pole above the horizon, which is equal to the latitude of the place. In the case of our being unable to see the pole star, by observations of the meridian altitudes of different stars performed at any station, and from their known polar distances, we conclude the height of the pole above the horizon, which being found, gives the latitude of the place.

There are different modes of finding the longitudes of places. The first, by the lunar theory, the object of which is to reduce to regularity the indications of the moon, to enable us to predict long beforehand whereabouts among the stars in Greenwich local time, the moon will be seen from the earth. No sooner an observer in any part of the globe measures its actual distance from any of the standard stars from which the moon's angular distance is known, than the comparison of his local time with the local time of Greenwich, enables him to ascertain his longitude.

*Secondly*, The eclipses of the satellites of Jupiter enable us to find out our longitudes. The times of the immersions and emersions of the satellites, as given in the Nautical Almanack, are adapted to the meridian of Greenwich, so that at any other meridian, on observing the time of an immersion or emersion of one of these satellites, the difference of time of the observations of these two meridians brought into degrees, gives the longitude of the station.

MAHESHCANDRA MUKURJYA.

**6. What is the precession of the equinox, and how do you account for it?**

It is found by observation that the equinox does not preserve a constant place among the stars, but shifts its position, travelling continually and regularly backwards with the velocity of  $50' 10''$  per annum, along the ecliptic, in a direction from west to east. The equinoctial point thus moving, the sun arrives at it sooner than it would otherwise do, that is, the time of the equinox happens sooner. This phenomenon is called the precession of the equinox. The reason of this is, that the pole of the earth describes a small circle round the pole of the ecliptic, as a centre, from east to west, which, carrying the equinox with it, gives rise to the retrograde motion of the equinoxes.

RUPNÁRÁYAN DR.

**7. What effect have refraction and aberration on the apparent places of celestial objects?**

The effect of refraction on the places of heavenly bodies is to raise them above their true altitude. Because we see objects in the direction of the rays of light which reach our eye, but rays of light in passing from celestial objects to us turn towards the perpendicular; consequently, we, seeing them in direction of these rays, do not see them in their true altitude, but actually higher up. The effect of aberration is to depress them beneath their true altitude.

RUPNÁRÁYAN BASU.

**8. How is the distance of a celestial object found?**

The distance of a celestial object is found by its parallax, according to the following process. The parallax of a celestial object is the angle subtended at the object by the earth's radius; that angle can be found by observation, and as it forms a right-angled triangle, having the right angle at the earth's centre, we can find the third angle by subtracting the parallactic angle from  $90^\circ$ . Now, the three angles of the triangle and its base, formed by the earth's radius, being found, the distance of the object can be very easily found by the rule of proportion. The distance of the object : sine angle of  $90^\circ$  :: earth's radius : parallax.

JAYGOPÁL DR.

**9. Why do we not receive more heat in perihelion than aphelion?**

The temperature of any part of the earth's surface depends upon two causes:—1st, upon the long or short exposure of it to the sun; 2nd, upon the degree of perpendicularity in which the rays of the sun are received.

Now, when the earth is in its perihelion, the rays of the sun fall upon us, not perpendicularly, but obliquely, and in that quarter of the earth's orbit, its motion being quicker, our days become shorter than our nights; consequently, whatever quantity of heat is received by day is cooled by night. And when the earth is in its aphelion



the reverse takes place. Therefore we have our summer in aphelion, and winter in perihelion.

JAYGOPAL DR.

10. *Describe the theory of tides.*

The phenomenon which we call the tides results from the conjoint operation of the sun and moon. We know that all bodies attract each other with a force in proportion to the quantity of the matter which they contain. Now it will not be difficult to conceive, that if attraction has reference to all matter, and if the attraction between the earth and moon be mutual, the moon's attraction, if not felt to influence the solid matter of the earth, may produce a great effect on that form of matter which is called liquid, since the distance between the earth and moon is regulated by the amount of attraction of the one for the other, and by the velocity of the moon's motion, and these quantities are equal year after year,—there is no perceptible disturbance by one on the other. This is the case with reference to the earth, considered as a whole, but three-fourths of its surface is covered with water, a substance more likely to be influenced by an attractive force than a solid body. Therefore the waters on the surface hanging loosely together, suffer a perceptible inclination towards that quarter where the moon may be situated. But we actually find in nature that not only is the water nearest to the moon drawn towards it, and is therefore elevated; but the water on the opposite side of the moon is elevated in like manner. Hence the same effects are produced twice in a lunar month, at new and full moon.

In order to account for this, we must now refer to the action of the sun on the waters of the earth. The attractive force of the sun being to that of the earth, as one to five, (for the distance of the sun is compensated by his superior magnitude,) we have, therefore, to add or subtract the sun's attraction as it assists or opposes that of the moon. Suppose the moon is in quadrature, then, in this position, the sun, moon, and earth, form a right-angled triangle. The sun acts on a part of the earth which is a quarter of a circle from the spot on which the moon acts. The sun, in fact, acts precisely on the part depressed through the moon's action. As the moon, therefore, causes the waters to rise at the two parts in the proportion of five, while the sun's influence is in the proportion of one; hence, by subtracting the sun's effect one from the moon's five, we have remaining four, which, in this position of them, expresses the highest tide.

But suppose the moon is either full or new, the three bodies in question are then in one line, and the actions of the sun and moon will be concentrated to the same points, and the rise will be greater than if the sun had not been present. It matters very little whether the moon be new or full, because the effect, in either case, is to raise the waters in some portions and to depress them in another; for the attractive force of the two bodies, when the moon

is new, operates most at the part nearest to the moon, and least at the part farthest from her. Now in the sinking down of the water at all other parts, the greater portion is carried off towards the parts nearest to the moon, and a smaller portion goes round to help to raise the parts farthest from the moon, where the water is least affected by the attractive bodies. The like reasoning may be used to the full moon. These phenomena are known by the common name of tides.

MAHESH MUKURJYA.

11. *Give a general description of sidereal astronomy.*

When the stars are watched continually, for some successive nights, they are observed to maintain a higher degree of permanence as to their apparent relative situations. They are clustered into constellations, which are known by certain names. Besides this, they are divided into classes, according to their magnitudes; the brightest stars are said to be of the first magnitude, and others are termed in proportion to their brightness. When they are seen through telescopes they do not appear larger than when seen by the naked eye; but they become too bright to be gazed upon without pain to the eye. From this we conclude that they are at an immense distance from us. The principal stars which lie within a convenient distance of the moon's path, are used for taking lunar distances, in order to enable us to find our longitudes (the process of which we have before mentioned.)

The stars beyond the seventh magnitude are called telescopic stars; those which are visible to the naked eye at any one time are supposed not to exceed 2000, notwithstanding the countless assemblage which appears to be present. This results from a sort of optical delusion, whereby the eye is disconcerted by the apparent want of order. But with the telescope Sir William Herschel computed that a small portion of the heavens, not exceeding  $15^\circ$  in length by  $2^\circ$  in breadth, exhibited not less than 50,000 stars. The mind at once shrinks within itself at the contemplation of the immense number of stars in that luminous band of light which stretches every evening from horizon to horizon. It has the name of the milky-way. Sir William Herschel reckoned up 250,000 stars in one portion of the milky-way. But there is another very remarkable circumstance which seems to afford evidence that the stars are luminous, like our sun, and have planets revolving round them. When the stars are observed with close attention, by means of a good telescope, many of them are found to be double, that is, to consist of two small stars, the dark division between them being too faint to be distinguished in an ordinary observation. In some instances, this may occur from one star being almost directly behind another, and though at an immense distance off from the first, yet seeming to our vision to be in the same line. But in other instances it is found that one star revolves round the other, or the two revolve round some point situated between them. Sir William Herschel

distinctly showed that such a revolving motion was perceptible; sometimes one star would disappear, as if it had passed round behind the other in the course of its motion. Just as Jupiter or Venus is sometimes invisible to us on account of being on the opposite side of the sun.

MAHENDRA MUKURJYA.

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## ESSAYS.

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### No. I.

*The Refutation of Mr. Hume's argument against the credibility of Miracles by testimony.*

It is not unreasonable to suppose that God, who is benevolent, should give a revelation to the lost and wandering children of men, nor is there anything in the notion of a revelation repugnant to the moral attributes of the Supreme Being; for the primary object of a revelation is to turn men from their wickedness, to teach them their duty towards God and men, to promote among them that tranquillity and happiness which it professes to impart to its votaries, to make them wiser and better, and to prepare them for the full enjoyment of everlasting bliss. Nothing, therefore, can be more agreeable to our notions of Divine perfection than this, and in nothing can God display his measureless mercy towards the wicked sons of men more than in this. Moreover, history in all ages plainly proves, that the acutest philosophers and the wisest moralists, falling into shameful errors, had lost the true idea of their Maker and his attributes, and made the meanest things the objects of their profound adoration. This evidently proves that men, by the dim light of nature, aided by their feeble understandings, can never form any just conception of their Creator. Now that the just Governor of the universe may leave men in their wicked designs to follow the grossest inventions of their own folly, is certain; but is it not consistent with his wisdom and goodness to communicate to them such soothing means, by which they may be delivered from a state so degraded and wretched? Would not every sober reasoner admit, that some means of bringing the lost race of men back to the true ideas of their Creator, would be desirable? Surely it is reasonable that he would. Now suppose, if our Maker, seeing the giddy revolvers tossing about in the waves of errors, with pity were to give a revelation, what would be a satisfactory attestation of its Divine origin? Certainly it must be a sign, in which God himself should manifest his almighty power, and which would be incapable of being counterfeited by any false

impostor, for otherwise it would be useless, having no evidence of its Divine origin. But nothing can be that sign except miracles, nothing can proclaim the omnipotence of the Deity in so irresistible a manner as they. As God is invisible to our mortal and sinful sight, he must make himself known by his works, and miracles are such works that none but he can perform them. Therefore, any religion, supported by miracles, is certainly sent by God, and no religion can boast of a Divine origin, except it be sanctioned by miracles. But strange are the metaphysical arguments of Mr. Hume, in his boasted philosophy against miracles, which God for the salvation of all mankind performed in attestation of his Divine word; and these arguments are so invented, that they have the power of perplexing and shaking the unguarded minds of many, especially of those who are entirely left under the care of nature and providence, and who start back with astonishment even at the name of philosophy. "A miracle," says Mr. Hume, "supported by any human testimony, is more properly a subject of derision than of argument." No testimony of any kind can possibly amount to a probability; "A miracle," says the subtle philosopher, "is a violation of the laws of nature, and as firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle from the very nature of the fact is as entire as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined." "It accords," says he, "with our own experience, that men may lie, and that several men may concur in propagating the same lie, and therefore it is more probable that the narrators lied, than the statement respecting miracles be true." This is the argument of Mr. Hume against the credibility of miracles by testimony, but it is entirely (as will be shown afterwards) built upon false principles, and a subtle use of synonymous terms. But, however artful and confounding it may appear, it will only plunge his unlucky followers into the gulf of sceptical darkness and error, the invention of their own folly, instead of producing any conviction of its soundness in the firm and uncontaminated mind of the sincere inquirer after truth. Let us, therefore, proceed to dissipate the darkness which sophistry throws upon truth, and prevent sceptics from falling into error, by the light of examination, and discover by it the hidden absurdity of such an argument; for to defend truth is the chief honour of man.

Miracles, says he, are contrary to our own experience of the laws of nature, and therefore can never be established by any human testimony. Here we understand by the word experience, our personal experience; now, if it means such, that is, our individual experience, then the conclusion, which irresistibly follows, is this, that no fact, which we ourselves have not seen, can be established by any testimony, which, if an incontestable truth, would at one stroke cut off the greater part of human knowledge, for the most numerous and important class of facts are those which we receive upon the testimony of other persons, and these are absolutely at variance with our personal observation. The subtle

followers of this sophism, if they consider that the term experience must be limited to the personal observation of every individual, that is, it can only be applied to a hundred years at most, and the events which have happened during that period, or at the spot where the individual lived; then, whatever facts have happened beyond that spot, or prior to that period, he knows not from experience, I mean personal experience, but entirely from testimony. The greater part of our knowledge of what we call the unalterable laws of nature, is derived from no other source than testimony. But, according to Mr. Hume, in the reception of some new truth we must believe nothing but that for which we have the evidence of our senses. The supposition is not only absurd, and a bar to the progress of knowledge, but it is at wide variance with the daily practice of every individual; for how various are the classes of facts which we are in the constant habit of receiving upon testimony! how many persons are there who never witnessed the most curious experiments of natural philosophy and chemistry, yet they are as firmly convinced of their truth as if they had personal experience of them! We never saw such a person as Alexander the Great, or Julius Cæsar, or any occurrence in the ancient world; we never beheld all the sublime wonders which astronomy opens to us; nor did we, or rather can we, witness all the phenomena of nature; yet, by the very constitution of our nature, we believe that there was such a person as Julius Cæsar, simply upon the testimony of historians; that there is a planet called Uranus, simply upon the testimony of astronomers; that there is a country called England, simply upon that of travellers and geographers; and we believe their existence as firmly as if we had seen them ourselves, though all these facts are contrary to our personal experience. Sometimes, we believe many facts upon testimony with the utmost and most unwavering confidence, but we can assign no reasonable ground on which our conviction is so firmly established, for the source of our information is so various and mingling, that, instead of assigning to any particular testimony of the fact we believe, we say that multiplied testimony has convinced us of the truth of the fact. The reception of facts upon the evidence of testimony, may therefore be considered as a first principle of our nature. Strange, then, it is, that Mr. Hume, one of the acutest and most learned philosophers, says, that miracles, supported by any human testimony, are more properly a subject of derision than of argument. But, in receiving statements in this manner, we examine them with more care and caution than when we receive them by our own observation. We receive any new fact, which is in accordance with our personal experience, upon a less degree of evidence than that which is contrary to our personal experience. But it is a manifest absurdity to disbelieve those facts which seem improbable to the present state of our being, and make our limited knowledge and contracted observation the test of all probability. Three years ago, we knew not many important facts with which we are now

acquainted; three years ago, some statements had appeared doubtful to us, nay, even incredible; but we are now perfectly assured of their truth, either by our personal experience, or the testimony of other persons. In the same manner, there are many facts which others know, but are contrary to our personal experience, and it would be unreasonable to reject their testimony of those facts because they are repugnant to our personal observation. The Syracusans rejected the testimony of Archimedes as incredible, when he assured them that he could draw up a huge loaded ship, by his one hand only, by the application of a system of pulleys, because their firm and unalterable experience, as Hume calls it, was against such an assertion. On the same principle, an ignorant and simple peasant may laugh at an astronomer, and ridicule him, when he hears from him that the little twinkling stars are as large as the sun, and a thousand times greater than the earth he inhabits. In judging, therefore, of the credibility of any fact, we must not be guided by our actual experience of similar events, for this would limit our reception of new facts, and engender in our hearts the seeds of scepticism, but we must extend our view much further than this, and proceed smoothly upon the knowledge of the powers and properties of the cause to which the event is ascribed. Thus, if the Syracusans had known the immense power gained by the application of a system of pulleys, they would have believed the assertion of Archimedes as firmly as that philosopher did: or, if the amazed peasant can form any idea of the incomprehensible distance of the stars from this earth, he may believe the statement of the astronomer, if not convinced of it. The illustration here adduced is sufficient to show, that not to believe any fact upon testimony is the great source of scepticism, which is a part of a weak mind. Here we are far from saying that we must believe any statement upon testimony, without examining carefully the evidence upon which we receive it. In receiving any fact contrary to our personal experience, we must have confidence in the veracity of the narrator, and in our knowledge of the opportunities which he has had of ascertaining the fact which he professes to relate. Thus, if he be a man on whose testimony we have received many important facts, and all of them have turned out to be correct, we, without any hesitation, would receive his testimony again. If he be a stranger, we must receive facts from him upon his testimony, by carefully examining the evidence upon which we receive them. If he be a man by whose testimony we have formerly been deceived, we can put no reliance on his testimony, and perhaps we may reject it altogether. But, if a thousand persons of the strictest veracity should testify, that they had repeatedly witnessed miracles, and if all circumstances agree to corroborate their testimony, yet, according to the sophism of Mr. Hume, it would be unreasonable to believe them, even if they should consent to die in confirmation of what they declared to be the fact. This supposition is so widely at variance with our personal observation, that it is sufficient to say, that such a man as

Mr. Hume wandered far from the force of truth into the gulf of scepticism, led simply by cursed prejudice. Sometimes, Mr. Hume means by the word experience universal experience, that is, the experience of all men in all ages. This extensive meaning of the term is one which he artfully affixes to it in so subtle a manner, as every sophist must have recourse to. It is experience, says he, by which we know that the laws of nature are uniform and unalterable, and he has given an example, which clearly determines the true meaning of the word—that a dead man should come to life, says he, has never been witnessed in any age or any country. Now, according to this artful use of terms, what he calls his favourite argument is nothing more than a mere assumption of the point in dispute, what logicians call *petitio principii*, or begging of the question. For, what is the point in dispute? Is it not whether miracles have been ever experienced? then, how does Mr. Hume undertake to prove that they never did exist, by an argument intended to demonstrate that no testimony can establish them, which means that our experience is against them? Miracles, says he, are contrary to universal experience; but miracles, say I, are not contrary to universal experience. If miracles have ever occurred, they cannot be contrary to universal experience, for whatever has been witnessed at any time, by any person, is a part of universal experience. To form, therefore, any argument against the truth of miracles, founded on the assumption that they never did exist, is a strange kind of reasoning. If it be true, as he says, that it has never been observed in any age or country that a dead man should come to life, then what is the cause of our disputing? it is useless to deduce testimony to prove that the dead have, on some occasion, been brought to life. Now, if he have any right to take it for granted, then what is the cause of his long train of reasoning on the subject of testimony? The very conclusion to which he wished to come, is here assumed as a premise in the argument. It is, therefore, as easy to deny as to affirm the truth of his ground, and I utterly deny it. Nothing is proved from so confounding an argument, which promised so much, except the skill and vain acuteness of the philosopher in sophistical reasoning.

Another assertion of Mr. Hume is, "that we never experienced a violation of the laws of nature, which are uniform and permanent as established by our firm and unalterable experience; but that we have experienced the falsehood of testimony, and therefore it is not in the power of testimony to establish the truth of such a violation, for this would be making the weaker experience prevail over the stronger, that which is unstable and uncertain, prevail over that which is constant and immutable." This is the sum of his argument, which, though grave, is not free from absurdity and groundlessness. The first question I shall ask is, How came he to know that the laws of nature are uniform and immutable? what made him so strangely suppose that these laws are the same now,

as they were in the beginning of the world? and what made him presage that they would continue to be the same in future ages, as they have been already some years? I challenge him, with all his profound philosophy, to assign a satisfactory reason of his belief that the sun is immutable and uniform in his course, and that he did rise in the day in which Alexander ascended the throne of Macedon? No reasonable answer can be given; for all that he knows, that the sun did rise in that day, is from no other source than testimony, for personal experience would not reach so far. The knowledge of what he calls the unalterable laws of nature is derived from testimony, and entirely from it. Strange, therefore, it is that Mr. Hume believes, for he cannot but believe, facts upon testimony, while he forbids others to receive any statement upon the same. Neither can he assign any reason why the laws of nature should remain to be the same to-morrow as they are to-day, or, which is the same thing, that the sun will rise to-morrow as he has risen to-day, for there is nothing in the body of the sun that would indicate this. He has, therefore, no right to say, that the laws of nature are uniform and immutable.

Miracles, says he, are a violation of the established laws of nature. Now the definition here given of a miracle is not a satisfactory one, for it carries with it an unfavourable notion, as if God would violate some obligation which he promised to do, just to serve the subtle purpose of the philosopher. But the simple truth is, that the laws of nature are nothing else than the common operation of the power of God in the government of the world, which entirely depend for their existence and continuance on the will of God: and miracles are nothing but the exertion of the same power, in a way different from that which is general. Now the question regarding the probability of miracles is, not whether they are probable according to the usual course of nature, or in accordance with our personal observation, but whether they are probable in the circumstances in which they are said to have happened, namely, by the direct power of the Deity for some great and valuable ends. We must not, then, judge the probability of any fact simply by our actual experience or the present course of nature, but by the knowledge which we have of the power of the agent or cause, to which the event is ascribed. Now the miracles are attributed solely to the omnipotence of the Deity; why then should it be thought unreasonable that He who laid the foundation of the stupendous fabric of the universe, and governs it with infinite wisdom, sometimes should depart (for such was the will of God from all eternity) from his usual manner of governing for some great and adequate purpose? Why is it unreasonable to suppose, that He on whose power the existence and continuance of the present government of the world depend, should change it according to his will; or is there anything in the established laws of nature so constant and immutable, that they never, on any occasion, for any purpose, shall be altered by Him who gave them a beginning? The reason why the laws of



nature are so uniform, (if I may call it so,) is, that this is for the advantage of man; but if it be for the same reason that a departure from the laws of nature is required, what is it that should render it unreasonable? Nor has the Author of the universe bound himself to pursue one unalterable course in the government of the world. The time may come, when he may think proper to change the whole system: as he gave it a beginning, so he can also put an end to it. Moreover, there is nothing in the notion of miracles contrary to the moral attributes of the Deity; they are performed for some good and benevolent purposes, worthy of God. If it is probable that God should give a revelation, it is not then improbable that he should perform miracles in its attestation; for if God should give a revelation to men, he would so attest it, as to enable every sincere inquirer to know that it derives its origin from him, for otherwise it would be useless, as there would be no evidence of its truth. The probability of miracles, therefore, is so evident a truth, that it is useless to dwell upon this subject any longer; but by the sophistry of vain infidels, an apparent darkness is thrown upon the subject, so that it seems to be thought that there would be something immoral, or unwise and inconsistent, in contravening the laws of nature, while, in reality, there is nothing. Now if God should give a revelation, and perform miracles in attestation of it, it is not reasonable to suppose that he should perform miracles in every succeeding age, and in every country, to convince those who wish to embrace his word, for such supposition is too vague and absurd for any rational argumentation. But all that we can say is, that he knows best when to exert his power, and when not.

There is another argument of Mr. Hume's against the credibility of miracles, and which is this. It accords, says he, with our own experience, that men should lie, and even that several men may concur in propagating the same lie, and therefore it is more probable that the narrators lie, than that the statement respecting miracles is true. This is one of the celebrated arguments of Mr. Hume, but no less subtle than the preceding ones. We grant that men may lie, and that several men may concur in propagating the same lie; but the question is, what kind of men are they who lie, and agree in propagating the same lie by false testimony? certainly those narrators who do so, and agree in propagating it, are wicked, and the testimony which deceives us is false. But does it follow from this reasoning, that virtuous and honest men should deceive us, or that the testimony of those persons who are correct and unwavering in their narrations, should ever deceive us? If a man has formerly deceived us, we receive his testimony again with suspicion, and perhaps reject it altogether, but if a person of the strictest veracity should testify that he has seen a miracle, and if all circumstances agree to corroborate his testimony, would it be at all reasonable to reject it with suspicion, because some men have lied, and deceived us? We can receive any fact upon testimony with unwavering confidence, provided it be from an upright man; and if

that one evidence stands uncontradicted by other evidence, this would produce as great a conviction in our mind as any conceivable number of witnesses would do. Should Mr. Herschell, by astronomical calculations, assert that an eclipse of the sun should happen on such a day, and will be visible at a certain place, the veracity of the narrator in this case would be confirmed beyond all possibility of doubt—a single demonstration of a theorem in mathematics is as convincing as a thousand. But suppose if there be other eleven men, of no less veracity than the former, and should all agree in their testimony with him, and even consent to die in confirmation of what they have said to be a fact, can any person, however prejudiced, suppress the irresistible conviction of the truth of the fact they related? Surely not; for the very openness and simplicity of their statement, combined with their heroic resolution to die, is sufficient to convince any person. Moreover, the statement of an impostor, and of a man sent by God, are absolutely different in their nature; the narration of the former is subtle, screened, cunning, inconsistent, while that of the latter is candid, unaffected, plain, and honest. The one may try for a hundred years to cover himself with the garb of truth, but can never assume the air of the other. It requires no effort to speak the truth, but falsehood requires an effort. No person would consent to deceive the world but with a hope of accomplishing some object in favour of his own interests. No class of men would take the trouble of propagating a falsehood which promises them no profit or satisfaction, but rather pain, reproach, and even death. No person would give up his life in attestation of a mere opinion, which he knows to be a falsehood. Muhammad would never remain in his faith in the time of persecution, but St. Paul would face it with joy. Wide, therefore, is the difference between a man of truth and an impostor. Though there may be a thousand impostures, yet the truth is distinguishable from them, for it is like gold which shines among impure minerals. To say, then, that the former has once deceived us, and therefore we would not receive the latter, is to say that the Aristotelian system deceived us, and therefore the Newtonian system is wrong.

Astonishing it is, that Mr. Hume accuses the world of prejudice, while he himself is not exempt from it, as is apparent from the following argument. Should miracles, says he, be ascribed to any new system of religion, men in all ages have been so imposed upon by ridiculous stories of that kind, that this very circumstance would be full proof of a cheat, and sufficient, with all men of sense, not only to reject them, but reject them without any further examination. This argument of Mr. Hume is so unreasonable, unsupported, and marked with prejudice, that a man little accustomed to reason would utterly reject it with disdain, as an argument proceeding from an insane person, and not from a philosopher. The reason he assigns for our not believing miracles is not whether they are true or false, but because they are ascribed

to a new system of religion. A man of sense ought to receive miracles as certain, for other purposes, but not if they be attributed to any new system of religion. A miracle in support of any religion is, therefore, sufficient, according to Mr. Hume, to prove it a cheat, however convincing the testimony. Many persons are deceived by ridiculous stories of that kind, therefore we must not even listen to any testimony in favour of any miracle, whether it be true or false. Now, according to this manner of reasoning, if the simple votaries of revealed religion were to adduce a thousand evidences in support of religious miracles, yet they ought to be rejected by every man of sense and sound understanding. The absurdity of such a supposition is, I think, refuted in the preceding section. But one remark on this subject is, that miracles being wrought in support of any new system of religion, would not prove that there were never true miracles, but rather they would prove the contrary, for whenever we see anything imitating another, it is evident that the latter did exist before the former. When a man tries to make himself a seeming prophet, he must have known or heard of some true prophet, who lived before, otherwise he could not make himself so, for that which has no existence can never be imitated by any person. In the same manner, counterfeit money evidently shows, that there is or was such a thing as genuine money.

In like manner it is obvious, from false miracles, that there were true miracles, which gave rise to the false. Thus, though there are many deceiving miracles, yet they can never deny the existence of the true miracles, whatever thick darkness infidels may throw upon the subject.

The last argument of Mr. Hume is, that no testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle, unless it be of such a kind, that its falsehood would be more miraculous than the fact. Now let us meet our bold adversary on his own ground, and endeavour to prove that the testimony of the apostles and primitive Christians, if the facts related by them is not true, is a greater miracle than any which have been recorded. Is it not a miracle that a class of men, without having any object in favour of their interests, would consent to deceive the world? Is it not a miracle that a body of men would take the trouble of propagating a falsehood, which promises them no pleasure, profit, or satisfaction, but rather pain, reproach, and death? Is it not a miracle that a little band, composed of some poor, despised, and unlettered men, would be so bold as to overturn the established religions of mighty empires and kingdoms, and build their own upon their ruins? Is it not a miracle that these bold propagators remained undetected and uncontradicted by the philosophers and learned men of that age? Is it not a miracle that persons would give up their lives in attestation to what they knew to be a falsehood; to forsake all that they had, their houses, property, and possessions; to abandon their wives, their children, their parents, friends, and neighbours, and to give up the religion of their forefathers?—all these things are contrary to our universal

experience, and to the natural dictates of our hearts, especially to die for what a man knows to be a falsehood. A glance at the history of the apostolic ages would clearly show that the lamentable condition of the primitive Christians is far from proving, that they laboured under cruel persecution and agonising torments for the sake of propagating a falsehood. When persecution with all its torments came, they submitted to it with joy; when the stake with all its horrors stood before them, they embraced it with heroic fortitude; when roaring and greedy beasts were let loose to devour them, they uttered no word of pain while their bodies were torn to pieces; when the furnace was kindled into burning and terrific flames, they leaped into it with unusual gladness, though one word would have saved their lives. Now what would account for all this, what is it that kept their spirits so firm and bold, that they never renounced their faith, being despised and hated by all? Would it be at all reasonable to say, that their attachment to falsehood fired their breast with fortitude, zeal, and patience? Was it for propagating falsehoods that Paul said, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?" Was it for this that he exclaimed, "I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come—nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord?" No, it was the remembrance of the miracles which they saw with their eyes, heard with their ears, and touched with their hands, that upheld them, and filled them with assurances and joy. It was the resurrection of their Master, which poured into their hearts peace and joy so complete, that they were hardly sensible of the pain, torments, and wounds that were inflicted on their bodies.

Now, to conclude the essay, if miracles can be received upon testimony, though they are contrary to our personal experience, if miracles are not contrary to universal experience—if they are not the violation of the laws of nature, but the exertion of the same power which governs the universe—if they are not contrary to the moral attributes of the Deity, and if the testimony upon which we receive them is given by honest men—what reason then, say, ye infidels, prevents you from receiving miracles upon testimony? Why do you doubt the truth of those facts which were sealed with the blood of thousands? Turn from the wretched path of infidelity and follow the calm way of truth; leave all your sophistical disquisitions, follow the dictates of your conscience, and be obedient and faithful to that Almighty Being who is always kind, though we are unworthy of receiving his kindness.

GOPALCHANDRA BANURJYA.

## No. II.

*A Refutation of Mr. Hume's objection against the Truth of Miracles.*

The objection of Mr. Hume against the credibility of miracles may be thus concisely stated:—"Experience, which is in some things variable, in others uniform, is our only guide in reasoning, concerning matters of fact. Variable experience gives rise to probability only; a uniform experience amounts to proof. Our belief in any fact from the testimony of eye witnesses, is derived from no other principle than our experience of the veracity of human testimony. If the fact attested be miraculous, there arises a contest of two opposite experiences, or proof against proof. Now, a miracle is a violation of the laws of nature, and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against a miracle, from the very nature of the fact, is as complete as any argument from experience can possibly be imagined; and if so, it is an undeniable consequence, that it cannot be surmounted by any proof whatever derived from human testimony."

This objection, which is entirely founded on the assumption of false premises, and the use of ambiguous terms, has for a long time proved a great hindrance to the progress of Christianity. It has effectually debarred the minds of thousands from the entrance to its sanctuary, by creating in them that sophistical darkness, with which the whole argument is shrouded. We shall, therefore, in the present essay endeavour to expose this sophism, and point out such errors in it as shall appear satisfactory to every honest inquirer after truth.

Every one who has carefully and attentively perused Mr. Hume's argument, is not at a loss to find, that one of its greatest fallacies lies in the ambiguity of the term *experience*. This word, the philosopher takes in two senses, but manages them with so great dexterity, that he shifts the one, and insinuates the other, before the reader is apprised of it. The first of these senses is what we may call personal experience, for it is entirely limited to the personal observation of every individual, that is, it can apply only to the last fifty or sixty years at most, and to events which have happened during that period, at the spot where the individual was present. The second, we may call derived experience, because it is founded on testimony, and consists not only of the experiences which have been communicated to us through that channel, but of all the general maxims and conclusions we have formed from the facts attested.

At the outset of his argument, Mr. Hume uses the word in the first of the two acceptations. Experience, says he, is our only guide in reasoning concerning matters of fact. We have never experienced a violation of the laws of nature, but we have often experienced a violation of testimony, and, therefore, no testimony can accredit the truth of a miracle. Here we cannot attach any other meaning to the term or terms but the first. For to attach the

second, would be to attribute to the philosopher that fallacy which the logician calls arguing in a circle ; because the philosopher makes testimony derive its light from experience, and makes experience again derive its light from testimony, which is the second acceptance of the term, and would be nothing more or less than to attribute to the philosopher the fallacy above referred to. But yet, what can be more fallacious than to make the personal experience of every man, the test by which he is to judge of the truth or falsehood of all testimony? What can, I say, be more absurd than this? For let us only consider how small would be the circumference of human knowledge, if personal experience be the only rule by which we are to judge of the truth or falsehood of testimony! No man, on this hypothesis, would believe in the truth of a fact upon testimony, for which he has not the evidence of his senses, or which is not similar to the things for which he has the evidence of his senses. Thus, for instance, if one should say to another who has never seen a watch, or anything like it, that there is in certain civilised countries a thing called a watch, which measures time; if he should produce the most unexceptionable evidence possible in attestation of it, he could not render the thing credible to him. If, again, a traveller should describe to one who had never seen a volcano, the phenomena of its devastations, he could never render the thing credible to him, although he should adduce the most unexceptionable evidence in attestation of its truth. On such supposition, it is true that no testimony can accredit the truth of miracles, because they are contrary to experience, that is, our personal experience. But, alas! how much is such supposition at variance with the daily practice of every man! How much information are we in the constant habit of receiving upon testimony, even regarding things which are at variance with our personal observation! On what ground, for instance, do we receive as true, the various facts which ancient and modern history opens to our view? On what ground do we believe that there were at one time a people called the Romans, who gave laws to the then known world? On what ground do we believe that there was a person named Bonaparte, who shook Europe to its very foundation? Is it not simply on the testimony of the historian? On what ground, again, do we believe the various wonders which astronomy discloses? On what ground do we believe that the earth which appears to every one's observation a flat extended surface, is of globular form? Is it not on the testimony of the astronomer? On what ground, again, do we believe that there is a place called England? Is it not simply on the testimony of the traveller? What then is the natural inference that follows from this? Can we not receive facts which are at variance with our personal experience on the testimony of others? Assuredly I say we can, if we have sufficient evidence.

But the sophistical philosopher soon shifts this sense, and takes the word in its second acceptance, in a subsequent part of his argument. "It is a miracle," says he, "that a dead man should

come to life, for that has not been observed in any age, or in any country. Uniform experience is against such an event." Now here again our ingenious adversary labours under another great fallacy. This is what the logicians call *petitio principii*, or begging the question. For I ask, in the first place, how did he come to know whether any such event did take place or not? It can only be through testimony. In the next place, I ask, what is meant by uniform experience? An uniform experience is that only which admits of no exception. Now, as this experience is entirely obtained by us through testimony, it cannot be uniform, if there is any testimony against it. But are not the miracles of the sacred writings supported by testimony? Have we not the evidence of the twelve apostles, together with many others who did experience these events? How, then, can uniform experience be against the miracles of the gospels? Is not the uniformity destroyed, when these persons say that they *did* experience such events? When, therefore, Mr. Hume tells us that it is incredible that a dead man should come to life, because uniform experience is against such an event, our reply is, that it is not so, uniform experience is not against it.

This is one fallacy of Mr. Hume's argument, and it arises simply from the ambiguous use of the word experience. Another which we shall notice in this essay is the following: "A miracle," says Mr. Hume, "is a violation of the laws of nature, and, consequently, contrary to our uniform experience. It accords with our experience, that the testimony of a man, or of several men, should be false, therefore it is more probable that the testimony brought in attestation of the miracles of the sacred Scriptures is false, than the statement concerning them is true." Now I ask, of what testimony does he speak? Testimony, it is true, has deceived us, but all kinds of testimony have not. We can allow the charge with regard to that species of testimony which bears upon it characteristics of deception. Nay, we can allow it with regard to those testimonies which, without having any marks of imposture, may have the appearance of truth. But we cannot allow it of all testimony. We say that testimony has been given to us, having such a character of truth imprinted upon it, and in such circumstances of unlikelihood, or moral impossibility of its falsehood, that we can aver, with the utmost confidence, that it never deceived us, nor ever will. With regard to such testimony we cannot allow the charge of Mr. Hume. Here, then, lies another fallacy of Hume's argument. He confounds general with specific testimony. He makes all kinds of testimony responsible for all the instances of falsehood. But I say that he should make every species of testimony responsible for its own instances. For in estimating the credit of a narration, our belief is not influenced according to testimony; that is, testimony in general, but according to the testimony brought in attestation of the truth of the narration. Thus, *e. g.*, if an impostor, or a person of rather doubtful veracity, should relate to us an event, which he professes to have seen under circumstances, in which it is manifest he had not sufficient opportunity of ascertaining its truth, nor the power

of judging of its accuracy, we reject it altogether as a piece of falsehood. But, on the contrary, if a man whose probity is well known, and who, in other respects, shows an indication of an honest mind, should relate to us an event which happened under his personal inspection, we at once receive his testimony with such unsuspecting confidence in its truth, as if we had the evidence of our eyes. It takes away nothing from this confidence to be told that testimony has deceived us. We ask, has this kind of testimony deceived us? if not, the argument is finished. It would be a most strange inference to discredit the assertion of this person of undeviating honesty, because the other deceived us; nay, it would be an irrational one. Every one knows, that when we strike some bodies, they emit a sound, and when they strike others, they do not; yet if any one should infer the insonorousness of the former, because of the insonorousness of the latter, because they both agree in the property that they are bodies; what would we think of such a person? Surely a most strange and irrational arguer. Again, it is a fact known to every intelligent person, that the barometer is an instrument for measuring the quantity of air incumbent upon a given surface, and that they are made according to different principles and forms, and that according to their structure, they indicate right or wrong. But what would we think of a man who should accumulate the errors of the barometer which went wrong once in ten times, of the one which went wrong once in twenty times, and of that which went wrong once in a hundred times, and make this go in deduction of the barometer which never went wrong, or which always went right? What should we think of the man who should say because so many barometers have deceived us, therefore I will not believe in the fact of any barometer going right. Surely a most strange and foolish, nay, an irrational arguer. But has not Mr. Hume fallen into the same irrationality? He says, because testimony (by which we can understand only some species of testimony) has deceived us, therefore, no testimony can accredit the truth of a miracle. But in a similar manner as we have said, we may say that all bodies agree in that they are bodies, as we do not find some to be sonorous, no bodies are so; or we might say, because one or more barometers have deceived us, therefore, we cannot believe in the indications of any barometer. But, alas! how much is such reasoning inconsistent with the reason of every man! Who can, with the possession of his reason, allow it to be a correct mode of reasoning? On what ground, then, can we conceive Mr. Hume to be a good reasoner? They are both the same, and there is not the least difference in them as arguments.

Suppose then a person whose probity and good sense are well known, and who in other respects shows an indication of a sound mind, should seriously and circumstantially relate the account of a miracle, wrought before his eyes, and circumstances in which he could not possibly be deceived; suppose that the statement be such as to contribute in no way to his credit or advantage, but, on the contrary, exposes him to ridicule, contempt, and danger. Suppose



notwithstanding he should persevere in it under every species of persecution, even to the suffering of death—can we reject it because impostors deceived us? Nay, to do so is against our conviction; it is against common sense, and would be to assume a moral miracle—a deviation from the established course of nature.

Such, then, is the reasoning of Mr. Hume, and what we have said in the preceding lines, is sufficient to point out its fallacy. But let us prosecute the subject a little further, and bring it to the test of syllogism. It may be thus syllogistically stated. Testimony has deceived us, but nature is never known to deceive us, by the violation of her constancy. But these violations of nature's constancy, termed miracles, are only deposed to us by testimony. Therefore, these events deposed to us by an evidence which often deceived us cannot be received as true. Now, here again Mr. Hume labours under another great fallacy. This is what the logicians call the fallacy of composition, the middle term, testimony, being used collectively in one of the premises, and distributed in the other. Testimony, it is true, has deceived, but for that we cannot charge all testimony, as I have shown already.

The considerations before alluded to, go to establish that we can rely on the evidence of testimony with the same confidence as on the uniformity of nature. But this is far from proving that the miracles are worthy of our acceptance, for we have two amounts of probabilities, one of which exactly counterbalances the other and produces an equipoise, but if we have twelve such testimonies, what a decisive preponderance have we on the side of testimony! For, suppose the improbability of a miracle be as one to a million; suppose, again, the improbability of an upright testimony to be false, be as one to a million, then when we have one such testimony it produces an equipoise, or they neutralise one another; but when we have twelve such testimonies, what an overwhelming force does it carry! we have eleven millions of probabilities to operate on our mind.

This force, great as it is, is still more increased when we take the moral probability of a miracle into consideration, or the necessity of divine interposition into consideration. For what we call laws of nature, are nothing but an order of events established by his will, and if there is any need of producing a deviation from these laws, it is not improbable that he should do so. But it is not my intention to enter into the establishment of the necessity of a revelation. Let us, therefore, conclude by saying that an honest testimony can establish the truth of a miracle, and the concurrence of several such testimonies together, with the consideration of the moral probability of a miracle, renders it irresistible.

RUPNARAYAN Ds.

**ONE, MANIFOLD ;**

**OR,**

**SYSTEM :**

**INTRODUCTORY ARGUMENT,**

**IN**

**A LETTER**

**ADDRESSED TO**

**RAIKES CURRIE, Esq., M. P.,**

**BY**

**THE REV. JAMES SHERGOLD BOONE,**

**PERPETUAL CURATE OF ST. JOHN'S, PADDINGTON.**

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**LONDON :**

**JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.**

**M.DCCC.XLVIII.**



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N. B. As a division into Chapters and Sections would be inconsistent with the form and object of this publication, the above Table of Contents has been given, to shew the general nature and course of the argument, and to inform the reader of the halting-places which may be found most convenient in its perusal.



# ONE, MANIFOLD;

OR,

## SYSTEM.

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MY DEAR SIR,

I TRUST that you will excuse me for thus publicly connecting your name with the following observations. I would even hope, that you will not regard as a trespass or intrusion upon you, that which I feel to be a privilege and advantage to myself. While disclaiming, as I am bound to disclaim, any right, or indeed any intention, to commit you to the sentiments which this Letter contains; and knowing, as I must know, how improbable it is, that all the opinions expressed in it should be in perfect conformity with your own; I have yet the satisfaction of believing, that the subject is one, which, from its intrinsic importance, will excite some interest in your mind; and I am sure, that you will receive with a favourable indulgence any suggestions, which have their origin in a love of truth, and a sincere desire to meliorate the condition of humanity.

The sequel will shew, why it is that I consider a plain and brief announcement of the views which I entertain, to be a matter quite as much of duty, as of choice. It will likewise shew, why I am anxious to throw my remarks into an epistolary form; a form which allows, perhaps, more freedom of discussion than any other.

B. M. S.

The reasons, why I should address them to yourself, are very easily stated. I venture to address this Letter to you, because, from the erection of that Church, of which I have now been minister for many years, you have uniformly taken an active and charitable part in its concerns ; and may, therefore, stand as the representative of a congregation to which I am deeply indebted : I moreover address it to you, as one by whose friendly advice I have on several occasions been benefitted ; and to whom I must always be grateful for other acts of kindness, which no words, however, can repay : as one, also, whose name and position in the world may help to secure for the substance of this publication an attention which it might not otherwise command.

Yet another reason is the following. My present object is to enunciate broadly and in distinct terms a proposition in respect to which I had some conversation with yourself, about six years ago, at your residence in the country.—Little of formal method is needed, or expected, in an address of this kind. But, for the sake of perspicuity, I would distribute what I have to say under three heads ; my intention being, in the first place, to state, by way of preamble or introduction, the immediate inducements which now lead me to come forward with the proposition in question ; then, to submit the proposition itself, with such definitions and comments as may obviate misapprehension ; and, at the close, to offer some explanatory observations, which could not conveniently be placed under either of the foregoing divisions.

I. I would begin, then, by prefacing the proposition which is to form the main purport of this letter, by a statement of the special considerations which urge me to put it forth, without more delay, at the existing conjuncture ; and which render me, I confess, earnestly solicitous to gain a hearing for it.

The chief of these considerations, or, I might even say the sum of them, is the character of the times in which we live—the new page which has just been opened in the history of the civilized world. It is natural, indeed, for the men of every generation, seeing and feeling the immediate pressure of circumstances, to look upon their own age as a crisis in the lifetime of nations, and to attach a prodigious importance to the operations and affairs, in which they are themselves actors, or at least spectators. Fear, fancy, the mere love of excitement, can always conjure up critical and terrible exigencies: and all of us whose hair is becoming grey have seen and survived more than one of these, at which it may be difficult to look back without a smile. But the present period, I conceive, really is, what so many other periods have been stated, or supposed to be. Upon the calmest and most impartial estimate which can be formed, we must arrive at the conclusion, that the occurrences of the year 1848 are almost unprecedented in seriousness and magnitude: that they are pregnant with immense consequences, whether for good or for evil: and that they may be declared, without exaggeration, to constitute an era, or turning-point, in the destinies of the human race. For these transactions are not only wide, multitudinous, startling in their aspect, but they involve the largest and most fundamental principles: they have not merely spread over the surface of society, but they penetrate its entire structure, and strike down into its roots.

We stand, in fact, in the presence of amazing events. Europe is just recovering—perhaps scarcely recovering even yet—from one of the mightiest explosions, by which its thrones, its institutions, and its usages, have ever been shaken. Parts of it are still reeling with the shock. The forces of disturbance have all been let loose; the elements of political and social mutation have been upheaved from their inmost depths. We have beheld revolution itself hurry forward from capital



to capital almost as swiftly as the news of it could travel. We have heard the North calling to the South, and the South calling to the North, with a voice which cried out for change. We have seen insurrection bursting out almost simultaneously in many quarters, like a fire, till a whole continent was wrapped in one general conflagration. We have seen nations, like individuals, passing on the torch of innovation from city to city, from province to province ; from Paris, the focus of disorder, to Milan, to Rome, to Naples, to Berlin, to Munich, to Vienna.

Still, after these astonishing occurrences, the world seems once more to enjoy an interval, in which it may pause for a moment, and collect its thoughts. Let us make use of this breathing time, while we may ; for we know not how long it will last. Even as I write, even before these few observations can be printed, it may have passed again into agitation and storm ; and Europe may be plunged into the agonies and paroxysms of another convulsion. Nevertheless, the lull which has actually been diffused affords some opportunity for serious and deliberate reflection, so that we may gather, with less of distraction, one or two of the great lessons of the day.

One at least of these lessons is, that we should cease to look upon any event as chimerical or visionary, merely because it is of vast extent ; or because it does not correspond with ordinary anticipation, nor has been dreamt of in the philosophy of the past. The last six months must have taught us how communities, fond of pleasure, or tranquil in apparent repose, may be as the crater of a volcano : how the most prudent and experienced statesmen may be taken by surprise : how the most sagacious monarch may wake, as from a trance, to find himself an exile : how the workmen of a land may, on the instant, become its sovereigns, and mechanics, as by the wand of a magician, be exalted above kings ; how dynasties, deemed secure at least against all present

assault, absolutely require the most trivial and familiar images to express their insecurity, their fragility, their nothingness ; for that they are shivered like glass, and thrown down like a house of cards :—nay, how the chief performers in the astounding drama may be themselves astounded at the parts and scenes in which they are engaged. The last six months have shewn us the boldest, the most comprehensive, and not the least ingenious schemes of universal polity placarded upon the walls from hour to hour ; and the actions of the people in the streets outstripping the speculations of the philosopher in the closet. The incredible has, in short, become the actual. Imagination herself has panted after the realities, aghast and out of breath. “The impossibilities of yesterday are the necessities of to-day.”

Without question, much of all this has been too violent to last. It is altogether

“ . . . too rash, too unadvised, too sudden,  
Too like the lightning, which doth cease to be,  
Ere one can say, It lightens.”

Neither is it possible to conjecture what will be the next phase of a revolution, which has already been more variable than the changes of the moon ; and to which no parallel can be found, if we take into account together the compass, the depth, and the rapidity of the alterations. Who indeed can prognosticate what strange and portentous appearances, what “varieties of untried being” shall arise out of the throes of a heaving and fermenting mass, where “all things totter, and the shaken world vacillates upon its base ?”

On the one hand, we know that the miseries of anarchy and civil strife are soon felt to be intolerable ; and that few, who have the means of escape, will remain in a metropolis of which the normal state is commotion. True, therefore, it is, that the extreme democrats of France have already by their crimes and frenzies caused a re-action against themselves, and

brought down upon their own heads a terrific and bloody chastisement. We know, too, that if men pretend to live centuries in a day, and to crowd the work of years into the convulsive efforts of an hour, they will, sooner or later, have to pay the penalty of their precipitation. It can hardly, therefore, be expected that institutions will be permanent, which have so far outrun habits ; that they can start at once into a full and robust maturity, having had no time for implantation and growth, or for becoming interwoven with the customs and associations of a long-established community.

But then it is scarcely probable, on the other hand, that the social machine of Europe, after so unexampled and rending a concussion, can spring back, whatever its elasticity, into its former shape ; or perform its ancient movements equably and without interruption. The scattered fragments can hardly come together, so as to be compacted and cemented anew. No such restoration can be complete. Some may, perhaps, think that a flood of change is now indeed poured over many countries ; but that the old things will re-appear in their old places, as soon as the inundation has subsided. I must rather believe, that some at least of the almost immemorial landmarks, to which the eyes and minds of men had been so accustomed, as to consider them destined for perpetual duration, will have irrecoverably vanished ; and that the stream of political and social existence can never again flow quite in its former bed. That which we have witnessed, let us remember, is not a mere outbreak—German, or Italian, or even French : it is an European revolution : it is a revolution more than European : it is in some sense œcumenical : and must be felt, in its results, if not in its immediate action, over the entire globe. They, who reasonably doubt, whether ancient monarchies can be transmuted at a blow into vigorous and healthy republics, may be, nevertheless, convinced that the stupendous events, which have occurred since

February last, must exert upon after times an influence commensurate with their own greatness. Such things as these cannot come and go, and leave no trace. Where so much has been dislocated, and unhinged; where so many pillars of stateliness and strength have been shattered, as by an earthquake; where determinations so stern, energies so wild and daring, have been flung up from the central abysses of a population,—it were idle to suppose that government and order, even when they resume their march, will fall precisely into the previous routine, or that European civilization will settle back into the state, which has been so widely and rudely broken up.

For it must also be borne in mind, that this fiery outburst of revolution, sudden as it has been, and in a certain sense accidental, is yet connected with causes, which long have been, and still are, in constant operation. And these causes must, of course, be adequate to the effects. The common remark, how slight causes give rise to vast effects, is, after all, a mere fashion of speaking: and either it cannot in reality be true, or it can refer only to the proximate cause, and not to those deeper and more efficient causes, which are somewhat remote from observation. But, for the most part, what we call the proximate cause is not so much the cause, as the occasion. Beautifully, indeed, has it been said, “Behold, how great a flame a little fire kindleth!” Yet, when a single spark produces the tremendous ignition, the train must have been laid; or, at least, combustible materials in a sufficient quantity must have been ready for the blaze.

The causes too—continuous and growing causes—which are now operating towards momentous changes, both at home and abroad, are either actually patent; or, if not always lying upon the surface, are discoverable without much difficulty, by candid and patient investigation.

I say, both at home and abroad, because some at least of these causes are at work among ourselves ; and the very difference, which has been recently so conspicuous between England and the Continent, may tend to throw light upon the subject.

England, by the Divine blessing, has been enabled to ride out the tempest ; while other vessels, many and majestic, have foundered ; and, while sea and shore are strewn with their wrecks. In our own good ship—to pursue the metaphor a little further—not a plank has given way, and scarcely a timber has been strained. With us the advice of an illustrious, though expatriated, man, M. Guizot, has been hardly needed, that we should hold fast to our constitution and to our faith, and reverence our traditions. The attempt to revolutionize Great Britain, after the model of Paris, has been signally and totally put down : crushed, in fact, and overwhelmed, rather than defeated. The cause of law and order has asserted its supremacy among us, with a triumph the more glorious, that it has been achieved without blood. The citizens in our towns at once took the matter into their own hands : so that no necessity arose for having recourse to that humane and disciplined firmness, that admirable union of courage and temper, which our soldiers have almost invariably exhibited in our civil disturbances. Even in Ireland, rebellion has been paralysed, so soon as it would pass from words into deeds, and would lift up its arm to strike.

Now, what is the inference to be deduced from these notorious facts ? In what, humanly speaking, consists the secret of our security ? It consists partly, of course, in the circumstance, that our civil, religious, and domestic scheme of life is time-honoured and time-hallowed ; more in the circumstance, that the various parts of it have a firm coherence and agreement among themselves ; and more, again, in the circumstance, that England already possesses a degree of prac-

tical liberty—of liberty social as well as political,—and the social is even the more valuable of the two,—larger and more real than is enjoyed, perhaps, in any other region under the sun. In other words, our institutions are broad, and therefore strong: they are not as an enormous edifice with a narrow basis, which the first hurricane is sure to overthrow. We may have no sympathy with the turbulence of mobs, and the noisy selfishness of demagogues; we may repudiate that abusive vituperation which is for ever insisting upon “the conspiracy of crowned heads against human rights;” from habit, or taste, or temperament, we may turn with an intuitive dislike from sophists, declaimers, rhetoricians, the framers of abstract constitutions, which are utterly inapplicable where they are meant to be applied; we may be thoroughly persuaded, that the principle of stability must be joined with the principle of movement, and the principle of adaptation with the principle of progression: but, nevertheless, the indications of the age cannot be mistaken without wilful self-delusion; and neither can they be safely neglected. They convey to us the admonition, that, if we wish institutions to endure and flourish, we must widen the foundations on which they rest. They teach us the two-fold tendency of all things, at once to consolidation and to expansion.

For the main cause, after all, of political and social changes is the law of progress itself, the great inevitable truth of human development. Never, at any former period, was the fact of this development so visible. How many and how undeniable are the signs! We trace them in the greater breadth of the problems discussed, and the greater number of persons who discuss them; in the scope, the boldness, and the keenness of research; in the extended sphere of mental culture and mental activity; in the increase of educational and instructional provisions; in the grasp and largeness of purpose gradually becoming visible in the undertakings of

the day ; and in the disposition which prevails towards mutual aid and associated action. We trace them in the new views which are entertained of social economy, and the augmented degree of importance which is annexed to social questions, in contradistinction to those which are merely political ; we trace them in the growing distaste for war, as belonging only to a savage state of society ; in the practice, now so frequently adopted, of submitting national disputes to the arbitration of friendly or neutral powers ; and in the decay, if not the extinction, of that barbarous principle, which made international enmities a part of national virtue ; we trace them in a velocity of locomotion, which our ancestors, in their most soaring visions, never conceived, from place to place, from country to country, by means of steam-vessels and rail-roads : in the greater freedom of commerce ; in the increased facilities of intercourse, and in the infinitely multiplied communication between nation and nation, man and man ; in the almost instantaneous diffusion of intelligence through the electric telegraph, as “ by the agency of lightning, and with the speed ; ” we trace them in the more general acquaintance of men with the thoughts and languages of each other, and in that kindly wisdom which is gradually gathering the well-informed persons of the age into a republic of science and letters ; we trace them in the amount of charity, in the impetus given to the prosecution of useful and beneficial designs ; in the spread of colonization ; and, still more, in the dissemination of the Bible, and the missionary spirit of Christianity. We trace them in the sounder and more righteous sentiments which are cherished as to the connexion between all classes and all interests ; in the dissolution of old parties, the disuse of old party watchwords, and the formation of new and more generous combinations ; in the recognition of the “ consensus ” which must exist between all the members of the body politic, as of the human frame ; their universal interdependence, their

perpetual reciprocity of influence ; in the fact, as Louis Blanc expresses it, that the whole of a society must fall together, or be elevated together ; or, to borrow the words of Mr. J. S. Mill, "that we can never either understand in theory, or command in practice, the condition of a society in any one respect, without taking into consideration its condition in all other respects."

In short, mechanical, economical, intellectual, moral, and religious causes are now all concurring to one end ; they are bringing men into union, and at the same time giving fresh force to their individual wills and capacities.

The strength and the operation of these causes have an obvious tendency to increase, henceforward, in a geometrical ratio.

At any rate, the pulses of human life beat, at this epoch of our race, with a quicker and stronger vibration than heretofore. The movements of society are broader, more profound, more powerful, than they have hitherto been. Mankind are forming themselves into larger and larger associations, coalescing with a wider and wider federalism, and familiarizing themselves more and more with conventions and congresses, called together for a variety of objects, and composed oftentimes of deputies from both hemispheres.

We must adapt our measures to our circumstances. No doubt, as more activities are developed, more interests involved, more minds engaged, more volitions exercised, the regulation of the world becomes a graver, a more complicated, a more difficult task ; but the progression of humanity is still certain. We must accept this great fact with all its conditions attached to it.

Besides, without indulging in dreams of human perfectibility on earth, and without denying that the forces of confusion and mischief are abroad, the symptoms of advance-



ment and improvement are, on the whole, abundantly sufficient to encourage and animate us.

On the other side, it must be confessed, that there remain serious chasms and deficiencies even in those respects where the present generation has done more than the preceding. It is also true that another picture might be drawn—yet this too should animate us—the picture of the evils and disorders which still afflict human communities, with our own among the rest, and the need of providing some large scheme of speedy and effective remedies. But I refrain from attempting the delineation in these few preliminary remarks ; lest I should either seem to exaggerate it by statements made without the requisite qualifications, or should utterly fail to do justice to the affecting and solemn warning which it ought to present.

Enough must have been said to demonstrate, that, in addition to those ominous phenomena which have shot up like meteors in the sky of France, there must throng and press around us a multitude of other circumstances, which may now make every thinking man look with a peculiar solicitude to the future fortunes of the species. Before, indeed, those events occurred, which have convulsed Europe from end to end, a vague and general feeling had displayed itself in the common discourse, the journals, and the literature of the day, to the effect that a new æra was commencing, and that the world, in some respects, was about to start upon a fresh career. To this effect, there has been long a dull and muttered sound, week after week waxing louder and more distinct. The essential properties of human nature, it was said in more quarters than one, are the same in all ages and all climes. But many of the forms of social existence are antiquated, effete, and must pass away. The mould itself is broken, and society cannot be recast in it.

In these sentiments, thus expressed, I cannot altogether participate. God forbid, for instance, that the red flag of

communism should be hoisted on our shores, or be seen floating from our steeples ! Generally, too, that which is beneficial to nations is gradual transition, careful expansion and amendment, rather than abrupt and violent change. Still the horizon of thought and action is extending itself, and will extend itself, with an indefinite, and as yet incalculable, enlargement. Thousands and thousands of lines are stretching themselves out in all directions, and yet at the same time converging to a common centre. The current of human life rolls on with an ampler volume ; for the tributary waters are more in number, and there is a confluence of all their streams. This or that wave may apparently recede ; but, if we only watch, we cannot fail to perceive that the tide is flowing, and with an accumulated force. I use by design the ordinary, and even trite figures and analogies, as best conveying the prevalent impression ; and, therefore, I would add this other of a somewhat different kind, namely, that we might as well think of resting a pyramid upon its apex, as of now resting the whole of human affairs upon a few persons, or a few interests.

But there is on this account, I would reiterate, no room for despondency. However men may have trembled, and with reason, at some of those awful shapes which have emerged out of the late chaos on the Continent, we are now able in some measure to discriminate the general and abiding features of the time, from such as are only variable and transient : and perhaps even those things which have shocked and terrified us, may be turned to advantage, and made to have a better and brighter aspect. It is no real matter of lamentation, that, in countries which have been kept down by despotism or oligarchy, many portions of the ancient *regime* have gone, or must go. Thus, it is evident, that might, physical and material might, must be the ultimate arbiter of disputes, and that it is a weapon of which rulers must

make use in extremities ; but it has become an instrument, on which they cannot presume or place reliance, or which may even prove as a reed, weak to restrain others, yet sharp to pierce themselves, when the population,—I do not say the rabble,—is arrayed against them. Not the right employment of police and armies, but the reign of military domination, must go. With all that has just happened in France before our eyes, I repeat it, the reign of military domination must go : because despotic states must discover the possibility, that troops, however brave and stanch in the case of unjustifiable and wanton sedition, will be reluctant to act against their fellow-citizens if insulted and oppressed. The reign of mere coercion must go : for a whole people cannot be coerced. The reign of mere dictation must go : for, although knowledge will be power, and although the stronger minds will lead the weaker, still public opinion will prevail over individual dogmatism ; and authority, though in civil matters supreme, must, even there, rest upon this public opinion ; while, in other matters, the *prestige* of mere authority has departed, and men will think for themselves, rather than take things upon trust. But, if these premises are correct, what follows ? It simply follows, that resort must really and fully be had to intellectual and moral influences ; that, as some forces which have mainly governed the world, now, without being extinguished, or being stripped of their lawful province, yet sink, or wane, in comparison with their previous dominion, other forces must mount into the ascendant, and take the lead in the world's government : that the business must be to enlighten, train, and Christianize communities ; and then to lay before them those wide and diversified, yet harmonious, arrangements, which enlightened, moral, and Christian communities may approve.

Under such circumstances, it may be safely affirmed, more of genuine deference, more of true obedience, will be

paid to legitimate and constituted rule, as less of abject submission is exacted by penal enactments, or by the sword. Under such circumstances, a country, at least, like England, will continue to be the home and sanctuary of unviolated order, and of a religious respect for the laws, and their administrators. Personal judgment, the sense of freedom, the habit of self-government, will be the props which uphold the throne; will confirm attachment and veneration for those institutions and ordinances, which they have themselves a share in framing and maintaining.

But I need not dwell upon these common-places. I should not have mentioned them, but that I would not be supposed to advocate extravagant and extreme notions; and that I wish to be clearly understood on a matter, on which, nevertheless, it is not easy, as I know, to prevent misconception. The main point, as all will agree, is, that men must now devote themselves to the great and serious purposes for which they have received the inestimable gift of life; and must address themselves together to these purposes, with an energetic and comprehensive spirit. Happy is it, that the true ends of existence being better understood than in times past, more persons are actually beginning to devote themselves to these purposes, and address themselves to them in this spirit; looking to the sway of religion, of reason, of truth, of right, of love,—to the dominion of great ideas.

Upon the whole, then, I would draw the following conclusion from this brief review, or summary, of the present aspect of affairs. We are on the eve, it seems to me, of what may be called the constructive æra of society. That, as the human race marches onward to its ultimate destination, the arrival of such an æra must become a mere question of time, is a conviction, I am persuaded, to which every religious and philosophical inquirer cannot but come: that

there has been long a growing tendency towards it, and that the last twenty years have vastly accelerated its approach, is an opinion, which every student of Modern History must at least acknowledge to be plausible. I do not regret that the limits which must be assigned to this Letter preclude me from expatiating on the melancholy topic, how a very large portion of human exertion and human power has been hitherto expended, consumed, wasted, in the work either of *destruction*, or of *obstruction* ; that is, not in any joint and positive efforts, made by mankind in concert, for the common welfare, but in neutralizing, counteracting, baffling, nullifying, the efforts of each other ; so that these have been employed in undoing and demolishing what those have laboured to do. My hope is, and such a hope is worth encouragement by every man within himself,—my hope is, as I have said, that such a state of things is now about to be, in part at least, succeeded by the æra of *construction*. The very mention of it, the very expectation of it, may have some influence towards helping forward its advent.

I understand by the term “ construction,” something which very nearly corresponds with the scriptural expressions, “ edify,” “ edification,” or “ the whole building fitly framed together ;” I mean, in fact, by the constructive æra of society, an æra in which the moral, intellectual, and physical powers of mankind, acting upon all the materials at their disposal, shall be employed in erecting on solid foundations the edifice of good.

If such a construction be at all practicable, either now, or at any future period of God’s development of humanity, the very momentous consideration arises, What are the principles which should characterize and direct it? Immense must be the danger, if it be attempted by a wrong process—unspeakable the benefit, if it can be so conducted as to secure progress and improvement, without confusion and lawlessness.

Be this, however, as it may: be this constructive æra at hand or at a distance, one point will be allowed. In a state of humanity, such as has been described, so full of hope, and yet so full of uncertainty; so cheering in some respects, so gloomy and dark in others; so big with significance in all: at a period, when so many things long consecrated by usage and prescription, are brought into dispute, or unsettled, or swept away; when all questions are agitated by all men; when the gravest and profoundest problems are flung into the midst, as it were, for everybody's solution; when the most novel and surprising theories are set forth in clubs, or proclaimed in the market-place; when all things, in short, are so curiously and unscrupulously inspected, that they may be almost literally said to be turned inside out: at such a period, any man, who sincerely believes that he has any suggestion to make which may prove serviceable to the human race, is more than justified in making it;—provided only that he does not promulgate his sentiments without dispassionate and patient reflection; and that he is not actuated by mere vanity of mind, or thirst for notoriety, or any light and frivolous ambition, utterly incongruous with the circumstances around him, with the serious and critical character of the age on which he is cast. The conjuncture, in fact, is one, when the most careless must be startled out of their indifference, and when earnest men are almost compelled to give utterance to what they think.

II. I come, then, to the proposition itself, which I would submit to public consideration. It is simply this:—that *the great necessity of the age is the formation of system:—that the great want of the world, and the great task that now awaits it, is really to systematize the collective and the individual life of man; to work out the idea of system both in theory and in practice. With this idea of system must be connected the idea*

*of One Manifold, losing sight neither of Unity in Variety, nor of Variety in Unity ; neither of Oneness in the Manifold, nor of Manifoldness in the One.*

The mention and refutation of objections will be seen to belong to a subsequent stage of this investigation ; but it is indispensable, as has been already hinted, just to obviate certain misapprehensions, which would otherwise be stumbling-blocks upon the very threshold.

It may be said, for instance, that the thing required is, not to put the world upon system, but to regulate it in accordance with true religion, in accordance with Christianity. Now, assuredly, if the former of these things be opposed to the latter, it must fall to the ground ; and we must live according to the spirit of Christianity, if we would indeed have life. But the two objects have a perfect compatibility, and even a close affinity, with each other :—and as system is the first law of God, so it must coincide with the economy of the Gospel, regarded either as a creed, or as an institution.—But, then, system is the word of wider signification, as having immediate reference to material things as well as to moral, to the forces and elements of nature, as well as to the affections and dispositions of the heart ; and is therefore more adapted to the purpose which is here in view :—while Christianity, the crown indeed and consummation of system, because having a real bearing upon every department of existence, and itself teaching and constituting the supreme existence, proceeds on its distinct pathway of heavenly light ; and, in the sublimity of its mysteries, and the ineffable tenderness of its compassions, might be almost fettered and degraded by too minute a contact with those subjects with which it was not specially designed to intermeddle. Wise in its omissions as in its precepts, it leaves to man the independent prosecution of his secular inquiries, the free exercise of his capacities and energies in those pursuits of this world, to

which Revelation, intent on its own gracious and solemn end, but incidentally and indirectly alludes.

Others may say, that life is to be adjusted, not according to system, but according to nature, or to just knowledge, or to science, or to the rule of right; or, in the words of Fichte, that "our relations should be ordered, with freedom, according to reason." The correctness of such statements cannot be absolutely denied; yet they are capable of a reply, somewhat similar to the foregoing, and with this addition:—the misfortune is, that men, in making use of such expressions as those just specified, hardly approach a step nearer to the end of their controversies. They may discuss for ever, for example, what is right, and what it is to live according to right. The exact meaning, or proper application, of any such phrase, however glorious and precious the conception which it should bring with it, is liable to perpetual disagreement: whereas to live according to system must be in perfect consonance with these other elements of good; while system itself is a term comprehensive, and yet precise; it presents a more distinct image; its properties and conditions may be more nicely and accurately defined; it affords a kind of positive law, or objective standard, to which reference may be made; it is far easier, in short, to determine what system is, than what right is.

And there is this further advantage. The idea of system may be conceived as a single trunk, branching out into an endless number of ramifications. By taking this one idea, with the two or three undeniable axioms, or postulates, which evidently belong to it, we may place an immense inquiry upon the simplest basis; and by a strict logical demonstration we may educe from it an entire series of truths, affecting, harmonizing, adjusting, completing, all the exertions of mankind in every domain of being.

But, then, the term *system* must be rightly understood: and, therefore, some explication of it becomes necessary.



When the word *system* is mentioned, men, for the most part, immediately think of the especial system of some particular person :—they, at least, mix up their conception with the system of Aristotle or Plato, Newton or Leibnitz, Linnæus or Buffon, Hutton or Werner, Berkeley or Reid, Locke or Kant, Schelling or Hegel, Cousin or Comte, Dugald Stewart or Jeremy Bentham ; or even, perhaps, of St. Simon, or Fourier, or Cabet, or Robert Owen. They find “system” used in books and conversation, and represented in dictionaries and lexicons, as the “scheme,” or “plan,” or “method,” or “theory,” which any individual adopts ; and any improvement, real or supposed, any alteration which any man suggests in any thing, even down to the making of pens, is called his “system :” hence, there comes a prevailing distrust of the expression ; and there is oftentimes thrown over it something of ridicule.

Moreover, from this dislike of particular systems, many are induced to regard system in general as an artificial array of things, depending upon some arbitrary hypothesis, and bound together by some strained, or imaginary, principle of connexion. It appears to their minds as something at once abstruse and fanciful, presumptuous and unsound. It appears, besides, as something which belongs to men who dream, or theorize, rather than to men who act ;—to academical speculation, rather than to the conduct of life ;—to the schools, rather than to the moving and busy world. These notions, too, I believe, are more common in this country than elsewhere. Very frequently, Englishmen take a pride in being unsystematic. For in their eyes system is theory, and theory is opposed to practice ; but England is a practical nation ; it is by its practical energy that England has attained to its present height of renown and greatness ; and therefore England and system ought to have nothing to do with each other : and Englishmen are right in holding

in abhorrence and contempt "systems" and "system-mongers."

All the fallacies imbedded in this mode of reasoning,—if, indeed, it deserves such an appellation,—I cannot stop to point out. How injurious has been the effect of such fallacies upon the science, the legislation, and the social economy of Great Britain, and how much discredit the absence of system, and the consequent want of recurrence to large, deep, and connecting principles, has brought in some cases upon our thinkers and writers, in the estimation of the philosophers and philosophical statesmen of the Continent—these, again, are matters, which must now be left to the recollection of those who are really conversant with the subject.

If, however, we required an instance of the mischief, as well as the perplexity, which accrues from the misapprehension or misapplication of terms, more especially of such as are of wide meaning, and in daily use, we could find none, in the whole compass of inquiry, more conspicuous, or more admonitory, than that which occurs with respect to the word *system*. The loose signification put upon it in the easy negligence of familiar or popular discourse might be, in itself, of trivial importance. But, in point of fact, there is introduced a pervading confusion of thought and language;—a general ambiguity, often, as has been said, amounting to positive misconception;—of which one example has just been given, and another, more serious perhaps, as having somewhat more foundation in the reality of things, remains to be brought forward.

System is very often designated, and considered, as a body, or arrangement of things, whether in science, or art, or any kind of organization, so compacted and dovetailed together, and supposed at least to be so complete, as no longer to leave room for alteration or addition. Hence follows the inference, that the formation of system must be oftentimes a

vast hinderance to true knowledge and right action, inasmuch as it would preclude all further observation and experiment : and the very attempt to form it, before a sufficient number of particulars has been collected, must be not only abortive and useless, but actually pernicious. For the most part, the realization is impossible, and even the aspiration worse than vain.

It is a matter of some difficulty, and delicacy, to disentangle what is true from what is erroneous, in this representation. Without doubt, a common definition of system in technological dictionaries and other compilations, is a *complete body* of any art or science, which has been distinguished variously, according to the different views of those who have digested the materials into a connected form ; or, more generally, “a complete body or treatise, as opposed to the way of writing by essays, or aphorisms.” Nor is it less certain that names of the loftiest eminence are to be found among those, who, surveying the matter in this light, have spoken in dispraise of system, and in recommendation of the contrary mode of proceeding—the name of Boyle, for instance, and, to a certain extent, the still higher name of Bacon. In many cases, the scientific rigidity, the formal and finished shape, which has been assumed too soon, has been fairly considered as a detriment. Occasion has been thus given for asserting, that to affect to have formed a system, is as much as to say, “the scheme is made up, rounded off, walled and fenced about within its own definite and sacred enclosure :—the door is now shut against further accessions of information ; for these would only disturb its neatness and entireness, embarrass and bring again into question all its conclusions.” But in treating of the great aggregate of things, we are hardly bound by these technical views. They are, in a certain sense, both just and valuable : but they have reference only to that which pretends to be a *perfect* and final system. When such a pretence is made, it

is, of a truth, incumbent upon us to bear in mind, that no system can be final and perfect without a full mastery, whether intellectual or actual, over all the existences to be comprised in it. But these views lose their justness and value, if they are carried to the extent of maintaining, that the *formation* of system is not to be sought, is not to be within the scope of our endeavours, until system can at once be carried to its final perfection. They would then, if they had any validity, prove infinitely too much. For system is a necessity of man, although we should be cautious in our attempts to frame it; just as we *must* generalize, although we are bound to guard against false, rash, hasty, and premature generalization. Both the one process and the other, of generalizing and of systematizing—yet the two are, in fact, scarcely distinct—must demand care, and cannot be quite unaccompanied with danger: but men may both recognize the *existence* of system in the creation of God, and cultivate in themselves the *spirit* of system, without making any pretensions that they have yet arrived at that stage of ultimate perfection, of which even their own labours are susceptible. So far as man is concerned, system, like everything else, good or great, which can be his, must have its beginning and its rudiments, long before it can have its consummation: it cannot be grasped suddenly and at once: it must, from the infirmities and deficiencies of human nature, be in some sense progressive and even tentative: and it can only be attained, if attained at all, after many efforts and by slow degrees. Nay: perfect system is an aim which man should keep stedfastly in view; although he must feel, that, at last and at best, he can but approximate the goal, rather than reach it.

These things being premised, by way of caution, we may be quite willing to accept any of those definitions of system which are to be found in the usual books of reference; as, for instance, according to Dr. Johnson, that it is “any com-

plexure, or combination, of many things acting together :” or, “ a scheme which reduces many things to regular dependence, or co-operation :” or, “ a scheme, which unites many things in order :” or, again, according to Richardson, that it is “ a collocation ; a construction ; a combination, or connexion of parts into a whole ; a series of connected or dependent parts ;” or, again, that it is “ a scheme which reduces many things to regular dependence and subordination.” We may also at once admit, that the adjective, “ systematic,” or “ systematical,” means “ written, or formed, with regular subordination of one part to another.”

In these several definitions, the variations, it will be seen, are exceedingly slight, as compared with the agreements. Our purpose may be abundantly answered by taking those common elements which are implied in them all ; namely, orderly composition or construction ; consistency and symmetry of divers objects or conceptions ; the relation, or connexion, of whole and parts, and of parts among themselves.

Let us observe, then, to what point we have arrived.

1. The assertion is, that life is to be regulated according to system ; and that advantages may result from this mode of expression greater, in many respects, than if it were said, that life is to be regulated according to reason, or to true knowledge, or to the rule of right.

2. System is not to be regarded as synonymous with theory, speculation, or artificial method ; but is to be taken in the sense which most exactly corresponds with its etymology, and its more approved acceptation ; as the placing of things together, or the structure of things when so placed ; the arrangement and adjustment of things in reference to the whole and to each other ; the regular constitution of things upon a plan, and with a purpose ; or, a coherent harmonious scheme of thought and action. It would be trifling and idle to contend eagerly for a mere word, or to

lay an undue stress upon it. But some term, whatever it is to be, is absolutely required for the conception and the fact which must meet us always and everywhere; and to express this fact or conception, there is, so far as I know, no term fitter, or more generally received, than *system*, to be found in any language. It has the convenience too, not however without some attendant ambiguity, of being used both subjectively, for the formation of plan, and objectively, for the plan formed or constructed.

3. The thing desired, and now had in view, is the formation not of *a* system, but of system; not the peculiar scheme or arrangement of this or that individual, associated with his name, based upon some peculiar principle, and linked together by some peculiar bond or law of connexion, of which he happens to be enamoured; but system simply as system, having the constituent elements which essentially belong to it, and bound together by the law of system itself. It is an important point, that the one of these things be sedulously and carefully disengaged from the other.

4. The formation of system may and must be gradual; it should always be contemplated, and may, to a certain extent, be attained; although it cannot at the commencement, or perhaps at any assignable period, be altogether compact and entire.

5. The system, of which we are to speak, is the system of one manifold.

In strict reasoning, perhaps, the enunciation of this last proposition is needless; for the idea of system, and the idea of one manifold, if not actually identical, yet involve or suppose each other. System, at least, according to a definition just given, and by the very force of the term, is the union of many things in order; and is, therefore, manifestly impossible, unless there be two or more things to stand, or to be put together; and, also, unless these two or more things

so stand, or are so put together as, in some sense, to become one. The primary condition or property of system is, plurality in unity ; or, what is little more than the same truth differently expressed, the gathering of parts into a whole.

There is, however, a real utility in stating that the system to be formed is a *system of one manifold*. For, by one manifold, we are to understand not merely plurality in unity, not merely multiformity in unity, but variety in unity. This is the first law, or "formula," of nature ; and system, which must agree with nature, must itself, therefore, be one manifold, or have variety in unity. On the side of variety, it will admit of modifications, according to the different cases in which it is to be applied ; on the side of unity, the same essential principles will be, with some latitude, always preserved. "A system, or constitution," says Bishop Butler, "implies variety ; and so complicated a one as this world, very great variety."

6. System, and especially the system of one manifold, presupposes, of course, all things that are necessary for the formation of system : as, for instance, some examination and knowledge, quantitative and qualitative, of the number, properties, and relations of the several entities, in order that we may know how, and in what proportions, they are to be combined or systematized.

And at this point I might for the present pause ; inasmuch as the immediate object of this publication is thus accomplished ; by proposing the formation of System—the system of one manifold—as the great work remaining for mankind ; and by setting forth in what manner the term *system* is to be understood. That the proposition, however, may not seem quite bare and unfruitful, it may be expedient to go somewhat further, and to indicate some, at least, of the steps and considerations to which it leads. Yet here this indication

can only be given in the way of a mere outline or skeleton-map ; or rather, perhaps, as the syllabus of a course of lectures, or the scheme of contents prefixed to a book. This syllabus, or scheme, is not intended to go into minute particulars ; and, in the actual prosecution of the design, the order, or sequence, may in some instances be altered.

First, after the exposition of the meaning of the term, must come the conception of the thing. This conception ought to be clear, just, and adequate : clear, that it may avoid the obscurity and perplexity by which the subject is still surrounded : just, that it may reject the notions not properly inherent in it : adequate, or complete, that it may discover and develope all that it really includes. As it is a matter of necessity to get rid of that which is false, so it is also needed to embrace the whole truth.

In order to obtain such a conception of the system of one manifold, we must regard it both as a question of pure, abstract, or formal science, and also as a matter of science mixed and applied. Moreover, we must understand,

- 1st. The nature and extent of system : that is, the system of one manifold.
- 2dly. Its history and statistics, as well as its philosophy : its practical applications, as well as its theory.
- 3rdly. Its value and necessity to mankind.
- 4thly. Their obligations in respect to it, together with the actual mode of proceeding to be adopted.

1. In its *nature* must be included the principles belonging to the idea of system ; such as connexion or coherence ; design or plan ; law or rule ; adaptation and arrangement ; combination and concert ; method and order ; harmony and proportion ; the right disposition and due gradation of things.



There must also be included the principles belonging to the idea of one manifold ; to either of these ideas when taken by itself, and to the two when taken together.

The principles which flow respectively from the one and the manifold, or which are logically attached to the former idea, or to the latter, may be best shewn by the following scheme.

## SYSTEM.

One	Manifold
Unity	Variety
Wholeness, or Totality	Partition
Union	Division
Generalization	Particularization
Consolidation	Diffusion
Conjunction	Separation
Synthesis, or Composition	Analysis, or Resolution
Agreements	Differences
Resemblance	Diversity
Collectivity	Individualism
Co-operation	Distinctive Action
The Common to all	The Peculiar to each
The Generic	The Specific
Attraction, or Cohesion	Repulsion
Interdependence	Independence
Order	Freedom
Simultaneity	Succession
The Constant	The Variable
Sameness	Change
Continuity	Transition
Stability	Progress
&c.	&c.

The conceptions which flow out of the twofold idea of one manifold, when it is taken at once, and in its integrity, are either those which have been already specified as belonging to the main idea of system itself ; or else such as federalism, classification, and generally, the balance of forces, and that combination of opposite principles, on which depend the safety, the harmony, and the beauty of the universe. It will thus be seen, that the principles here placed in the two

parallel columns, though in some sense antagonistic, are yet correlative, necessary, serviceable to each other, and have actually a common origin. Yet a real contradistinction is observable in the midst of the interfusion; and thus we must gather from the idea of one manifold, that the true law of nature is *universal connexion*, instead of that baneful doctrine of *universal identity*, which would make spirit and matter, or even good and evil, to be the same thing.

But the mention of these words, universal connexion, brings us to the next consideration, namely, the *extent* of the system of one manifold. A just conception of its extent is as indispensable as a just conception of its nature. But, whether regarded in the logical and formal, or in the actual, point of view, this matter admits of no doubt. Wherever there is connexion, there ought to be system. To say this is to say all. For connexion without system becomes mere confusion and disorder, utter and inextricable entanglement. But connexion is universal: therefore system ought to be universal. Wherever things run into each other, or have a reciprocal influence and interdependence, there ought to be system. But what things can be mentioned, which have no influence or dependence on each other, immediate or mediate? The continuity is unbroken, the interdependence is never lost. The connexion between the extremes is not dissolved by any number of intermediate links. The connexion between the remote, though less direct, is not less real than between the proximate.

There are bonds, then, which hold together all things in the vast and complicated unity of being. And, again, as all things have a connexion in space, so they form a series, or catenation, or sequence, in time. The existing state of things is the product of that which has existed; and the whole future will be the product of the whole past and the whole present. The whole future of the whole past: because the

separate part is not the mere result of the separate part ; but the whole is the result of the whole : everything which can be named is an effect of all causes, and a cause of all effects.

But again ; as we may speak without error of causes and effects, or, at least, of antecedents and consequents, it is manifest that the connexion of all things with all is actual as well as theoretical. Many things pass into each other ; and all things act upon all for certain purposes to the production of certain ends. They are connected by their relations and movements, even more than by their nature and properties. There is a system of forces, as well as of substances : or, to borrow an expression which has been already drawn and expanded out of its native region in mathematical science, the world exhibits everywhere a vast system of dynamics as well as statics.

System, therefore, if it is to have any consistency or any truth, must be *universal*, or a *system of the whole*. It must follow every link of that mighty chain which binds together the entire mass, and the smallest atom ; the objective world and the subjective ; matter and form ; the actual and the possible ; the real and the ideal ; the immediate and the ultimate ; the profoundest abstractions of mathematical or psychological science with the roughest operations of manual labour ; the most soaring flights of the imagination with the most sober business of society ; the most ethereal and transcendental thought with the food which sustains us, or the clod of earth on which we tread. It must spread, too, as throughout all space, so throughout all duration ; from the first morning of the creation to the present hour, and from the present hour to every hour which is to come. It must regard, as both the collective and the individual, so both the mortal and the immortal, life of man ; stretching, as to communities, throughout all generations of the human species ; and, as to individuals, into the endless futurity beyond the grave.

Moreover, as it must be *universal in its extent or comprehensiveness*, so it must strive at least to be universal in its *completeness*. Its aim must be to gather all existences into itself. For, if there be no gap or chasm in nature, no *saltus*, no *hiatus*; if in the entire compass and assemblage of being, from extreme boundary to boundary, nothing is insulated; nothing stands apart, uninfluencing and uninfluenced; but every thing is fastened, whether by stronger or finer, by more palpable or more subtle, ligaments, to all the rest; and if every item, more or less, affects the sum; then it follows of necessity, not merely that, as anything is omitted or shut out, the whole calculation is vitiated; but that system ceases to be system, in proportion as it fails to be all-inclusive. As we must take the whole, so we must take all the parts of which the whole is composed.

Yet once more; it must be universal in its *all-pervadingness*:—that is, as it should be present in all departments of being, so it should be present in all dimensions and scales. For *Natura semper similis sibi, et consona*: the Author of the universe has caused this great law of system to run through the universe: the same principles, operations, and processes, are repeated, again and again, in narrower and narrower spheres; as the vast tree of existence multiplies itself into its branches; and as the parts become, in their turn, subordinate or smaller wholes.

System, finally, must be universal in its own structure;—that is, for instance, it must be a system of action, as well as a system of contemplation; a practical as well as a theoretical system; a system which regards the adaptation of means to ends, as well as the discovery of causes and consequences: and, above all, a moral as well as a material system; because moral existences, properties, relations, agencies, purposes, are quite as real, and quite as certain, as any others which the universe presents.

These truths are self-evident, as flowing either from the pure logical conception of system, or from the conception of it as applied to this universal *kosmos*,—this world of regularity and order, and yet of infinite and beautiful diversity. It further, then, becomes evident at every step, that system itself, like this *kosmos*, of which it is the law or type, must have variety in its unity ; inasmuch as it belongs to a multiune congeries or frame of being, where no two things are alike ; and where, perhaps, not any one thing remains absolutely the same for two successive moments of duration : where all things cross, intersect, interpenetrate, each other, not merely in one way, but in a thousand ways ; where there are different modes and intensities of connexion and coherence, different kinds and degrees of unity ; and where system, therefore, as being a system *of time*, a system belonging to existences in movement and undergoing change, might be supposed, from antecedent considerations of analogy and fitness, to admit, in the midst of its oneness, variation and progressive development.

2. I proceed to another point.—It has been said, that we must understand the history and statistics of system, as well as its philosophy :—its practical applications, as well as its theory.

This fact has already become apparent ; but it will be yet more apparent upon a somewhat closer investigation ; and we shall have a clearer insight into the history and the applications, by recurring for a moment to a general view of the pure philosophical notion.

. In the system, then, of one manifold, the whole, down to the atom, must be regarded as one conception, involving, under co-ordinate or subordinate groups, and throughout all the intermediate stages, innumerable conceptions : the whole is one inquiry, embracing countless inquiries ; one problem,

embracing countless problems ; one argument, comprising an infinite diversity of arguments ; one action or agency, involving unnumbered actions or agencies ; one instrumentality, including a vast series of instrumentalities ; one end, including a multiplicity of ends ; one law, involving all laws ; one construction, and a thousand constructions in one.

But all the things which have been just specified, such as inquiry, agency, instrumentalities, ends, are not only one manifold, when viewed in themselves ; but one manifold, when viewed together. Indeed, the very idea of one manifold, as well as the experienced realities of existence, must assure us, that knowledge and action, theory and practice, though with clear differences between them, are in some sense one : they are, at least, so blended and intermingled together, they have so true and intimate a connexion, that they can never be dissociated in that which is assumed to be *system*.

As *system* is not *system* unless it be universal, so neither is it *system* unless it be practical.

Yet further : *system*, as we have seen, belongs to both space and time ; to both the objective world and the subjective ; to the world of external existences, the world of ideas, the world of signs : to both persons and things ; to both physical means and moral purposes : and, moreover, as it is a system of one manifold, and as it is universal, and spreads throughout the creation from end to end ; so its principles, which in every instance, in every domain, aid and require each other, must be universal too ; and must be applied in their greatest extent. There must be the greatest unity and the greatest plurality : the most entire whole or totality, and the most minute partition : the utmost combination, and the utmost individualism : the utmost comprehensiveness, and the most particular analysis, enumeration, and specification of the several units : the utmost *ensemble*, the *simul et semel* ; and the utmost subdivision or separation : all things taken

together and at once ; each thing by itself, or one by one : all acting upon all throughout all duration ; and each acting upon each at every fraction of time.

We recur, then, to the observation, that there must be an actual application coinciding with the abstract theory.

For, in truth, as some philosophers insist upon a practical reason, as well as a speculative reason, so there exist practical principles to correspond with these theoretical principles : and little of real advancement can ever be made, unless the whole scheme of existences be not merely speculatively regarded as one manifold ; but actually taken, and reduced to practice, as one manifold.

It becomes still more impossible to resist this conclusion, when we reflect that even the abstract and the concrete, the actual and the ideal, not only throw light upon each other, but are themselves indissolubly connected in the one manifold of universal being.

But very important consequences ensue. For these considerations necessarily lead to a new or peculiar mode of *viewing all things, and dealing with all things.*

In the first place, they must be carried throughout as a *guide and test*, for the examination of the actual condition of the world :—of sciences, institutions, occupations, usages, modes of life, both in their origin, and in their present state. The essential principles of system must greatly influence our judgment of them, and our manner of treating them. The historical and statistical must be tried by the philosophical ; and the philosophical will be illustrated by the historical and statistical.

Again, these principles must be applied in all knowledge and action ; in the *formation of new sciences*, or in the elevation of old to their proper place in the scale and order of science ;—in the establishment of new undertakings, and, generally, in the regulation of life, collective and personal ;

including all the intervals and spheres, between the single existence of the individual, and the collective existence of the whole human race; and always keeping in view the indissoluble interdependence of this social and this personal existence, with the necessity of improving each for the sake of each.

Thus as to science. In system, such as we have defined it to be, it is a logical necessity, since all knowledge is one manifold, all truth is one manifold, that there should be one science, including, and yet distinguishing, all sciences.

There must be a *science of the whole*, a *prima philosophia*, embracing the first principles, relations, and connexions of all knowledge: the composition of parts into the whole, and the distribution of the whole into its parts.

There must be a real positive science of *classification*, or *arrangement*. We must, however, discern at once the necessity of this science, and the inherent imperfection. Classification is necessary; because, otherwise, the mind would be lost in the bewildering labyrinth and multiplicity of particular objects:—it is natural; because, in the multiune scheme of the world, some of the parts are bound together by closer affinities and more special connexions: they are gathered into clusters, forming classes and orders; or, in other words, from the highest class or genus, down to the lowest species, there exist subordinate, or inferior, systems, distinct within themselves, yet attached, nevertheless, to the higher system, or systems, and the one universal whole. At the same time, classification cannot be absolutely perfect; because the division, or distinction, in nature is not absolutely perfect: the oneness, or continuity, of things is never entirely broken; they so touch at their confines, they are so shaded off into each other, that a precise line of demarcation can nowhere be drawn: and most of all, no single mode of classification can be sufficient, because things have many sides, many relations, many links of connexion: and classification, or division,



must be made on a variety of principles, according to the various aspects under which the whole may be viewed, and the diversity of ways in which the parts are connected between themselves. For the same thing considered from different points of view, may belong to one group or to another : and the same thing, considered with reference to the same other thing, may be a whole under one aspect, and a part under another. In a word, classification is natural and necessary, because things are *both* one and manifold : yet all classification must be imperfect, because things are *one* : and still more, any single mode of classification must be imperfect, because things are *manifold*.

The system of one manifold, requires, in addition to the universal classification of things, an universal *digest*, *collation*, and *codification* of things. Moreover, in accordance with the foregoing principles, it requires the utmost degree of synopsis, or conspectus ; and the greatest diversity of particular delineations—the most comprehensive outline, and the most complete filling up.

Again, the system of one manifold, must, to say the least, point attention to the need of a *systematic terminology*, and a revision of the *science of signs*. In philosophy, as in common life, the unsystematic use of language, even in the primary and most important terms, is a source of lamentable confusion.

Some term, for example, would be extremely useful for a general *science of earth*, of which a specific portion is now called *Geology* :—as there must be likewise a general science of man, or *Anthropology* ; and a general science of good, or *Agathology* ; including the whole good of all, and the particular good of every separate being.

It can scarcely be requisite to add, that the system of one manifold must have its applications to the whole subject of education ; regarded both as instruction and as training ;

to the education of the individual, and to the progressive education of the species ; to the formation of national and of individual character. It must involve its own method of contemplating and teaching : since all things must be *contemplated* and *taught* as one manifold. This single application of the principle,—the conjunction of unity and variety, of simultaneity and separation, in the great work of education—of gathering up into one view the whole in all its aspects, and distributing it into its several parts or divisions—is a subject which might well demand a volume for itself ; or rather, which might fill many volumes. I would here only observe, that it is an application which should have reference to all grades and conditions of social existence, from the youthful prince, who will one day, as we trust, continue in his own person the British monarchy, to the child of the poorest peasant or mechanic in the land.

A similar remark might be made with respect to the immense subject of *organization*, to which the system of one manifold has an evident and most appropriate applicability ;—as, to organization, national as well as departmental ; international as well as national ; to the *organization of society*, with the different provinces of men and women ; the *organization of labour* ; the *organization of charity or beneficence* ; the *organization of the State* ; *of the Church* ; *of corporations and companies* ; *of central and local government* ; and the relations of these with each other, and with individuals. For, there is an action of the whole, as well as a science of the whole. And of this whole of action there must be distribution and arrangement, as of the whole of science. Organization is practical classification ; as classification is speculative organization ; or classification belongs rather to things, and organization rather to persons ; though even the distinction between things and persons follows the common rule ; and, while real and necessary, is not absolute and com-

plete ; so that they also must be regarded in conjunction as well as apart.

A peculiar application might be made to the vexed question of co-operation and competition : or, again, to the intricate question of voluntary associations, considered in their number and objects ; their general and their respective character ; their connexion with the other forms of modern civilization, and their internal distribution among themselves. I do not of course say, that the doctrine of system can determine these questions ; but it may shed a strong light upon them, and at least ensure their comprehensive and methodical treatment.

In short, the application of system must comprise the contemplation or knowledge of things ; the working of things ; the representation or exhibition of things ; or, in other words, the special, yet ever associated, functions of the discoverer, the doer, and the describer : it must comprise a systematic conception of the abstractedly right or possible ; and a systematic view of the actual, with a regular plan of reports and registrations, having both unity and variety : it must also comprise the adaptation of these things, either to other ; for they also are one, as well as manifold, connected as well as distinct.

It would be easy to enumerate other applications ; as to colonization ; to the distribution of the population and productions of the globe ; or, universally, to the development and employment of means and resources. But these instances are sufficient in the way of suggestion ; and suggestion is all that is required for the present purpose, or that would be consistent with the proper limits of this statement.

3. The same sort of suggestion is all that will now be attempted in coming to the third point ; namely, the value and necessity of system to mankind, together with which certain objections must come under review.

This value and this necessity depend upon considerations, both general and special; upon those inherent in the immutable constitution of men and things, and those appertaining to the advances of civilization, the tendencies of society, the history and progress of mankind, so far as system is concerned.

The former set of these considerations will shew us, that system is always necessary and useful for mankind :

A. From the constitution of the objective world, or world of external existences; which is, strictly, one manifold:—from the constitution of the subjective world, or inner world of mind, which is, strictly, one manifold:—and from the marvellous association and harmony between these two; so that they also are, in reality, one manifold :

B. From the whole nature of man, on which variety in unity is the pervading impress; and from his peculiar position in the universe, which so wonderfully connects him with the whole system of space and time. For, among the inhabitants of this earth, man alone seems to possess that faculty of generalization on which system rests: man alone has those great prerogatives,—combination of action among men of the same period, and continuity of action from generation to generation,—with which system is interwoven, and which man flings away, as he flings away system. This capacity for system is, in fact, his compensation for the littleness of his powers, and the shortness of his present existence. The inferior animals have not the same capacity for system: superior intelligences, such as we conceive angels to be, have not the same need of it; for each angelic being is more sufficient to himself; and among immortal beings, we cannot suppose any succession of generations. System specially belongs to man, as man: to his actual life, and to his peculiar place in the scale of creation :

C. From his relation, therefore, to the universe. For man cannot create any thing ; he cannot annihilate any thing ; he cannot really change the nature of any thing. His true business is to systematize :—that is, to obtain a systematic knowledge of things, with a view to a systematic action upon them : systematically to unfold, adjust, and exert his own faculties and resources ; systematically to develop, collocate, and employ the materials at his disposal :

D. From the circumstance, that as system is, properly, the vocation of man, so it is, still more properly, the vocation of the Christian man : or, in other words, from the structure of the Christian Scripture, which has its own variety in unity :—from the scheme of the Christian faith, the economy of the Christian Church, the whole distinctive character of the Christian religion.

Again : as system is, generally, the necessity of man, so it has become, specially, the necessity of the age.

Here, the most impressive demonstration would be a full portraiture of the evils which result from the absence, or deficiency, of system, in whatever degree that absence, or deficiency, exists. The majority of men have lived always, and they live still, without system, in the true sense of the word. They live without a real concert with each other, or a real harmony, or arrangement, of their individual being. They live at hazard and at random, loosely and without rule. Their life slides away from them, vague, desultory, incoherent, aimless, purposeless. They have insulation without right partition ; confusion, or entanglement, without right combination. The amount of disorder and mischief arising from this cause has been at all times great : if left without check or counteraction, it must be greater in this age, than in preceding ages ; and it will be even greater in future ages than in the present :—for it must inevitably increase with the mere increase of the earth's population, of the multitude of competitions

and rivalries, of the struggles and entanglements of political and social life, of the crush and complication of all human interests.

By a providential dispensation, however, there subsists with this ever-growing necessity for system, an ever-growing tendency towards it, and an ever-growing possibility of, to a certain extent, attaining it. Indeed, the necessity, and the possibility, would almost seem to advance with the same rate of progression.

The sources of this tendency and this possibility have been already mentioned in that portion of these remarks, where an attempt was made to prove that man is approaching the constructive æra of society. In the infancy of the race, as of the individual, man is more a separate being, and fixes his attention more upon particular objects. Yet, even then, he forms a kind of incipient system with his own few ideas; and with his own family, his clan, his tribe. In the lapse of time, as new wants and new associations arise, other systems are framed; but still they are most defective and confined, opposing country to country, and mistaking parts for wholes. By degrees, however, as there comes more of enlightenment, more of mechanical and locomotive power, and a more constant interchange of opinions, men expand their sphere of thought and action; and yet are drawn more closely together: at least some prejudices and some hostilities gradually give way: design becomes wider and more apparent in human concerns: and the scheme of existence, while it is divided into more numerous sections, spreads more and more into universality. The natural and necessary course of things is from what may almost be called no system to partial system; and from partial system to universal. That such is really the case might be shewn by the philosophical *à priori* argument, by the historical argument of facts and events, and by the religious, or Christian argument; and these concurrent

evidences, as they make manifest the necessity and feasibility of system, make manifest also its value.

At any rate, the truth is demonstrable, that the formation of system must bring immense benefits along with it.

Its general benefits are conspicuous. For system must be the most effective instrument in discovering and maintaining the true *equilibrium* of the world ; and in finding for all persons and things their rightful part, place, and province ; in fitting agents to employments, and employments to agents ; in providing that every work shall be done once and completely by the most appropriate and competent doers—not many times in many quarters partially, imperfectly, irregularly ; in preventing that enormous waste, or misdirection, which is still deplorably visible, of labour and skill, of physical and material force, of moral and mental energy ; and in furnishing that two-fold *desideratum* of inestimable price ;—the *maximum* of power, and the *optimum* of its application.

On the supposition of *universal* system, these benefits, it is obvious, belong to all spheres and departments of political and social, public and private life.

A glance has already been given at the connexion of system with the formation of human character. It manifestly tends to the symmetry of the whole man ; to the full and harmonious development, the joint and several use, of all his properties, qualifications, and capabilities ; to the perfection of his entire being, so far as perfection is attainable.

In descending from the unity of man's being to the various portions, it is still attended by its retinue of benefits.

Let us observe its intellectual uses, for instance. It is not too much to say, that the system of one manifold, objective and subjective, is the true *organon* of knowledge to mankind : for it consists in the adjusted application of all the mental powers to the adjusted study and disposition of all the objects of knowledge, with the adjusted use of all

signs, as vehicles and as instruments of thought. It will promote and subserve whatever men can do, collectively, in arriving at truth; in obtaining, publishing, circulating information: and, as to the individual man, it will help to bring out, to invigorate, and to facilitate the perceptive, or cognitive, faculty; the faculty of judging, the faculty of reasoning, the faculty of remembering: and, moreover, it may render the utmost service in improving knowledge into wisdom; in reducing it to its unity, and thus preventing its stores, however multifarious, from becoming an incumbrance or a mischief: in causing the researches and capacities of the mind to be at once concentrated without being confined, and expanded without being dispersed or dissipated. Moreover, when objectively considered, the system of one manifold is the great clue to the interpretation of the volume of nature; the great key to the cypher in which it is written. It combines, or rather constitutes, the great induction and the great deduction of the universe.

Generally, too, the true notion of system strikes at the root of those errors and those strifes of opinion—by far the gravest and most numerous of all,—which proceed from narrow and partial views, from taking only one side or aspect of a subject, and omitting or even scornfully rejecting those other sides or aspects, that are, nevertheless, real and essential items in the sum, of which the truth, that is, the whole truth, is made up. But it is as yet difficult to calculate how beneficial a power the formation of system might, in many ways, exert, with regard to the discovery of truth, and the adjustment of the diversities of human opinion.

Let us observe its moral uses. It must, obviously, and in the highest degree, aid the true moral regulation of the life and being; the great work of self-government, self-culture, and self-discipline; and it is the main secret of moderation, or measure in all things. Again, how beneficial must



be its influence, as it tends to form a whole scheme, or science of duty. For, now, how many duties are unfulfilled, simply because the relations, which involve them, are not understood ! How many acts of duty does man fail to perform, simply because he has not been taught to recognize as belonging to him, such, or such, a sphere of action ! He has had no system of duty.

The consideration, too, although we must recur to it, may be here just hinted, how the moral significance and importance of every word or action will be best learnt from the conception of a vast continuous system, in which all influences all, and every thing stretches out into infinity ; in which the first word that was ever spoken still floats upon the air, and the slightest action, or movement, has its effect for ever on the whole of existences.

Yet further : it will be found impossible to separate system from *right*, the want of system from *wrong*. There exists a necessary connexion, as in the ideas, so almost in the very terms.

This, at least, is certain. System and *good*, want of system and *evil*, are allied and akin. We cannot systematize evil : at least, we cannot weave it into a large and general system. Evil is essentially a thing of impulse, passion, and violence ; of disorder, derangement, and disproportion. It is also, essentially, narrow and short-sighted. It will not admit of comprehensive deliberation, of connected thought, of nice arrangement, of steady forecast : of being put into just shape, consistency, and coherence. These things belong to good, and not to evil ; to good in its unity ; and the various kinds, or constituents, of good—right, truth, beauty, happiness,—have an affinity with system, which can never be dissolved.

Every man will be wiser, better, and very much happier, as he cherishes in himself the spirit of system, and strives to exhibit it in all the departments of his existence ; and as this

spirit is cherished and exhibited, the world at large will have its happiness immeasurably increased by the increased wisdom and goodness of its inhabitants.

This section of the inquiry must be closed by just touching upon the uses of system in its bearings upon religion. Its religious are its noblest uses.

As we endeavour to stretch our thoughts over the boundless aggregate of being—that infinite variety bound together by connecting principles and laws—one primary and pervading fact must force itself upon our convictions. This is, that there exists an immense system, of which the system of earth and man is a part infinitesimally small: that there is a *superhuman* system, on which the *human* entirely depends; to which the human must be subordinated and accommodated; and which affords a pattern for the human in the laws, principles, and analogies which it presents.

So much will be generally acknowledged, even by the atheist, who can ascribe the existence of this universal system to blind chance, or to mechanical necessity. Even he must acknowledge this system to be superhuman, and to depend upon some agency which is superhuman; since he knows that man is not, in reality, the supreme lord and ruler even on that globe which he claims for his inheritance; that he cannot alter any one of its main features; and that, if the sun, for instance, were extinguished, or but for a short time removed, the entire system of man and earth would be frozen up.

But, the due consideration of system itself, and of this vast superhuman system,—this system of order, of design, of intelligent action, of moral purpose,—should lead to the belief, that it requires a divine Conceiver, a divine Framer, a divine Regulator; and, therefore, that it is itself divine.

Irreligion is almost always the offspring of waywardness, inconsiderateness, the want of large observation, or deep

serious reflection. All comprehensive, connected, systematic thought, carries man up to religion : and he lives in an atmosphere of religion, just as he feels himself to live in the presence of an infinite system, to which he must conform his own. If he only strives to put his human system in harmony with the superhuman, he will not be far from some religion.

He will hardly be far from the religion of Jesus Christ. At least, between system and Christianity there will be found, as has been already suggested, many ties. A view of system teaches us, like the Gospel, both the intimate connexion between the social and the individual existence of man, with the impossibility of improving the one without improving the other ; and, likewise, the intimate connexion between all the parts of duration, between the present life, and the past and future eternity ; it teaches us also to take, so far as we can, all agencies into account ; and, therefore, at least urges upon man the solemn consideration, whether, or not, immortal spiritual agencies are at work upon him, have any real existence or operation in regard to him. The ethics of system will aid the ethics of the Gospel in blending the human race into one family ; in restraining pride, anger, uncharitableness, and introducing love, meekness, forbearance, peaceableness, amity, courtesy, from the mere sense of mutual dependence : the unity of system leads to the unity of its author as a self-evident truth ; while the one manifold of system is supported by most striking citations from the Old and from the New Testament ; and may help us forward, in its turn, to the profounder and sublimer doctrines, respecting the modes of the Divine Being, and the wonderful union between the human and divine natures, which remain, however, inscrutable mysteries, and around which the curtain of darkness is drawn.

But certain objections have been, or may be urged, which would deny, either expressly or virtually, either wholly or in

part, the value of system to mankind. It would be uncandid not to take some slight notice of such objections in this place.

Some of them, however, have been answered by anticipation:—the objection, for instance, that system is mere theory:—whereas the system of one manifold is a constant attestation, that theory and practice cannot be divorced: or, again, the objection, that system is a fixed, inflexible, unelastic thing, unsusceptible of modification or progress; whereas a system, which, in reference to duration, as in reference to space, is a system of one manifold, is also, from its very nature, one of advancement, of development, ever flowing and widening with the stream of time.

Development and progress, it is needless to add, must belong more to the intelligent and moral, than to the physical and mechanical departments, of an universal system. Yet, even as to these latter, a distinguished writer, Mrs. Somerville, has said, that “stupendous changes may be but cycles in those great laws of the universe, where all is variable but the laws themselves and He who has ordained them.”

Still, system can be regarded as a mere frame-work; a dull, rigid, monotonous uniformity; it can be regarded as cold, dead, spiritless, irrespective of holy ends, uncongenial with warm sympathies and inspiring principles; it can even be regarded as untrue to nature; inasmuch as nature, we may be told, in its exhaustless varieties of loveliness and grandeur, is not thus stiff and prim; is not thus crystallized and stereotyped into a hard array of formalities: the world is “harmoniously confused;” its substances are not sorted, parcelled out, and labelled, like the goods in a warehouse; whereas system is always cutting and dividing things into set portions and shapes: it would, therefore, strike out of the world all the images of beauty, all the grace and poetry of life: it would allow no liberty, or ease, or choice, to individual

volitions ; it would pay no attention to the idiosyncrasies of man ; the differences of taste, temperament, natural constitution, or incidental circumstances ; but would make the whole of existence run, as it were, in one groove.

The true reply to this sort of compound objection is, that it arises from repudiating, or overlooking, that juster idea of system, which some pains have been taken to set forth. System, it must be remembered, is, in its right acceptation, not cramped and narrow, but broad and universal ; and, as being a system of one manifold, it not only admits, but requires, much of diversity and latitude amidst the unity of its essential and eternal laws. It would not neglect any principles ; and, assuredly, not those which are the loftiest and most animating : for it requires all to be included, that none may be exaggerated ; and would always assign to all their due rank and importance. The system, too, of human formation must correspond with the real system of the universe ; where all things are blended together ; and yet are also arranged into groups and classes, so as to harmonize with our mental, or subjective, tendencies to classification and arrangement. Such a system must minister to the ethical, the æsthetical, and the imaginative, as well as to the logical, part of man : to the love and feeling of the picturesque, as well as to the exacter demands of scientific thought ; to those hours, when man would give himself calmly up to the passive reception of influences, as well as to those, when he would put forth the energetic activity of his powers : for, to the true system of man, there belongs spontaneity as well as subordination ; relaxation as well as tension ; just as rest is no less indispensable than exercise, or sleep than food. Systematic unity is not mere uniformity ; nor can monotony ever be a real characteristic of any large system :—for, to employ the most familiar instances, system, as applied to the construction of a house or public building, will be other and

stricter than system, as applied to the laying out of grounds ; system may be found in the tree stretching forth its boughs in the forest, as much as in a tree, at once formal and fantastic, clipped into the shape of beast or bird ; and in the more free and natural style of a landscape-garden, as much as in the trimness of a Dutch parterre. In short, such objections as these fall away of themselves, as the true idea of system is stamped upon the mind ; that system which, in its complex unity, would afford to the intrinsic attributes and properties of each several thing, or person, the very fullest development, which is compatible with the well-being of the wider assemblage of things and persons.

A system of mere variety could not exist ; because the first element, or condition, of system is unity ; and, without it, all must be loose and disjointed, like the scattered parts of a machine taken to pieces. A system of absolute unity would resemble that polity of ancient Sparta, where private life was almost absorbed and swallowed up in the life of the state. A system of variety in unity, or one manifold, is that, where neither the community is sacrificed to the individual, nor the individual to the community :—where there is reciprocal dependence without the forfeiture of personal volition or freedom ; and where every human being is both a wheel, or spring, in an immense engine, or series of engines ; and himself, also, a whole complicated engine, having its own arrangement of wheels and springs in its own internal and wondrous mechanism ;—so that a system of one manifold must be an additional instrument for securing to every one the largest portion of natural freedom consistent with the organization of society, “and of reconciling, in the highest possible degree, the several advantages of man’s individual and his civil condition.”—But it may be objected, that the formation of system, such as it has been shadowed forth, is as yet altogether premature : and that it belongs, if it can

ever become possible, to some distant stage of civilization, some unapproached condition of human life, now lying hid in the dimness of futurity. A few suggestions have been already offered on this topic : and we may again encounter it, as we proceed. Here, therefore, I would merely observe, that, although it must indeed be premature to think of the consummation of a system, which embraces the whole of human beings and human interests, it can scarcely be too soon to attempt to lay its foundations, to establish, or at least discuss, the principles which must lie at its base.

But a contrary objection may be taken. It may be thought, that all which has been now propounded, is either done, or in the course of being done. The complete reply to this objection could only be found in an examination, at once historical and critical, at once wide and minute, of the actual state of the world. The position, here assumed, has been, that, from the natural and inevitable tendency of things, the world is growing and coalescing, more and more, into a systematic unity : but that any patient and accurate observer must still perceive a sad defectiveness of system, in its science, and still more, in its modes of action,—in its arrangements public and domestic, ecclesiastical and civil. I am firmly persuaded, that no retrograde movement can now take place in civilization ; “that the diffusion of Christian virtues and of knowledge, even more than of the mechanical arts, ensures the steady advancement of man in those high moral and intellectual qualities that constitute his true dignity :” but I am persuaded also, that a great effort is required, not merely to increase his rate of progress, but even, in many respects, to set his footsteps in the right path, and lead them uniformly in the proper direction.

But it may be urged, further, that an attempt at the formation of wide and universal system would, if it has any results, be revolutionary ; and revolutionary in the bad sense ;

because it would unsettle what it could not restore, and thus be productive of subversion and disarrangement, not of harmony and good order. The answer is, that true and wide system can, in this sense, never be revolutionary: for its aim is to adopt and adapt, to combine and carry forward, much more than to innovate. It would take the actual, as an adjunct and counterpoise to the ideal: and, therefore, as a large, important, and indispensable element in all its calculations. It would, moreover, always respect existing institutions and customs, even because they exist; and because, although they may have come from casual growth, rather than from preconcerted design, yet they could not have been effects without causes, nor have arisen without some foundation in the nature or necessity of things. And besides:—subversion and derangement usually proceed from not consulting the fitness and congruity of an entire constitution, but making in some one portion of it unadvised changes, which will not agree with the remaining portions. System is the opposite of this rashness and violence. For its very essence is to look at a whole scheme of arrangements at once, and never even to precipitate any part so much in advance, as to be out of character and consistency with the rest. System is at least irreconcilable with dismemberment.

But the great objection remains, that such an attempt can lead to *no* results: for that it is altogether chimerical and impracticable.—The thing proposed, it may be stated, is an universal system of one manifold. But the formation of such a system demands an universal concurrence. There must be an union of all agents, in the prosecution of the whole work, and for the attainment of the one common end. There must be also the right action of particular persons, or agents, for the attainment of each particular end. Moreover, all things must be taken; because every thing affects the whole. And all things must be taken in all



lights, and in all their connexions ; both together and apart, both in their greatest combination and in their greatest division. There must be required, then, an universal, complete acquaintance with things, and an universal, complete command of them ; in other words, omniscience and omnipotence. But these are attributes which belong not to man, but to God. Who dares to imagine that such conditions can ever be satisfied ? Who can dream that this world shall ever see the realization of this idea ?

Now, without doubt, it is a formidable objection, that an entire scheme is a plain and even presumptuous impracticability. If it were entirely true, it would be altogether fatal. But as some evidence, that it cannot be entirely true, that it has only a show, or portion, of truth, we may refer to that brief sketch of man's natural position, and his social progress, which has just been given. Nevertheless, if we ought not to neglect those objections, or even cavils, which spring mainly from misapprehension, still less should we conceal, or disguise, the seriousness and the magnitude of those difficulties and obstacles which the reality of the matter involves. It is, moreover, beyond question, that we are bound to take into account, not only the nature and extent of system, abstractedly considered ; but also the nature and limits of human capacity in the formation of system : not only what a thing is in itself ; but what it is in respect to us. What can we know ? what can we do ? There are some few things, perhaps, which we imagine ourselves to understand : yet we see not any one thing that has not secrets which it withholds from us ; and of other things, magnificent and countless, we catch but the faintest glimpse : and when we have advanced to the very verge of our horizon, there lies an immensity beyond, which we cannot pierce at all : and when we proceed to act upon what we behold, we are compelled at every step to feel our utter feebleness, and are tied down

by a hundred conditions, which we have not made, and which we cannot annul or escape. Thus, the capacities of mankind are circumscribed within narrow boundaries as to their knowledge; and within boundaries yet narrower as to their powers of action. The capacities of the race are limited; and limited in a much stricter degree are the capacities of the individual. If the world were but an inert uniform mass of homogeneous parts indefinitely divisible, unspeakably arduous would be the task of arranging and systematizing it, as a mere problem of number and quantity. But when, instead of being uniform and homogeneous, it spreads out its various substances, with all their innumerable diversity of properties, modes, relations, this arduousness is increased a thousand-fold; and a thousand-fold again is it increased, as we think of all these substances working and interworking with each other, in a perpetual state of flux, movement, and change. But further, as we rise to organic life, and not merely to organic life, but to conscious, reasonable, moral life: as we rise to the myriads of intelligences, or minds, each within itself a new universe of thoughts and imaginations, and to the myriads of wills, each a new centre of action, and, therefore, a new centre, potentially at least, of disturbance and derangement to all other action; then we indeed stand in the midst of difficulties, which it is impossible to overrate, and, perhaps, impossible even to conceive. But is the survey of system, or the desire to form it, therefore, useless, or without profit? I believe that the lessons of humility which we must learn from a sense of our insufficiency and weakness, is at least as valuable as any lesson of energy which we can learn from a sense of our powers, or of our wants. We are taught to feel, how the finite must shrink into nothingness before the face of the Infinite; and to bow down in reverential admiration at the footstool of the majesty of that Being who is the supreme disposer of all things, and who will not, we are assured, put

out of His own hands into ours the reins of universal dominion.

At the same time, when these considerations have been fairly weighed, our legitimate conclusion is, that the seal of imperfection must always rest on all that man is, or does ;—not that we are to remain slothful and quiescent under ills, which we can mitigate, because the utmost improvements which we can effect in this initiatory stage of being will not at last change it from what God has designed it to be.

Still, again, however, the difficulties are enhanced ; because, in the construction of system, we have not a clear space, on which to build : but are embarrassed by many existing fabrics, which ought not to remain, yet which cannot be touched without great peril. We must have oftentimes to contend with accumulations of error, which have been invested by age with a kind of sacredness : or with a state of things where good and evil are so intermingled, that we cannot remove the one, without shaking or endangering the other. We must have oftentimes to contend with ignorance, prejudice, perverseness, jealousies, estrangements, the obstinate adherence to effete and expiring forms, or the ambitious thirst for novelties which may confer notoriety ; in a word, as with our own frailties, passions, and vices, so with the frailties, passions, and vices of other men.

But what then ? the questions must still recur ; Is system, or is it not, a necessity to mankind ; and what is the true theory, or *rationale*, of system ? If these questions have here been rightly viewed, difficulties should rather stimulate than deter us, unless they be absolutely and hopelessly insurmountable. Few operations are more common among mankind, or more mischievous, than the making of impossibilities out of difficulties. But it must be proved that we are struggling with a matter, where the resistance is altogether too strong

for us, or where the thing sought must elude our grasp,—that we are indeed beating either the rock or the air:—for otherwise, the very difficulties which will attend the formation of system, when taken in conjunction with the value and advantages of system, only lead us on to the other topic here proposed for examination:—namely, what are our obligations in respect to it; and what is the actual mode of proceeding to be adopted.

4. I would treat this portion of the argument with especial reference to that other portion, in which the *applications* of system have been considered; and I would also endeavour to follow up in it the connexion which exists between the idea of system on the one hand, and our moral convictions and emotions on the other. For it is important to observe, that, as the idea of system brings us, generally, to a scheme of duty, so a scheme of duty must involve obligations with regard to system itself.

These obligations, I would assert, are real, positive, imperative. The *cardinal duty*, I would assert, of every rational and moral being is to take his part in that vast system to which he is attached, and in all the spheres, or smaller systems, which, as it were, are folded up in it. As he proceeds from the inner to the outer of these concentric rings, the lines which mark the circles will grow gradually fainter until they become almost indistinguishable; but so far as such expansion is possible, his thoughts and sympathies must go with him to the furthest circumference. For of this vast system he is a component fraction: and the largest combination of this globe's inhabitants, with this great globe itself, can be nothing more than fractions: while in another sense, as has been seen, he is a whole in himself, quite as much as they can be wholes. And thus his entire existence has a meaning for him: there is revealed to him the true greatness of his

destiny, the true scope and bearing of all his actions, even together with an overwhelming conviction of his personal insignificance. For to whom does this vast system belong? It belongs to him, as he to it. It belongs to all and to each. It belongs to the poorest, the lowliest, the obscurest of the children of men. Well may there dwell upon him a mysterious sense of the omnipresence of every thing ;—a profound and almost terrible sense that all which he says, or does, runs, and is felt, along every fibre of the universe. Everywhere he finds relations, everywhere duties ; or one vast duty, in which all other duties are comprised. And what is that one duty ; so one, so manifold ? It is the duty, I reiterate, of taking his part in the universal system to which he is attached. In this mighty drama he has some part to enact : and the manner in which he enacts it has an influence upon all its interests and all its events.

Our life—the life of any man, the collective life of mankind,—is like a game at chess ; where each single move of each single piece has an effect upon the fortune of all the pieces, and the result of the whole game. The real difference is, whether the moves shall be made, as a child might make them, unconnectedly and at random ; or with foresight, with concert, upon some continuous plan, with some view or reference to this whole result. Thus every man, and every man's every movement, are implicated in the entire scheme of existence ; and here, the real difference is, whether he shall be merely a blind, unconscious, unintelligent instrument, or a conscious, intelligent, moral participator : whether he shall act the part of a mere machine, or of a brute headlong unreasoning animal, or the part of a rational, spiritual, immortal MAN. It seems to me, that the great idea of system, when understood and appreciated, helps to confer upon him his real elevation, no less than to teach him his real duty. As some countries are raised above the

rest, just as they are included, and make themselves felt, in the general confederacy, or system, of earth's civilization; while those are, of necessity, the lowest, rudest, least enlightened, and most barbarous, which are left out of its pale; so is the individual man more exalted than he would otherwise be, just in proportion as, endued with a wise and comprehensive energy, he incorporates himself with the great unity of all things, and not only studies the laws which bind it together, but feels himself to have a share in it, seeks to improve it, and would rejoice to stamp some impress of himself upon the connected order of being with which he is intertwined. As the idea of system grows and fixes itself upon him, he sees the world with new eyes, and walks through it with a more solemn feeling of his varied responsibilities; and this intenser feeling of his varied responsibilities induces him, in its turn, to think and act more upon system.

After all, something, nay much, does lie in the power of individuals, and a great duty does rest upon them; and with individuals we must begin. We talk of difficulties, and with justice. Yet, in the formation of a human system, as subordinated to the divine, the impediments, though grave, are not insuperable: for they reside, not so much in the nature of things, or in the ordinations of God's providence, as in a want of knowledge among individual men, which is, in some measure at least, removeable; or, in a want of inclination, which they, themselves, should labour to remove.

Let individuals do what they can, and the work is already more than half accomplished.

But on the supposition that men would confront the difficulties instead of being disheartened by them; and that they would seriously strive to construct a general system, so far as they have ability; then, since the whole consummation, which may be ultimately possible, cannot be immediately attained, and, as yet, can scarcely be in prospect, what are

the first steps to be taken, what should be the actual mode, or order, of proceeding ?

Upon the first step of all, we have already been insisting at some length. It is no other than a true conception of system, as it subsists in itself, or as it is exhibited to us in the resemblances and diversities, the affinities and distinctions, the composite simplicity, the multiform unity, of this majestic and beautiful creation. Man must have a system of thought ; and, indeed, all real thought is system. The idea of system must impart breadth, consistency, and harmony, to all his contemplations.

The next step,—and it is quite a practicable step,—is really to *put his own life upon system*. He must be at harmony with himself ; he must consult his whole nature, affording room for its passive, as well as its active elements, for meditation, solitude, self-concentration, self-communion, as well as for the occupations of the world. He must make it his great business rightly to discern and estimate what his whole life, his whole being is. He must examine whether, or not, it is indeed bounded by the cradle and the sepulchre ; or is destined for an indefinite expansion in an immortal futurity ; he must examine what he knows, or can know, and what are the sources of his knowledge ; what he may hope, or expect, and what are the grounds of his hopes and expectations. He will then be enabled, and he ought, to systematize the distribution of his faculties, his time, his money, and of all that appertains to him. He can also proceed to systematize his relations ; that is, according to the preceding exposition, he can take their entire scheme : he can at least recognize the truth that he must attend to his human relations in all their spheres. As he puts his personal life upon system, so he can also put upon system his domestic life, and his relations with his family ; his relations professional or industrial, as employer or employed ; his relations as a mem-

ber of a local community, or several local communities, civil or ecclesiastical; as a citizen of the state, as a member of the Church at large, as a member of the human race. He can pay regard to all these relations in their connected interdependent unity, as well as when considered by themselves.

But he cannot stop here in the one manifold of his relations. He may, and he must inquire, if he means to put his life upon system, whether, or not, he has a relation with a Supreme Intelligence, a Divine Moral Ruler: whether, or not, this relation is as real, as necessary, as important,—yet to say but this, is to say nothing,—as any which he has, or can have, with his fellow-men. In short, the first step, after a due conception of system, is the real adoption of system, as to *one's self*.

In the next place, education, or at least instruction, may be systematized. It may sound as an extravagant assertion, yet I believe it to be a correct one, that every child—or rather every person who receives education,—should take what Lord Bacon took, namely, “the whole of knowledge for his province.” I do not, of course, mean that he can pursue it all into the infinity of its details; but he can obtain a *conspectus*,—so to speak—of those large general principles which gather it into one, and form its apex. He may be instructed to observe the unity of knowledge, the unity of truth, as well as its varieties. As his views must be wrong and out of proportion, if he would regard the geography of a single country, altogether without reference to the entire geography of the globe, or any particular history without reference to universal; so, still more, must they be wrong, and out of proportion, unless, generally, he has a scheme of knowledge, a correct outline of the whole, and is taught to see the parts with reference to that whole and to each other. Gradually, and as his faculties find their development, he



must be led up to this whole, and down from it:—it must be kept always in view : and then there will be profit without risk, to whatever extent he may afterwards divide and analyze, as well as combine and trace connexions. He can safely choose the particular subjects which he shall specially investigate, and the portions of the scheme to which he shall devote himself throughout life, when he has noted, in the first instance, their relative size and position, and their interdependence with the other portions and subjects. But the largest multiplicity of loose miscellaneous information will never train his understanding aright, without this great fontal and central idea.

The very terms suggest, that all Universities should have professorships of the Universal ; in every place of general education some teacher should be appointed, who should apply himself to the connected whole of knowledge, and act in concert with others, who should give instruction in its several branches : and I conceive that no place of education can deserve the name, which does not regard as the foremost of all sciences, the science of one manifold.

A scheme of knowledge cannot, of course, be quite disconnected from the scheme of action. It follows, then, that another and most useful measure might be adopted, if the rulers in the State and in the Church, the Directors of public bodies, Associations, and Institutions, the heads of Universities and other large establishments, and all, in fact, in their respective stations, would render assistance to that *systematic view of the Actual*, which I have already mentioned as likely to be of very material aid to the attainment of the ultimate, and the just conception of the Possible or the Ideal. There seems good reason to recommend, that not only societies, but municipal and other bodies, should have their several reports : that the main substance of these should be drafted and gathered into some one general report : and so, at length,

that there should be an entire and comprehensive digest methodically made.

Every association owes a report of itself to its members : every state, or local government, owes a report of itself to the nation, or to the locality : the report of what is done has always a tendency to correct and complete what is done : thus, the action, as well as the record, of smaller communities might be improved : the improvement might spread on to the larger communities ; and, although mankind are far indeed, as yet, from being knit into a brotherhood, still, the existence of international law, the attempts at international copyright, international leagues for different purposes, synchronous observations, as, for instance, astronomical and meteorological, made, in concert, in different countries, and under the sanction of different governments,—these, and many other signs, give some promise of the eventual realization of a federal unity, with which an almost infinite variety of independent action, national, departmental, and private, would be perfectly consistent and congenial.

I have set forth these particulars, at the risk of some repetition, with the view of showing, that, *if a just conception of system be once entertained*, the formation of it, instead of being a vision, may proceed step by step ; and is already, in many respects, within the compass of almost immediate practicability. But I would render the matter still more clear.

III. I come, then, to the third division, that was to be appended to this Letter, for the sake of offering some explanatory remarks, which could not conveniently be placed under either of the foregoing heads. These explanations will be, in part, general ; in part, special and local.

1. The general explanations may serve, in addition to some other uses, partly for an elucidation, and partly for

a retrospect, of those portions of the inquiry, which it seems more peculiarly desirable to impress upon the public mind.

The whole is stated to be an *introductory argument* : and such is strictly its character. For its object is to clear the ground for future inquiries and operations :—in some respects, a dull and uninteresting labour ; yet more useful, perhaps, than an attempt to raise a showy and imposing fabric, before the necessary preparations have been made, and the necessary materials collected.

In a subject so vast as system, and comprising in its unity so many considerations, three matters stand out in strong relief.

The first of these is the conception of system, including the meaning of the term, the nature and extent of the thing, together with the prerequisites, or primary conditions essential to its formation.

The second is the careful examination of those existences in the universe, whether persons or things, of which system is really to consist ; and of the manner in which the theory of system is to be applied to them in their separate being, or in their combinations : in other words, a comprehensive view, not of speculative system, but of *actual systematization*.

The third is, *systematization itself* : not the view of it, but the process of it ; the setting in motion of divers agencies and instruments for its attainment ; its living construction and realization in the world of humanity.

Now the present argument has addressed itself, almost entirely, to the first of these matters : the observations, or suggestions, which have gone beyond it, have been for the purpose of rendering the conception of system more exact, the exposition of it less liable to misapprehension ; and also of removing certain objections and impediments, which might otherwise lie in the way of all further progress.

To prevent this statement from swelling into too large a bulk, the many authorities, ancient and modern, which might easily be adduced, have been, for the present at least, omitted. Both redundancies and deficiencies may probably be found in it, as it stands: but it is, I hope, intelligible, and, as to its outline, even complete: though it must be afterwards worked out with a more particular and minute elaboration; and though absolute completeness is hardly possible, in an extensive and, in some respects, a new field of inquiry.

Yet, in using the word "new," I would wish to avoid the imputation of putting forth inordinate and unfounded pretensions. There can be nothing new in so trite a term as "system;" neither can there be any novelty in speaking of the universe as a connected whole; or of variety, or, at least, plurality, or multiformity, in unity, as constituting its chief law or type. This twofold truth has been recognized to a certain extent, and by more or fewer persons, almost from the first dawn of investigation and reflection. We may track its vestiges from the earliest days of Greek philosophy; we have some glimpses of it in a philosophy older than the Greek; it is embodied, as in the Parmenides and some other dialogues of Plato, so in the most recent lectures of the professors of every German university; and it may be specially discerned, among other instances, in the mode of writing history, which is now practised in Italy and France, as well as in Germany. Indeed, if, in any matter which depends, not upon nice and subtle experiments, but upon the observation of wide facts, patent to mankind from the beginning, any man should lay claim to perfect novelty, the very claim would afford a presumption against himself; against his good faith, or against the extent of his knowledge, or against the soundness of his understanding. If the claim were well-grounded, it would possess this very equivocal merit only by

the introduction of some error or intellectual heresy ; but it probably will be very far from well-grounded, and thus prove a thorough want of acquaintance, on the part of the assertor, with the performances of other men and other ages, with the past and present state of human research. It is, in fact, scarcely within the compass of possibility, that any philosophical doctrine should be now altogether new. We live too late. And absolute novelty could, perhaps, hardly be predicated even of those speculations which have made illustrious the greatest names.

Still, a sense there is, in which almost every man who thinks for himself will have some novelty, or at least peculiarity, in his own views. Unless I believed that there was some novelty, or at least peculiarity, in that which is now proposed, I should not have intruded it upon public attention. But what is it ? The world has not been wanting in universal theories, nobler perhaps and loftier, than our times can hope to emulate. It has been truly observed by F. Schlegel, that philosophy among the Greeks meant scientific investigation, universal in its scope, and not confined to any one purpose, or subject. Such, too, has been the philosophy of Bacon, of Leibnitz, of many other men, since the revival of letters. Again, the world has teemed with systems :—“ *Systems of the World,*” “ *Systems of Nature,*” have sprung up in abundance. Little would be gained by adding one more to their number. The peculiarity of the present attempt consists, I think, in this : that it takes, by itself, the idea of system as system, quite irrespective of any particular hypothesis, or law of connexion :—that it would separate, or eliminate from this idea all arbitrary or adventitious considerations ; that it would then endeavour to unfold, and extract from this idea all the principles which lie involved in it ; then use and apply it as a test and criterion of existing forms and institutions ; and, finally, strive to reduce it to universal

practice, not as in an Utopia, or a new Atlantis, but with direct immediate reference to the world in which we live. It consists, as I conceive, in the endeavour to methodize and harmonize the entire range of human exertion, physical and moral, mental and mechanical; or, in other words, to construct a regular plan of investigation and action, upon the basis of a few elementary principles, which are either self-evident axioms, or conclusions so legitimately and strictly deduced from them, as to be propositions capable of rigorous demonstration, almost as much as any truths of geometrical science.

These elementary principles might, perhaps, be reduced to the two following :

(1.) The business of man is to examine what is, and to act in accordance with what is.

(2.) In examining what is, we find that the great fact of all being is the existence of a system of one manifold.

But, as the affectation of extreme precision might appear superfluous—to say the least,—in a publication of this kind, the statement may be thus made somewhat more at large.

The great law of the world is system.

The great want of the world is system.

For the future, the great work of the world must be the formation of system.

The necessity for system meets us in every phase, and in every department of existence.

The growing tendency towards it, and the comparative facilities afforded for its formation, are becoming not less apparent than its necessity.

There is a divine, or superhuman, system, which must be the model for the human.

In other words, there is a system which we have to construct; as there is a vaster system which we must study, and

to which we must conform ourselves : while the Divine Being, on His part, has in His wisdom and goodness determined, that the spontaneous agency of man shall be interwoven even with the immutable dispensations of His own overruling Providence.

In proof of this system, and for the preservation of it, correspondences, analogies, adaptations, exist between all the realms and provinces of the universe ;—more especially, between matter and mind, the world around us, and the world mirrored, contained, or formed within ourselves.

In speaking of the laws, analogies, or emblems, which render the superhuman system a guide or model for the system of man, we mean such as these, for example ;

The co-existence of centripetal and centrifugal forces, and the harmony produced by their reciprocal counteraction :

The mutual attraction of all things, and the strength of attraction varying in the inverse ratio of distance :

A two-fold movement,—as of the earth, in its rotation upon its own axis, and its revolution, together with other bodies, around a common centre, and as part of a common whole :—a principle, which extends, as we are taught to believe, immeasurably beyond our solar system ; and which everywhere represents the combination of the individual, or separate, with the sympathetic, or federal, principle.

The general law of totality and partition ; teaching us, that, as the whole is the sum of all its parts, or the result of the concurrent action of all its parts ; so, while nothing is to be interpolated which does not exist, nothing, which does exist, is to be omitted : that the whole will be rightly understood, and rightly treated, in proportion as all the parts which compose it are taken into account ; and the parts will be rightly understood and rightly treated, in proportion as we see the whole to which they belong, and their relation to the whole and to each other.

But, in truth, these laws, or principles, with several others, which will occur to almost every reader's own mind, resolve themselves at last, more or less directly, into the law, or principle, of one manifold.

These principles, too, are either self-evident, or are in the present state of science so universally acknowledged, that the youngest student has stored them in his memory; while Laplace can affirm them as readily as Newton, and Epicurus and Lucretius, if they were now alive, would admit them quite as much as the most religious of thinkers.

It would, however, be something worse than a false shame not to declare at once, what will be more fully set forth in another place, namely, that these principles may aid the sense of religion, and that the sense of religion may aid the force and efficacy of these principles. We who love to behold and trace, throughout the universe, not only system, but a living, vivifying, Almighty architect of system, must be more anxious to take a superhuman agency as the pattern for our own; while mindful of those immense differences which cannot now be examined, but which must always exist, between a being such as man, and a being of infinite intelligence and infinite power.

We shall be admonished more than others by the momentous truth, that all things throughout creation are doing their appointed work. In nature, we find no abstractions, no ideal generalizations; though these have their subjective usefulness, their subjective necessity. But, in nature, we trace the laws only in, and by, their operation. We do not perceive speculative and inert principles; but we learn the principles on which existences act and are moved, by the very movements and actions of those existences themselves. The law is only the expression for the general fact: and system itself comes to us as the great fact of all: "*le fait par excellence; le fait général et définitif.*"



We shall also be admonished more than others by the kindred truth, that the existences of nature, while each is performing its own proper functions, are all acting and working together. It is not merely that one thing is moving forward to one end, but that all things are moving forward concurrently to all ends ; and may be all made to move forward in conjunction to the one manifold end of universal well-being. How instructive, as how gratifying, is the consideration, that the Framer and Ruler of the world has made ample provision not only for all the wants and capacities of man, but for all these wants and capacities conjointly, as well as separately ; that the air which I must breathe, or die, also fills me with enjoyment ; that this corn-field, or this water, on which I gaze, ministers not only to my sustenance, but to my delight ; that this glorious assemblage of natural objects speaks at once to my eye, my ear, to all my senses ; and not only to my senses, but to my taste, my understanding, my imagination, my heart and soul ; that moral emotions of the purest and most exquisite kind may flow out of the view of external forms ; and that, as I behold earth and sky, with rapture and reverence, even that which is physical about me seems almost to become spiritualized by the beauties and harmonies of the material creation. Surely we should be taught even by our contemplation of nature to carry forward the great work of good, individual, social, sanitary, economical, educational, religious, connectedly and simultaneously : for that, while every part must receive a distinct attention, each part will be managed and conducted with more efficiency and even more ease, as other parts are managed and conducted along with it : that the maxim is true of things, as of persons, that each exists for all, and all for each : and that all must be taken to test and verify, to correct and balance, to aid and support, to adjust, improve, and strengthen all.

Therefore, in short, we must have system ; and this system

must be universal ; and by universal system we mean a system, where the idea of one manifold is made the foundation of all contemplation and all conduct : we mean the science and action of the whole and of all its parts ; so that all things shall be gathered up into their unity or totality, and then regularly distributed and subordinated into their minutest sub-divisions ; the same principle, ever and throughout, as in nature, preserving, ramifying, multiplying itself, with a constant repetition.

It is plain, therefore, that we do not mean by system a pedantic monotony, as if all life were to be arrayed with the rigid stiffness of a military drill : but we mean a system, which can wait, so to speak, upon the diversities as well as the agreements of the universe : which admits and even involves, great latitude, great multiformity, and infinite modifications consequent upon the lapse of time and the alteration of circumstances : which can adapt itself to the multiplicity of tastes, and the ever-shifting play of the imagination, as well as to the severe unity of the logical understanding : which delights in resemblances in the midst of differences, and differences in the midst of resemblances ; in sameness in the midst of change, and change in the midst of sameness ; in transition in the midst of continuity, and continuity in the midst of transition.

And so much might, perhaps, suffice by way of explanation. But my wish is, I confess, that these remarks should be recommendatory of system, as well as explanatory. I have offered them as an *argument* : I would fain offer them as an *appeal*. Would that they might go some way both to convince and to persuade !

For, believing, as I believe, that the greatest good which men could bestow on men, must be to set in order this disjointed frame of things, and help to put individual life

in harmony with nature, with itself, with the designs of God's providence ; believing, in other words, that system—a system of constant principles, mingled, however, in various and even variable proportions,—is the *supreme* object, which mankind have to place before themselves, in the present stage of human progress, it would be impossible for me to rest satisfied that any statement respecting it should be regarded merely as an otiose and dreamy contemplation, as a barren unproductive conjecture of a single mind, not affecting, or calculated to affect, the actual condition and prospects of earth's teeming population. Statements, I know, propounded under far higher auspices, have had to contend with that worst sort of prejudice—amounting, in fact, to bad faith, or intellectual dishonesty—which determines to misunderstand, even when the fullest explanations have been given ; with that imbecility or timidity of spirit, which for ever halts and hesitates, and cannot raise, or expand, itself to the true magnitude or grandeur of the principles which it professes to adopt ; with that dull, yet frivolous indolence, which treats every grave proposition submitted to it, as either a crotchet, or a chimera, or at best, as simply a speculation, more or less correct, more or less ingenious ; which denies it with a sluggish dissent, or accepts it with a faint and vapid acquiescence ; and then sinks back into its arm-chair, not choosing to be disturbed further, and disliking nothing so much as to be called upon to *act*. But let us now hope better things. We, at least, must be in earnest ; for the world around us is earnest. These are not times for rounding sentences, or playing with figures of speech. Passions, sentiments, ideas, feelings, the most potent, are in motion, are in conflict. A great struggle awaits mankind. Let it not become a great tragedy. Philosophy must now—I will not say, descend, but—step forward, to speak to the people with accents which shall be understood. The eternal philo.

sophy of life must be interwoven, if it be possible, with the hourly conduct of life.

For the advancement of the good and the true, every engine is needed that can be rendered available. That the scheme now proposed, when viewed in the full compass of its theory, does include, or require, through all space and all time, the perception, the enumeration, the denomination, the classification, of all substances and attributes, the observation of all laws and conditions, the development, disposition and employment of all materials and all forces, the action of all agents, the use of all instruments, by all means and modes of agency, for the attainment of all ends; that it includes, or requires, these things, both in their entire oneness, and in their utmost divisibility; blending, while it discriminates; discriminating, while it blends; "and yet an union in partition;" that it stretches itself from the secret thoughts of the individual to the collective operations of mankind; "finding the whole every where, and the action of every part every where, the whole made up by the action of every part, and every part only by means of the whole having become what it is;"—that it constitutes, therefore, an immense and stupendous undertaking; one which mocks at the efforts of any single person, and, of itself, bids man, as man, recognize his impotence, even while he collects his energies and calls forth his powers;—these are verities, which we not only have acknowledged, but again gladly proclaim, in the assurance that a two-fold benefit may be at the same instant derived from these opposite emotions, these mutually regulative considerations.

Yet such an undertaking, though vast, is not vague: though all-comprehensive, is still distinct and determinate.

And, after all, the real question is, not whether our power is unlimited, but how we may best do that which lies in our power: not whether all that we might desire can

be accomplished, but how we may accomplish most. And here we say, that system, the system of one manifold, is the greatest solution of perplexities, the greatest corrective of evils, the greatest instrument of good. It has, besides, become indispensable to our actual position. As it is the business of mankind to systematize, so it must be their business more and more. Men are now bewildered and tost about amidst a countless multitude of plans, fancies, speculations, undertakings, movements. What is most needed is to connect and bring together these desultory inconsecutive inquiries, these miscellaneous, fragmentary enterprizes ; to regard and form them in a due order : and, even while breaking them up, that we may arrange them into new combinations, not to deal with them merely by scraps, but to view the whole cycle, and mark how far it has been filled in ; to see what is omitted, what is superfluous ; and to determine the respective plan and province of particular existences in the general design of all things. In other words, what is most needed, is not so much to discern and invent, as really to develop and use what has been long discovered ; not so much to introduce principles, which are quite strange and novel, as to blend principles which have been taken separately ; to invest with their rightful prominence and supremacy principles which have been almost lost amidst a crowd of others less comprehensive and important ; practically to apply principles which are acknowledged in theory to be true and valuable ; and to extend into their universality principles which have received a more narrow and partial recognition.

Shall we do this, or not ? Shall we, or shall we not, endeavour to build a whole upon the same kind of foundation, which is of necessity laid when we would build any particular portion ? Do these truths lose their truth when they are generalized and expanded ? Does this expediency become inexpediency as we enlarge its dimensions ? If such be not

the case, if it be the very reverse of the case, surely it is at once a mental weakness and a moral cowardice, not to carry onward our principles to their legitimate extent. It appears to me, that, in whatever shape the question is put, and whether philosophy or experience is to decide it, the same answer must be returned. Given the materials of the world, how shall we obtain the most accurate acquaintance with them and the most serviceable disposal of them? Given the means, how shall we best employ them, and avail ourselves of them? Given the ends, how shall we most completely attain them? How shall we arrive at the fullest and most correct view of the universe, how act upon it at the greatest intellectual and mechanical advantage? By system—always by system.

I would gather up the argument itself, then, from its variety into its unity. System is good. It is good on the small scale; does it cease to be good on the large? On the contrary, the larger is the scale, and more elements are included, the truer, proportionably, is our calculation, and the greater, proportionably, is our power. Yet further: unless we can reach the largest scale, and include all elements, our mode of proceeding, although our weakness may leave us no alternative, must, to a certain extent, be wrong: and if we willfully take a part, instead of the whole; if we are contented, and more than contented, to make our speculative and practical treatment of things detached and piecemeal, without connexion or proportion, without beginning, middle, or end; it must be radically, fundamentally, and most mischievously erroneous.

A *primâ facie* case then, and a very strong one, seems to be made out in favour of universal system, so far as man can attain to universality. I do not see how it is to be resisted. Certainly, the burden of proof must rest with those who can oppose themselves to the *primâ facie* evidence,

so plain, so uniform, and coming from so many quarters. If they would assign a limit, it is for them to shew where the boundary line is to be drawn.

But I hear it said by some, Why use so many words, and take so much trouble, to vindicate and enforce a proposition which will be at once conceded to you? We allow that system is preferable to the absence of system. We allow that universal system is better than partial. But *how* is it to be formed? *What* part are the various agents and instruments respectively to take in its formation? *What* shape are its arrangements to assume? *What* are to be its classifications? *What* its modes of connexion and division? These are the real questions at issue: and he who cannot determine them, or at least does not grapple with them, has done nothing. We should hail and welcome one general construction, with which all the smaller constructions of men can be adjusted and harmonized. But where is the ground-plan of such a construction? *What* is to be its elevation? Where are the specifications and working drawings of this intended edifice?

Now, I am far from denying that these questions are relevant, and have their weight. The course of this inquiry must bring us to their serious consideration. But it was needful, I think, that the preparatory and preliminary step should be taken in the first instance. That step was the attempt to prove that a large systematization is really and truly most desirable and precious in itself; and again, that it is the growing want of mankind, the growing want of the species, the growing want of the individual. These positions I have endeavoured to establish, by touching upon those general and constant principles which are imbedded in human nature; and by alluding to the special circumstances and events of a time, believed, and not without reason, to be among those critical junctures in human history, which are,

as it were, the points of transition from one great period to another.

In many cases, without controversy, the best way, by far, of shewing that a thing can be done, is by doing it. But the formation of a general system is not altogether a case of this kind:—since it depends upon the co-operation of many persons; and this co-operation cannot be expected, until there comes a wide and penetrating conviction of its necessity, or its usefulness: and this conviction must be produced by the proper evidences: that is, this necessity, or this usefulness, must be demonstrated, as partly by experience, so partly by antecedent reasoning. We may rejoice to think that both antecedent reasoning and the experience of mankind are now converging to this demonstration.

The present, we may be persuaded, cannot be the ultimate state of human society, more than barbarism or feudalism has been. The present state of Africa, for instance, or of Asia, or of Turkey, or of Russia, cannot possibly be its ultimate state. Why should absolute finality be predicated of our own country? Why should we suppose that Great Britain must be stationary? We may well hazard the prediction, that, here as elsewhere, the future will be an advance upon the present, as the present upon the past. And we may hazard this other prediction, namely, that the ultimate state will be one in which there shall be framed a general system of humanity, in its collective and in its individual phases of existence.

But is there, in the mind of the majority of persons, a genuine, cordial, thorough recognition of this truth? Or, is there any earnest desire to bring it out of the region of speculation into the region of practice? Let men examine and ask themselves, whether they feel the expediency and the value of an universal system, and whether they will *help* its realization? With the will must come the way. The gene-



ral desire to perform such a work is already half to have performed it.

And therefore, I believe, the time will not have been lost in developing at some length the idea of system—the most concentrated of all ideas, and, at the same time, the most comprehensive and the most prolific: the most natural of all ideas, and yet, at the same time, the most connected with the highest and widest signification of the word, art. I believe that there may be even a peculiar advantage in setting forth this idea, simply, broadly, and by itself; in disencumbering it from all extraneous and subsequent, all doubtful and disputable allegations. We may err, as we proceed to shew, hereafter, in what special forms, or by what special agencies, the various parts of a vast system ought to be constructed: but we can hardly err in urging the construction itself. Hence it is, among other reasons, that this primary idea has been now, as far as was possible, disengaged and separated from all else. It will be a great point gained, if the public mind of England can be brought really to entertain this idea at all. For England is that portion of the habitable globe, in which, from its intellectual and its religious, its political and its social position, the general framing of system may be most safely and most effectually commenced: and more especially at a period when larger and profounder views are gradually winning ground; and when there have been recently written by Englishmen, on the subjects of speculative science and social economy, solid and comprehensive works, which would shed lustre on the philosophical literature of any age or country.

It is with an unfeigned diffidence that I would venture to raise any questions as worthy the notice of such men. Yet the questions which I would raise are these: whether, from their constitution and position, mankind possess the

power of acting in concert upon the whole of things, as well as separately upon each particular thing: whether, if they possess this power, there must be wisdom and profit in exerting it: whether, up to the present age, they have exerted it as they might, and as they ought; and have, therefore, really acted upon a general system: whether the time for thus acting has arrived, or is at hand:—and, moreover, what have been severally the results, as men have observed system, or neglected it.

Civilization yearns for a practical answer to these questions. For the truth always recurs, that the whole matter of system is most eminently practical. It is not only a philosophy, but an organization: it is not only a theory, but a work. It is a thing to be done. It involves in itself the common work of all; and the peculiar work of each. So practical is its nature, that, without it, the world would fall to pieces; and it is a matter in which every human being is interested, and ought to be engaged. It is the universal concern of all: yet each, as he is performing his own part, will see that the parts which others perform, are as necessary as his own; will observe, how wisely God has ordained, that, in an arrangement so infinitely diversified, the tastes and powers of men should be different, as their functions and occupations must be different; will perceive, that, in the vast scheme of existences, the scheme of knowledge and of action, of demand and supply, of means and ends, there is room for every principle; for trust as for prudence; for enthusiasm as for calculation; for faith as for free inquiry; for authority as for private judgment; for parental guidance as for filial obedience;—will discern how the respective duties of maturity and youth, of men and women, of governors and the governed, consist and harmonize with the one general obligation alike incumbent upon all, of taking a share in the great system of the universe.

But again : as the construction of system is not the work of one man, so neither is it the work of one period of humanity : it is the continuous work of all the successive generations of mankind. Sufficient honour must it be for any individual to be the simplest pioneer, or the humblest labourer, in that which is the business of all persons in all times. It is a process to be handed down from age to age ; from those who begin to those who shall advance nearer to the completion. One age lays the foundations, other ages by degrees carry upward the superstructure. The main point is, that the foundation be laid aright, and that the discouraging operation of removing and taking down shall not always interfere with the happier toil of erection.

But then, on the other side, as system is not only a philosophy, but an organization, so it is not only an organization, but a philosophy : as it is not only a theory, but a work, so it is not only a work, but a theory. And the theory, the philosophy, must come first. It must precede in the order of time, as in the order of logical sequence. Half that has been said would be incorrect and idle, unless there existed an interconnexion between these two things ; but still the general principles must be understood, before we proceed to the manner of execution. The reflection is indeed obvious ; if system must be defective, or even wrong in principle, unless it be universal ; and yet, if it be preposterous to suppose, while so many political and moral obstacles lie in the way, that mankind will all start together and at once in the formation of universal system, how is this dilemma to be overcome ! Well : we must at least meet it as we may. The mental conception must, in any case, direct the practical operations. And if the conception be just, the operations will at least be immensely facilitated : exactly as we may commence, without imprudence or inexpediency, with the wing, or apartment of a building, when we have its entire plan before us ; or as men

may begin at both ends the tunnel of a railroad, when they know how their labours are to meet.

Without question, while the tissue of things is so complicated, so interwoven, and almost "without seam throughout," some practical inconvenience there must always be, where only part of a system can be embraced. The more circumscribed the portion, the fewer the instruments and methods of action, which men have at their disposal, by so much the more, we have already argued, they must work at a disadvantage: because they are the more liable to be interrupted, thwarted, baffled, by disturbances and derangements from without, by external relations and circumstances over which they have little or no control. To be engaged in adjusting a smaller system, which lies within a larger, and is pressed by it at all points; to aim at improving a part, while the other parts are left unimproved; to attempt political ameliorations without social, or social without political, moral without material, or material without moral, collective without individual, or individual without collective, is to labour not in vain, indeed, but with comparatively poor and stunted results: just as a model-house, or lodging, may lose half its good effects, if placed in an unwholesome street, full of pollutions and vitiating influences; whereas the benefits of a model-street might derive a manifest augmentation, if fortified by the general arrangements of a model-town. On the other hand, it is no less plain, that the necessity is very often imperative for beginning one thing at a time, instead of waiting until all can be undertaken by all;—that in a great measure knowledge is to be gained by the particular inspection of particular objects in their specific properties, and internal relations; and good is to be done by the hourly action of individuals upon individuals; that if a business be too vast and cumbrous for those who set it on foot, it soon becomes unwieldy and unmanageable; and that every man, like every body of men, who assigns

himself a task, must look to his own competency, or incompetency, for its performance. But these different truths,—these opposite poles of truth—only bring us round to the same conclusion ; namely, that a right general conception, the mental scheme, or idea, of the whole, is indispensable, in order to think justly, or act with a full and lasting success, in any matter, or portion, whatever : that every man, nevertheless, must prosecute his own special and proper work, while he entertains this general conception ; that the principles can hardly be too comprehensive, the exemplifications hardly too particular ; that to take the wide without the minute, or the minute without the wide, is equally a delusion and a snare ; that the two-fold law, unity of design and division of labour, is alike applicable on the largest scale, and on the smallest ; and must be carried with us, throughout all stages, into all spheres : or in short, that from first to last, always and everywhere, there must be a system of one manifold.

2. It will be no inappropriate sequel to these remarks, that I should offer a brief concluding explanation of a more special and private nature. For each portion of the subject bears upon each : on the one hand, as the laws of system are continued throughout all departments of life, the special exemplification must reflect light on the general principles ; and, on the other hand, we should injure the cause which we are anxious to promote, if we suffered it to appear that the pursuit of the wide objects must divert us from the particular ; or, that in imagining some code, or scheme, of universal institutes, we lost sight of the good which might be effected at our own doors. Nothing could be more contrary to the true spirit of system than such a course. As it is system which tells every man, that he has both particular and general spheres of action, so it is system which warns him that he cannot be wanting to either, without mischief and blame.

Moreover, I would submit these remarks, as generally to the public at large, so especially to those persons with whom I have a ministerial connexion, and to whom my time and faculties belong as their right. This is the best, or at least the most direct proof which I can give, that system, in my view of it, belongs to quite another domain, besides that of abstract metaphysical idealism ; and that what has been here suggested has everywhere its local, as well as its broader applicability. Even the public at large may be so far at least interested in the particular instance, that it affords some illustration of the ground on which this publication rests, and some evidence of the practicability and reality of its purpose. But then, again, every man, and, much more, every Clergyman, must have some spot in the wide earth, where he has a peculiar concern in impressing the fundamental truths, that neither the exigencies, nor the privileges, of mankind admit of that empty, aimless existence, which is rather playing at life, than living ; that men should make system the governing law of their conduct, and place it in the foreground of their thoughts ; that, as in every sphere of society, so in every district, or section, of the Christian Church, there is appointed to every man his work, "to every man according to his several ability ;" that, in every such sphere, or section, there should be a scheme of things, and a combination of persons ; that in this scheme, and in this combination, all the things, and all the persons, which properly appertain to it, should be included ; and that such scheme, and such combination, may have its system of good offices, without any undue interference with domestic or with individual life, to either of which, though not altogether cut off from the more general system, is annexed a system of its own.

You will thus perceive, my dear Sir, one chief reason which I have had for writing this letter, instead of preparing

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a more formal treatise or disquisition. I do not wish that this argument should be regarded as a mere literary exertation; not from the absurd affectation of pretending to disparage literary eminence, which, in any manner or measure, it must be honourable to attain, if no higher objects are abandoned for it; but because I should be sorry for this publication to be considered as something altogether separate and alien from my appointed duties and pursuits; and because a letter addressed to a Member of the Senate, possessing, as without flattery or compliment you must be said to possess, so many qualifications for distinction and usefulness in public life, appears more real, earnest, and business-like: and real, earnest, business-like is what I desire this production to be; since it, in fact, contains a definite proposal, and is almost as a large prospectus of ulterior labours. The subject of it has been long upon my thoughts. My mind and heart are, I confess, bent upon this undertaking: the great and necessary undertaking, as I would affirm it to be, of putting into system man's collective and individual being. Your friendship, upon which I have thus taken the liberty of obtruding myself, will excuse me for stating that, many years ago, in the ardent hopefulness of a spirit fresh from the University, I flung upon the world a course of Lectures, called "*Pneumathics*;" in the belief that many things were discoveries of my own, which I afterwards found in books; and with the intention of shewing, that while thought should take an encyclopædic range, the world also required something else besides an encyclopædia, one-half of which might be almost antiquated, before the other half was compiled. From that time, at different intervals, and amidst many interruptions, I have kept the same object in view, and have both asserted, in more than one branch of inquiry, the principles which lie at the foundation of the present design, and also endeavoured practically to exemplify them, so far as my

means and station afforded me opportunity. In several matters relating to the education of the people ; in the proposed publication, under some high sanctions, of a Yearly Report of the State and Proceedings of the Church ; in an attempt, made in conjunction with the publisher of this letter, to call the public mind to "*social*" questions and objects, at a period when they were by no means so fashionable and popular as they have since become ; I have still been always brought round to the necessity of some *system* of investigation, some *system* of philanthropy, some *system* of knowledge, some *system* of action, some *system* of knowledge and action *together* :—because the two cannot be quite divorced ; but the pursuit of knowledge is a main department of action ; and action in its turn must spring from knowledge, and lead to it. Moreover, in addition to some private suggestions laid before distinguished men, in the year 1842 I advertised a work under the title of "*One, Manifold ; or, the System of Whole and Parts : being an attempt to establish the first principles of Universal Philosophy and Universal Organization, in accordance with the Divine Constitution and Administration of the World*"—a title which, I would hope, is not now rendered less logical and comprehensive that it is simplified and abridged. Part of the work was at the time written and prepared for the press ; and my hope was, that the whole might be comprised in two or three volumes, and appear in the course of a few months. But many circumstances taught me that I had miscalculated, on the one side, the magnitude and complication of the undertaking itself ; and, on the other side, the number of hours which I could devote to the prosecution of it. Amidst the distractions of London, and the urgency of professional avocations, little time remained for the mechanical act of writing, and still less for close and consecutive thought ; and what was done in a few weeks of leisure, during the summer and autumn, sometimes required



subsequently to be undone : because, in the rapid march of events, the illustrations which one year furnished had become obsolete before the next year came round. But a far more serious difficulty was the growing conviction, that a system of one manifold required the three things, which have already been suggested :

- 1st. A systematic conception, or ideal, of the right and possible :
- 2nd. A systematic view of the actual ; which, as the world has many aspects, must consist of many views, and may require some great institute as an exchange, or centre, of information :
- 3rd. The application of the one of these things to the other, with reference both to the present, and to the ultimate state of human society :—

I repeat, that, as requiring these three things, it could not be a mere disquisition to be embraced in two volumes, or in any number of volumes ; but that it must be, as well as a speculative investigation, a real construction, a continuous work, in which the share of any single individual must be comparatively insignificant.

But another consideration has had its weight and influence. It has been our endeavour, as you know, to realize among ourselves the true idea of the Church, as far as our circumstances would allow. In co-operation with many most estimable men, and yourself among the number, it has been my pride and pleasure to assist in meetings, in friendly discussions, in inviting the attendance of all classes and the free expression of their sentiments ; in contributions according to our means,—contributions, which may ultimately perhaps result, if I may venture on the statement of a personal wish, in the self-assessment of a Voluntary Rate for proper objects ;—and thus to aim at a scheme of Christian agency, which might be highly beneficial in itself, without at all clashing with the

province of any other bodies, or individuals. According to my belief the result of that experiment has been, that, where we have acted upon system it has succeeded : it has failed, where we have been deficient in a systematic adherence to our principles. In connexion, too, with this experiment, I had thought of writing to a gentleman, whom it is not for me to praise, on *the Local Organization of a Christian Community* :—but I found, as every one must find, that the subject of local organization could not be treated as it ought, without reference to the vast subject of Organization at large, to the broad principles on which all organization is founded, and to the general questions involved in the whole structure of the Church and of all voluntary Associations.

Now these personal details have not been given from mere egotism, or without a purpose : they will shew that some experience of life, some study of its existing arrangements, some participation in its actual business, have led me to the opinions promulgated in this letter, as well as something of reflection and speculative research. I do not speak as a mere theorist : though I should never be ashamed of being, or of being thought, a theorist, in the proper sense of the word. It is a conviction, experimental as well as rational, which has forced itself upon my understanding, that as every locality must be regulated upon system, so every local system must rest upon those common laws, or axioms, which should direct the entire compass of systematic agency ; as for instance, that wherever there exists connexion, or interdependence, the action of each person or thing must be assisted by the consentaneous or harmonious action of every other person or thing :—or,—to express the same truth in a somewhat different form—that the freedom and efficiency with which any part works, must constantly receive increment, or decrement, in proportion, as, on the one side, the other parts are set in operation conjointly with it ; or as, on the other side, these

other parts are either inert, or else operate on some other plane or principle : above all, that a right conception of the whole is requisite for the proper administration of any part ; and that regard must be had both to *all* the *internal* relations of any smaller system considered in itself, and to *all* its *external* relations with a more general system.

These details, and these dates have been also given, because I have observed the tendency towards a general comprehensiveness in ideas and projects ; and because, while I would not lay much stress upon any claims to originality, but am aware, that such originality, wherever, and in whatever degree, it exists, must make itself evident in the compactness and coherence of a man's views, and in the strength and vividness of feeling with which he sets them forth, much more than in any emphasis of assertion that such views are original, I yet would not be supposed to have borrowed, without acknowledgement, from recent authors, notions which were formed and expressed for some considerable time before their works were published. Such details may also indicate, that the conceptions, which are here submitted to notice, have not been lightly taken up, in a fit of enthusiasm, nor can be lightly laid aside in a fit of disappointment ; but that they are convictions which have been deeply fixed in my reason, and are not likely to pass away from it ; since, in fact, the relinquishment of partial and smaller aims has been simply caused by an abiding determination to follow up the general idea of system, to the utmost of my power, in all the capacities and spheres in which it is my lot to act and move.

And these things carry me back to the assertion, with which I started, namely, that the composition of this letter has been with me a matter not only of choice, but of duty. Sentiments such as these ought not to be concealed, or disguised, from those persons with whom a Christian minister has official, intimate, and sacred relations. If cherished with

sincerity and in earnest, they must give a tone to all his ministrations. I am sensible that they have given a tone to mine; for my persuasion has been, and is, that at least as much mischief accrues to religion as to any thing else, from the want of universal system. Hence, I think, it happens, that religion is not, as it ought to be, diffused, like an atmosphere, over the whole being: it does not influence, as it ought, every portion of our existence. Too often it loses very much that it ought to possess, of reality, of freshness, of interest, of power; because it is not surveyed methodically and comprehensively, yet likewise with a direct view to all its actual and present bearings:—because it stands apart; is treated only in a dry, formal, technical manner; and even when so treated, receives, perhaps, even in its technical aspect, only a narrow, confused, fragmentary investigation.

3. The principles, therefore, which it has been sought to establish, have an especial application to religion.

If the kingdoms of nature, of providence, and of grace, all spring from the same Author, and are ruled by the same Sovereign Potentate; it might have been expected, from antecedent considerations, that they also should observe the same great law of the universe; and that system should have its work in marking the connexions, as well as the distinctions, between the three.

We have abundant reason to know that such is the case; and to know also, that to the proved analogies between the religion of Christ, and the constitution and course of nature, this is to be added;—that our business, in the one as in the other, is to trace a systematic unity amidst variety and apparent confusion.

Religion, too, is both general and special. Even Thomas Paine declared, that “all things are to be considered theologically:” and, without question, theology has its universal

relation to all other studies, while it is the sublimest of studies in itself; and regard must be had to the wider aspect of our faith, care only being taken, that we are not as if afraid or ashamed of its peculiar mysteries.

As truth is one manifold, as good is one manifold, so the great principle of unity in variety must mount up into that region which is the centre of truth and good. Never will religion be treated aright, until it be treated both as a separate inquiry, or rule of conduct, and also in its connexion with all other inquiries and rules of conduct. Again, as Natural Theology is insufficient without the Christian revelation, so the Christian revelation is favourable, and is allied, to Natural Theology. And when I think of the teaching of Jesus himself, of its spirit and its letter, its matter and its manner, I cannot but entertain the persuasion, that, if there be any who would shut up religion entirely in a book, and conceive that, to be "Bible Christians," they must study nothing else but the Bible, and shall understand the Bible better, by disregarding other subjects with which it has links and relations, and which are a perpetual commentary upon its records, with excellent intentions they commit a serious mistake, and do equal injustice to nature and to Christianity. In one sense, Christianity is more than all; in another sense, it is a supplement to the one manifold instruction of the universe.

This matter may also be regarded with profit from a somewhat different point of vision.

The idea of system makes an appeal to all men of all ranks, conditions, and employments. But to whom, after all, does it make its most forcible appeal? It is not to those who desire, from worldly motives, the elevation of the labouring classes, or to the labouring classes themselves: it is not to the statesman, who would endeavour to adjust the balance between competition and communism, securing to

individuality its rights, yet promoting old, and introducing new forms of co-operation and mutual assistance; placing property on a firm basis, yet not resisting many and large improvements in social organization; it is not to the studious man, who notes, from his watch-tower of contemplation, the various springs of action, the modes in which they operate, and the unity into which their operations are combined; it is not to the moralist, who feels, as Lamartine has written, how "it is almost always in private life that the secret of public life is reposed;" it is not to the metaphysician, who now turns to his subjective "*ego*," and sees in his own consciousness the mould, the matrix, the container of the universe, creating or projecting worlds after its own image; now puts himself, as it were, out of himself, and regards himself as but a trifling unit in the immense aggregate of humanity; now surveys himself as both object and subject in one; it is not even to the mere Churchman, who casts a sagacious eye upon ecclesiastical institutions and their management:—no, it is to none of these, but to him who really surveys man and life from the religious point of view.

Such a man will believe with the German philosopher, that "we must make our life and being a part of the *one* great life and being of mankind," for else "life is a patchwork of individual parts, possessing no essential or organic unity:" but he will also believe that, since we are individual wholes, it is only in a peculiar sense that "mere individuality is a life opposed to reason:" for that, in another sense, our individual life is infinitely the most important. One thought or deed, one purpose or sacrifice of a moral agent, may be, in reality, of more consequence than all the substances and all the movements of a material creation, which can be dissolved and pass away: even though we might inspect and regulate all the great throbs of this world's life, and set in play all means and instruments of merely temporal amelioration. The

mortal existence of the individual man is, indeed, a small space in the life-time of the world; but the life-time of this world may be nothing to the future life-time of the individual. The secular well-being of all the successive generations of mankind is, at last, but a finite quantity: the future well-being of any single individual, if we suppose an everlasting duration and an intense consciousness, is an infinite quantity. It is, therefore, among the plainest deductions of reason, as well as among the first and most familiar of religious convictions, that the latter must not only be of more consideration and importance than the former, but must be so in a degree which transcends all the calculation, or comparison, that can ever be made; for that, in fact, the two things are incommensurable.

But it is not the less evident, that God has bound our two lives, our two worlds, indissolubly together; even as we may just dimly and dubiously conjecture how this illimitable universe, with all the conceptions which it involves, all its revolutions in all orbits, all its changes and successions in duration, all its phenomena of growth, decay, dissolution, reproduction, is, to the Divine mind, one idea, one movement, one eternal present in space and time. Nothing can untie the connexion between the social and the individual, the present and the future, the material and the spiritual life of man. And therefore the religious, the Christian philosopher, is, of all persons, the most bound to give its full practical development to the idea of the system of one manifold;—that idea, which renders paradoxes certainties, and connects apparent contradictions into luminous, harmonious truths. For it is this idea which throws a bridge over the yawning chasm of the sepulchre, and bids us see, how the line, which death breaks or terminates, yet runs on after death: how man vanishes, and yet survives: how his actions follow him to his immortality, and yet remain behind him, to make his

influence immortal where he has been: how, in short, every thing which appertains to him is fugitive as a dream, evanescent as a vapour, lighter than vanity itself; and yet is of moment unutterable, as the great scheme is carried forward from earth and earthly things to the mysterious Infinite beyond earth and its concerns.

These views must assure us, that the inculcation of a general system cannot be at variance with the functions of a minister of the Gospel. It is not for him indeed to pursue the matter into its minute ramifications and infinite details, with many of which he must in all human probability be utterly unacquainted, and which must at least carry him too far from the proper teachings of the pulpit, and from the pastoral cure of souls. But the great principle of one manifold cannot itself be inconsistent with the communications of that Book, which lays before us our momentous relations both with the visible and with the invisible world: which declares, that there are differences of administrations, and diversities of operations, but the same Spirit and the same Lord: that there are many members in one body: that we are members one of another: that all things work together for good to them that love God: that all things are to be gathered together into one in Him, even in Christ Jesus.

If, in recommending the formation of system,—that is, a general system of persons and things, of means and ends, descending, by regular gradations, into all its co-ordinate and subordinate branches,—any man proposed it as a light and trivial thing, or other than a matter of vast magnitude, vast complication, and calculated to lead to wide and important results, he would only prove that he did not understand the nature and extent of his own proposition. If, again, he proposed it as an undertaking which depended upon individual talent or individual resources, he might well shrink from the task in utter despondency: but, as it is the common concern



of all men, he may say without scruple, that it is a view of the whole, and of ourselves as parts of it, which gives dignity and grandeur to our being ; and that if we omit to take this view, miserably must we live below our duties, below our capacities, below our destinies. For are, or are not, the countless voices of the world gathered up into one voice, and do they, or do they not, speak to this mighty purpose ; that the entire investigation is one, yet manifold ; that the entire work is one, yet manifold ; that the investigation and the work are in their conjunction one ; that we must apply ourselves, according to our whole nature, to the whole work as it is ; that we are solemnly called to it by the immense necessities and the immense responsibilities of mankind ; at once by the wants, and the capabilities, and the developments which are exhibited on every side ; by the good which may be done ; by the errors which may be rectified ; by the crimes and sufferings which may at least be mitigated ; by the objective phenomena around us, and by every glimpse which we can obtain into the mysteries of our own being ; by all the facts and all the analogies of the universe ; by all that God Himself has indicated in his creation, or revealed in his holy Word ?

Moreover, is it, or is it not, so true, as to be a truism, that, if men had an entire scheme of existence before them ; a scheme of all the laws and conditions, which they should take into account ; a scheme of all the ends which they should seek, and of all the duration of time for which these ends must be gained or lost, they could not be quite what they now are, nor fritter away their being as it is frittered away ?—that they would not in private life sacrifice, to the momentary gratification of some baser or lower part of their nature, the permanent good of the whole ; nor would they, in their public arrangements, as in any measures of penal transportation, for instance, snatch at a temporary relief of

some immediate exigency, by the surrender of great principles, and at the certain ultimate entailment of widely-spread and long-enduring calamity ?

I, at least, would once more reiterate my persuasion, that it is the want of system which makes this jungle of life; that the systematization of existence is the grand object which remains to us; the true "*instauratio magna*" of humanity; the process by which the present welfare of the race, and the immortal happiness of individuals, may be most effectually promoted. I, at least, would do my part to *introduce the age of system*; and, therefore, I would endeavour, as I have said, to raise the issue, whether the construction of a general system be a sublime aim, which may eventually, though at last incompletely, be reached by man;—or whether it be in itself an impossibility and an absurdity. And I would raise this issue now, because great crises are great opportunities. A very celebrated person has just intimated his opinion, that the late revolution on the continent of Europe, so *improvised*, and off-hand, cannot have any lasting effects. It may well, indeed, happen, that the spectacle of national convulsions will be like the sight of the drunken helot, and help to scare us from political intoxication. The shock of these events has not been yet felt upon the institutions of England, save, perhaps, in strengthening them through the abhorrence which has been caused for the excesses of a democratical fanaticism: yet the events themselves may tell indirectly hereafter, through the speculations and the notions which they may serve to engender or mature. And if it be true that the tendencies of the age are democratical, three things may be confidently stated with reference, not so much to England by itself, as to the commonwealth of European nations. The first is, that democracy without religion would be certainly the most perilous, and, probably, the most disastrous, of all experiments; and that

no other religion can regulate the passions of a people, or lay a real hold upon their understandings and affections, save the religion of Christ : the second is, that the most awful of all things, next to democracy without religion, would be democracy without system ; for it would be mere ochlocracy, or anarchy : and the third is, that religion and system, when rightly understood, are in their essence inseparable.

4. There is yet another motive which impels me.—I know not, my dear Sir, when this letter will come into your hands. It has grown more than I expected under mine. I have written it in the repose which has been afforded me from my usual duties. That thought has, by some peculiar association, constantly mixed itself up with the topics which have occupied its pages, and now urges me to add one final remark, not unconnected with the rest, on a matter to which some incidental reference has already been made :—I mean, the ills by which humanity is scourged, with the interfusion and concatenation of those ills.

For ourselves, we may have employed our holidays in the pursuit of recreation. Some have sought diversion in foreign travel, some in the sports and amusements of the country. How many thousands are there to whom the drudgery of existence allows no travel, no sports, or amusements ; and, if Sunday, with all its blessings, were blotted out of life, would allow no holidays, no recreation of frame or spirit. Some have retired, perhaps, to their parks or pleasant gardens, where the summer-trees were waving ; or have courted health and strength in the fresh breezes of the mountain or the sea : let them think of those who are pent up, from month to month, in the still fetid alleys of our towns. Some have been wandering amidst the beauties of the Rhine-land, or indulging their architectural and antiquarian tastes amidst the marvels of Italy or Greece : let them turn in thought to the multi-

tudes who are tied down to one spot by their harassing and consuming toil; or, perhaps, who have no employment at home, yet no money to emigrate, that they may look for it in other places.

I make these suggestions, not for the sake of encouraging a sickly sentimentality of complaint; as if human life could dispense with labour; or as if labour were not—I do not mean in its excess, but in its due degree—an improving and invigorating thing. But there is a grave inference to be drawn:—I have in fact, already drawn it. I cannot be blind to the fact, or insensible to its importance, that evil too, like all else around us, is one manifold. Not only is the earth overspread with derangements and miseries of which the image may well pursue us, wherever we go:—but these miseries, these derangements, multiplied as they are, all conglomerate into a hideous and terrible unity. I see men involved in a fatal web and circle of wretchedness:—with want, ignorance, crime, ever returning into each other; demoralization and destitution reciprocally cause and effect; physical debasement leading to moral and spiritual; moral and spiritual confirming and aggravating physical. I see millions in imminent jeopardy of losing both worlds: dedicated to all evil; unhappy on earth, unfit for heaven. And here, then, is introduced the most awful and solemn consideration, belonging to this whole inquiry. For what consideration can be conceived more solemn or more awful than the thought, that the principle of one manifold is of everlasting permanence; that to whatever diversity in our being we must look forward, there will be no entire disruption of its unity; that amidst the most surprising changes some identity will remain; that system appertains to all successive as to all simultaneous existence; that the law of continuity must still be in force as well as the law of transition; that the immortal life must be a sequel to the mortal; and that the habits and dispositions

which have been formed and cherished on earth will transfer themselves and their consequences into the world of eternity.

This is the constraining inducement which, most of all, must move us to the attempt of arresting, or alleviating, the evils, which we must on every side behold, and to the question, What is the best way in which the attempt can be made?—After all, there is but one way. As the disease is one manifold, so the remedy must be one manifold. The applications, so to speak, must be both general and topical. We must depend—so far as any dependence can be placed upon any human efforts—not upon one measure, or one specific, but upon a scheme of measures, combined and yet distinguished, having that separate energy which belongs to individualism, yet, not the less, adding force to each other by their union. We must have a just system; and we can only arrive at it by a well-apportioned concert of tasks and labourers; we must endeavour to provide for the mass of mankind, space, food, employment; to better their habitations and their habits; to elevate and refine their tastes; to raise their standard of comfort; to foster in them both self-development and self-denial; to inform, not only their senses and their minds, but their immortal spirits; to teach them the true ends and uses of this creation, where God exhibits at once the most exact geometry and the most lavish beauty, and combines that which is needful for physical subsistence, with that which is conducive to moral discipline; to make them feel, at last, that the world which they now behold, with all its majesty, and harmony, and bounteous increase; and, alas! with all its sins, and sorrows, and infatuations, and disorders, is but the vestibule to a more magnificent temple, or rather the veil which conceals from us another world, infinitely wider, brighter, purer, and more perfect than itself.

You will easily conceive that I have been tempted to say much more than has now been said, upon a subject which so manifestly suggests the unity in variety of history, the unity in variety of language, the unity in variety of the human race; which, in its immense route, not only traverses the realms of matter and mind, but goes from the rude primordial forms in which matter originally presents itself, to the combinations in which it is made ready for our use, or to the shapes into which it is moulded by the manufacturer and the mechanic, or even by the sculptor and the painter; which connects the palpable body with the algebraic symbol; the experiments of the chemist in his laboratory with the toils of the peasant in the field; the intellectual process of the philosophical observer with the ingenious workmanship which makes the instrument to aid his observations; which proceeds from the widest compass of the sidereal economy to the minutest arrangement by which any person combines any two things together:—or, again, from the progressive organization of social order to the thorny problem of Liberty and Necessity;—since even these mighty opposites, which seem to stand in tremendous contrast, may, in some measure, be elucidated and reconciled by the idea of the system of one manifold.—But I stop: for to enter further into such discussions would exceed the scope of this preparatory statement, as well as its due limits.

It is, indeed, high time to close this protracted argument, which has been framed according to my abilities, rather than according to my wishes. Yet, whatever be the result, "*liberavi animam meam*:" nor will it matter much, if this attempt should meet with neglect, or something of ridicule; or if a brief vacation from professional pursuits shall have been spent in an unprofitable labour.

Yet, if there be truth in this idea, it will not perish. In

B. M. S.

7

some shape or other, at some time or other, it will strike root and grow. Its seed is indestructible ; and it will bear fruit in due season.

Perhaps, if I had waited longer, this production might have been freed from some, at least, of the faults and imperfections with which, as I am conscious, it may now be fairly charged. But it is dangerous, if I may borrow the words from the author of *Eöthen*, "to linger too much upon the difficult pass which leads from thought to action." Too often, while we are thinking how to act, the time has slipped away for acting at all. We have been desiring, intending, resolving, to do something. Meanwhile years pass :—their rapid current hurries on, and carries the best of our life along with it. Death thins the ranks of our friends. Our contemporaries, our juniors, fall around us. Our day declines to its evening : the night cometh, when none can work. "*Orimur ; morimur.*" And our intentions are unexecuted : we look back with useless regret on what we had hoped to do, on what our opportunities and our capacities might have allowed us to do.

Ah ! these departed years can teach men nothing, unless they have taught them, not merely the uncertainty of this mortal existence, but the fugitiveness and precariousness of those occasions and means of action on which they had most securely counted. These things, which so much depend upon health and peace, and a hundred contingencies of circumstance, may not last even so long as life lasts. Body and mind may fail us, while we are laying out projects so vast, that we cannot even begin to accomplish them. We must do, then, what we can, even while we can : satisfied, if we can add but a single stone to the edifice of human good ; happy, if, in what remains to us of a life-time, we shall be at all able to realize the fervent aspirations of youth, the earnest thoughts and wishes of manhood.

I trust that you, my dear Sir, have a long period of existence before you, to be devoted, like the past, to the service of your family and your country; and I remain

Very faithfully yours,

J. S. BOONE.

*Cheshunt Cottage, Herts.*

THE END.





# ROMANISM

BROUGHT OUT IN BOLD RELIEF,

AS SET FORTH IN THE

## ALTAR DENUNCIATIONS

IN

IRELAND :

COLLECTED, ARRANGED, AND ILLUSTRATED FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

IN A

LETTER TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD STANLEY.

BY

H. BRAILSFORD, LL.B.,

M.R.S.L.

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“ ————— Obeta principis !  
Serò medicina peratur—  
Quum morbi pervaluerint morâ.”

Hov.

“ Potestis igitur principia negare, cum  
Extrema creditis.”

Cic.

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# ALTAR DENUNCIATIONS

IN IRELAND.

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TO THE RIGHT HON. LORD STANLEY.

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MY LORD,

At the time you stood forward in the House of Lords and told the senate that the "priesthood of Ireland do not lend themselves for the support of the law," I was one among the many that admired the manly energy with which you enunciated a practical truth, and laid bare before the House the wound that afflicts the peace and drains the constitution of our sister island. You, my Lord, have asserted a practice—let it be my endeavour to substantiate a principle, while I take the liberty of addressing the public through the medium of a letter to you—one whose rank is so deservedly high in the estimation of all who admire consistency of character, an unflinching integrity of principle, and a bold and fearless avowal of the truth.

Let me venture to ask your Lordship, then, why should it be thought impossible to maintain for a mo-

ment the charges brought against the Romish priesthood, in Ireland, of denouncing Protestantism and Protestant landowners from their altars, and inciting the people to commit outrages of the most violent or even sanguinary character, by reason of the influence their position affords them? For my own part, I have no hesitation in believing the reports which have lately been made upon the awful tragedies that have of late taken place in Ireland. Is it not the acknowledged axiom of Romanists, and embedded in their religious system, that "the end sacrifices the means?"—and what is the end that they have vowed to promote, and if possible to bring about, but the supremacy and interest of the Romish Church? Whatever, therefore, stands in opposition to that interest, or whoever obstructs the attainment of that end, it is, I submit, the bounden duty of every faithful son of the Church to annihilate or remove; and I think we pay them no compliment by supposing, in the spirit of that charity which thinketh no evil, that they will as readily merge their principles as the statesman will believe, or affect to believe, that these, their principles, are but the prejudices of ignorance and bigotry we entertain, and such as will pass off from the minds of all with the intelligence of a more generous and enlightened age. I think they deserve more respect for their honesty and consistency than confidence for their tolerance and peace-making; and although, by so saying, I may seem to outrage every principle of charity and forbearance and should rather hope better things, and such as pertain to their commendation in the eye of the people at large, yet I cannot entertain such a hope; nor prevail upon myself to believe that a class of men so schooled as the Order of the Society of

Jesus—so pledged and so instructed as the priesthood of the Church of Rome—can deliberately sin against the vows that are upon them, so as to leave untried any means to advance the cause they have at heart, or that will conduce to the extirpation of what they call heresy. Hear the exposition of this doctrine, at the hands of the Rev. Mr. Spencer :—“ Most joyously do we rejoice that the Catholics are considered by the alarmists to have any power to destroy the Anti-Catholic constitution of England, and we most sincerely hope that their apprehensions may not be unfounded or their fears imaginary.” It is idle to say otherwise than that this is their deliberate purpose : morning, and evening, and at noonday, this is the covert policy they pursue : for this end they are armed with weapons the most persuasive, the most pernicious, most insidious and destructive to the peace and security of mutual confidence. But I am aware that most people will call this the grossest libel that ever was passed upon any single class of men, and as a law term I will admit it, because the greater the truth the greater is the libel. If, then, what I have said be not true, what is the meaning of this their boasted motto, “ *Semper eadem?* ”—and does not the history of this country afford us sufficient evidence of the truth of this, as well as the conduct of neighbouring Governments ? Why has the Order of the Jesuits been, from time to time, expelled from every peaceful community but because they are the fomenters of internal strife, and the arch phalanx of the Romish Church employed to organise and carry out the detail of her scheme ? Ever ready to avail themselves of circumstances favourable to their purpose, they meet together and are strong and active ; but to-morrow they

are dispersed abroad and nowhere to be found ; and are not most of the Romish priests of this secret order ?

Let the Church of Rome once admit, *and that without reservation, with the honesty of a Protestant term of admission*, what the deluded friends of liberality and toleration endeavour to persuade the public mind that they do admit—viz. : that the Church of Rome now is not what she was by self-acknowledgment before the Reformation, and she destroys the foundation on which she wishes to stand ; but that she is not developed in all the frightful proportions in which she was some centuries ago is very true, at least in this country. But this is not because any change has taken place in her economy, any improvement in her doctrine and discipline, or that a spirit of Christian kindness and moderation in keeping with the age has been infused into her system. No : the mantle of Bonner has descended to the prelates of the same Church in our days ; but its use is now rather to hide the true character and deformity of the system, than to waft the flames she kindled and kept alive.

I am quite persuaded, in saying what I have, I have expressed the sentiments of most men who have given their minds to the subject ; and I feel well assured that every candid priest of that order—if, indeed, his profession allowed him to do so—would say that every facility afforded the Church of Rome by the State—every disability removed by the Government of this country—is but another step gained in the aggressive movement for the advancement of their purpose, and for the consummation of the work about which they are individually and collectively engaged. I am quite prepared to admit, my Lord, that all this is in advance

of the ordinary courtesy observed when speaking of the Church of Rome, her object and mode of action; but these are days when the truth should not sit heedlessly on the lips or slumber on the lap of apathy and indifference: these are not times for withholding the full enunciation of uncompromising verity. We go on parleying with the enemy while her host is scaling the walls, and the work of pillage and rapine are going on. And oh! that there were but another Laocoon to give the well-timed warning, and wisdom withal to learn from the experience we have already had!

I was glad to hear the boldness with which your Lordship affirmed, as your belief, that the "Irish priesthood did not use their influence for the maintenance of peace and order;" but that there were instances among them of being directly or indirectly abettors of that diabolical system which of late has swelled the catalogue of crime in that unhappy country. And is assassination and cold-blooded murder any new thing in Ireland? And why should we affect to be surprised at such a revelation as that of Lord Farnham in the House of Lords, that, through the length and breadth of Ireland, there is the most horrifying conspiracy for this purpose? What means this term, so well understood amongst the peasantry, "the skull and cross-bones," over the door of an enemy of Ireland? What can justify such as this, put in the form of no unmeaning question, but well understood—"Is such a man fit to live?" What is the interpretation to be put upon such language?—what the effect produced upon the minds of the ignorant, the violent and vindictive, of the cool deliberate murderer who can leave his place—go and steep his hands in the blood of his fellow man—return to his in-



structor, unburden his fears, and ease his conscience in the confessional; and that with the conviction that absolution, under such circumstances, will appease the horrifying sense of guilt, and the priest, who gives the balm—ministers the soul-destroying poison, will keep inviolate the fearful mystery committed to his holding?

Let us hear Dr. M'Hale's apology, and the spirit in which he affects to deplore this miserable state of things: "The crimes that disgrace the country we deplore and reprobate: to the cruel and heart-rending evictions of the poor that stimulated to these atrocities, we apply the inspired words that were uttered in condemnation of similar inhumanity, 'O daughter of Babylon, miserable! Blessed shall he be who shall repay thee thy payment which thou hast paid us.'" And then he affects to palm this unjust and unrelenting note upon the accusations of the denouncing priest—saying, "If we venture upon a literal quotation from the prophets Isaias or Jeremias, we are accused of inflaming the minds of our people, and as stimulating to revenge and outrage."

I submit that no one who will put an evident construction upon these quotations can be in danger of perverting their meaning, or misunderstanding the purpose of their application.

It may be well to remark here upon the nature of that security upon which the law and society depend for mutual safety and the correction of offenders. The Rev. Mr. Gondulphy, Roman Catholic priest, published four sermons, some years ago, from which the following is an extract—

"If an Irish priest be questioned by a magistrate respecting matters of which he has had knowledge only in the confessional, he ought (say their most eminent

divines) to answer that he knows them not—nay, even to swear that he does not, and in doing this he is in no danger of lying. The reason is (*justa esteum*) because he does not lie nor equivocate who answers according to the mind of the person who questions him, and advances nothing but the truth. But this is the case of the priest under such circumstances; for he is not questioned by the judge as to what he knows by way of confession as he bears the part of God (*quantenus Dei vicis agit*); but what he knows as man, and therefore out of confession. But if the magistrate press close and ask the priest whether he knows this from confession, his answer remains the same, as the magistrate cannot ask the confessor a question but as man. The common practice is to say that he cannot give an answer to the question.” What an engine then is here for good or for ill!

In answer to this it may be urged, as it already has, that the law is sufficient to counteract the evil that may arise to society from such a practice—that the ends of justice can be obtained against the individual who shelters the criminal under the veil of the confessional. But is the law strong enough to meet this evil?—and can the law compel the production of evidence produced by such an outrage upon everything human and divine? How destructive to the morals of society such instruction as this—that a poison so fatal in its effects should be permitted to circulate through the veins and arteries, and combine with the life-blood of a civilized community! Its operations are slow and insidious, but, nevertheless, sure and certain. And then consider the powerful influence of such an healing—the execrable staunching of blood that otherwise, through the horrify-

ing burden of a tormenting and self-condemning conscience, would, with the ill-fated victim, cry aloud to Heaven—for a wounded spirit, who can bear? It is my firm conviction that this is the reason why convictions and apprehensions are so seldom followed on the commission of crime in this unhappy country.

Again, my Lord: only contemplate the deleterious influence of such an opiate—the gross delusion that, by such and such an act, the messenger of God has been obeyed—an enemy of the country and his religion removed—the oppressor destroyed and withal absolution obtained—is sufficient to conceal from the eye of justice, so far as the burden of known guilt might force the confession of the crime. Thus, the viper that destroys suffers no remorse, no pang, of soul: he lives, and as the lot fell on him, he is said to have done but the service of the many.

With a stimulus such as this to fulfil the obligations under which he feels himself placed—to avenge the cause of supposed oppression—to assuage the anguish of suffering and destitution—will the half-civilized peasantry of Ireland do otherwise than they do? Therefore, I submit, it is not so much the individual actor in these direful scenes or appalling tragedies that is most at fault, as the system under which they live, the agency which they serve, the sort of religious barbarism in which they are trained, and under whose sanctions more or less they act. I dare say it will not be credited by readers, but it is nevertheless a fact, that on one occasion, on meeting with an Irish labourer, and talking on the subject of religion, he showed me his book of offices, in which I read as one of the commandments, “Thou shalt not kill *without leave!*”

And still we are to nurse such a system as this, to

endow Maynooth, and support the mission! The Romanists, too, are much more consistent than the Protestants: they will not compromise one iota of their religious principles. We are constantly holding out the olive branch, but they scout our efforts, scorn "our godless colleges," and with an honest indignation reject our unprincipled overtures, cherishing, with some show of reason too, that the men who could surrender one part will in due time award them the full complement of their wishes. They rest upon the hope that the time will come when they will not be required to receive gifts, but to take possession of their rights, to drive out the Saxon and the intruder, and deal out laws. It is to this end that every act is directed—for the attainment of which every means is sanctified: this the centre to which all the radii of secret collusion, open outrage, and Jesuitical cunning converge—that is, "Ireland for the Irish and the supremacy of the Church of Rome." Surely this is not vilifying—this is no calumny—when we have innumerable records of the practical truth thereof, not only in the formularies and doctrines of the Church, but also in the conduct of her most zealous members. Why should we, then, exercise a false charity, and give them the lie direct by affecting to disbelieve them?

And what have the Jesuits gained for the interests of their cause and the Romish Church in Switzerland? Why, just the reward which, from time to time, they have received in this country, and must ever be dealt out to the disturbers of internal peace—the disguised policy of insidious intrigue—who carry out the virulent spirit of this distorted precept—"I came not to bring peace but a sword, to set father against his child, and a child against his father, and all against the powers that

be, sow the seeds of anarchy and confusion." What is the condemnation passed upon the practical development of their principles but such as we read of in the edict of the grand council of the Canton of Valais? All the property, real and personal, which belonged to the most Rev. the Bishop of Zion, the venerable Chapters and Rectors of the cathedral, the seminary, the convents and religious corporations in the canton, are added to the domains of the State, on condition of making a suitable retribution to the above-named members of the clergy, as well as to the seminary, and providing for the hospitality at St. Bernard and the Simplon. *The surplus* of the said property shall be applied in reduction of the public debt.

And will it be thought credible that this same order is busily at work in this country, fomenting, as is their business, internal strife and discord? Yes: it is true that they are regularly organised in this country. In the metropolis there are three ecclesiastics, with Dr. Lingard at their head, whose business it is to direct operations, to correspond with Rome, organise local branches, to send out and receive the reports of their lay emisaries, whose name, indeed, is Legion, for they are many: so well arranged is the system for the attainment of every sort of information that may be turned to their account—so well and freely distributed over society at large—that there are few men of influence and intelligence who, by accident or design, are not brought in contact with them: they mix amongst the lowest order of politicians, and are ever in alliance with the baser sort, whose object is to rankle the wound of internal strife, to keep in agitation the under-current of well-concerted discord, and to lend their aid and advice

to such as would break the frame-work of well-ordered government and peaceable society.

Such is the object of the Jesuits, and such is the purpose of their mission ; nor are they confined to large towns and populous cities ; but, as lay emissaries, they are, under one form or another, distributed through every town in this country, and are to be found zealously carrying out the purpose of their baneful mission and artful intrigue.

The usual way of introducing themselves and their mission is this : a stranger sits down in a coffee-room or place of resort—he is drawn into conversation after having his attention directed to some article in a newspaper of stormy or seditious import—he is invited to the room in which they meet ; and, being further informed upon the subject, if after having felt his pulse his turn of mind is likely to serve their purpose, he is, from time to time, decoyed into their society, and his influence made subservient to the advancement of their cause. In all places of resort there is a sprinkling of the Order of Jesuits : as the salesmen of contraband goods, they are looking out for the disaffected and unwary for prey.

Why did O'Connell, in the true spirit of a Jesuit, scorn the credulity of such as placed any reliance upon the oath and protestations under the Relief Bill, calling his pledge, as he did, but a "convenient fiction?" Why, but because he knew that no oath taken by a Roman Catholic was binding, if the interest of the Romish Church would be damaged by a faithful observance of it. Theirs is but to sap the foundation of our Church and institutions : ours but to facilitate their operations and render it lawful for them to do so, and still to hope

better things; and that, when all our experience goes to assure them (that will be convinced), that it is hoping against hope: they are honest and consistent—we are credulous: they labour to fulfil the obligations under which they are to their system—we are pandering to follow and bartering away the very sinews of our strongholds for peace, when their resolve is that there shall be no peace: in a word, every sacrifice made by us is hailed as an advantage gained by them—an instalment of the great an integral debt owing to them.

When the Irish Church question was agitated in and out of the House, and the Relief Bill finally conceded, it was with this stipulation, that the Irish members should not use their influence in Parliament to damage the Protestant Church established in Ireland. Was it not the boast of that arch-agitator that, as they had “knocked off one-fourth, he would never rest until the remaining three-fourths were also?” The policy of the Romish Church has, it must be admitted, much of the wisdom of the serpent and nothing of the innocence of the dove! That policy, as the whole history of Papal ambition proves, is connected with a code of morals not less opposed to the simplicity and truth of that which the Gospel teaches than the persecuting spirit of Popery is to the mild and merciful temper of the pure Christian faith. It is the pliable nature of this code of ecclesiastical morals which enables the Church of Rome at all times to accommodate herself to circumstances, and, according as it is weak or strong, to thunder its fiery ordinances, like the capitoline Jove, affecting to discard her most favourite doctrines as unbinding, because it would be inexpedient to enunciate them or carry them out; or put on the well-feigned appearance of angelic meekness, abjuring

worldly ambition as a thing offensive to her celestial meditations, and denying her own recorded tenets of terror and persecution. Every man in England who has his eyes open to see either does or must see, that the Romish religion in this country, but more especially in our sister island, is not in her character and detail the religion she held up to the world before 1829.

The state of public feeling at that time rendered it necessary for her to put on her fairest robes—steeped, forsooth, in the milk of human kindness ; but, now, how changed !

When will it be that, as a nation, we shall make a stand against the insidious transgressors ? Not, I fear until we have no Protestant ground to stand upon.

What can we think of such a system, that we would seek to expound and do all to cherish a code of morals which, when carried out in all its hideous details, strikes at the very root of all security to life and property ?

When we hear of such men as Major Mahon, the Rev. Mr. Lloyd—the stirring and benevolent men amongst them—when, in the very act of doing good, immolated on the altar of infuriated vengeance—when we hear of such a thing as a self-constituted jury of recreant assassins, sitting in judgment upon the active and influential in this ill-fated country, record a verdict of death against them, and add the names of their intended victims to the catalogue of them that are thus, by an almost certain and irreversible decree, doomed to die by the hand of some fiendish hireling—are these “the demons that blast all that was meant for happiness,” according to an Archdeacon—these the men whom a reverend priest would direct his flock to regard as deserving of “the wild justice of revenge ?” When we



hear of notices being served upon the best and most exemplary amongst them to beware of the lurking assassin—to keep within their doors—is it possible to find language sufficiently strong to bear the burden of a tongue that would enunciate the fearful truth that there is a cause, and a motive, too ?

It is, indeed, but a cold libation to pour upon the senseless ashes of men who have lately, and from time to time, fallen martyrs to the cause of public good, to affect such earnestness as did Lord John Russell in his speech on the disorganized state of that country. Who will be found to lend their time, their influence, and their talents, to carry out the measures of Government in Ireland, when even the murdered corpse cannot be conveyed to its resting-place without a band of armed men—when the tribute of affection cannot be shed over the bier or the solemn procession move on to the place appointed for all living in peace or security from the attack of the brutal assassin ?

A great deal, I admit, should be done for Ireland to improve the condition of the people ; but she must be civilized first, and I fear that the moral training of her sons is, for the most part, in the hands of those that are enemies to peace !

The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam (Dr. M'Hale), in his letter to Lord John Russell, on the subject of the charge brought against the Irish Roman Catholic clergy, says :—

“ Although it is scarcely necessary to vindicate the Catholic clergy in Ireland on this point, yet to take from the weak who may be scandalised by those calumnies any apology, allow me to assure your Lordship that, were any clergyman found so to abuse his ministry

as to excite any of his flock to any crime whatever, so surely would he be suspended from his sacred functions and visited with the heaviest censures of the Church."

My Lord, we can easily understand an assertion such as this when it is that of a plain and undisguised denial ; but hear the lively comment put thereon immediately following :—" With all reverence and attachment to the pastors of their confiding flocks, there fail not to mingle in their congregations some discreet persons of the Pharisaiical school, who would fain draw *lines of distinction* beyond which the instructions of the priest should not be found to range—self-complacent individuals satisfied with the worldly tenor of their lives, and unwilling that the tranquil slumber of their consciences should be disturbed by any inconvenient dissertations on the obligations of the entire divine law ; lest, like Felix, they should tremble whilst the preacher treated of justice, and charity, and judgments to come—men who, though they could not agree with Luther that the epistle of St. James is uncanonical, or with Calvin that the good works which it inculcates are sinful or unnecessary, would still regret the apostle's burning denunciations against the rich oppressors of the poor, who defraud them of their wages and make their cries ascend to heaven—men who seem to forget, or not to know, that the duties of Christianity are incumbent on all without exception—who fancy that the priest cannot enter on the just conditions of human covenants without talking politics or sedition—that unmeaning charge now so often repeated by every selfish accuser, whose mouth is muzzled on public delinquencies, proving the corruption of a heart panting for some forbidden patronage : such men would not be wanting in arraign-

ing the priesthood of Ireland of sedition were they guilty of the charge—catching them in their words to ascertain if they had insinuated not to pay tribute to Cæsar. Their fidelity to the Crown is as unimpeachable as is their attachment to the interests of their flocks.” What is the sense, now, of this long-winded period but a Jesuitical acknowledgment of the fact that, in the way which we call instigation to evil they serve the interest of their Church and religion? But, continues the writer—“They shall not cease to reprove crime in every form, and to threaten the crime of murder in any shape in which it may be inflicted, whether against the civil or divine law, with the very curse of heaven. Do not, however, mistake these denunciations: they are those of St. Augustine against errors—‘*Diligite homines, interficite errores*’—Love the men, slay their errors—denounce crime, but reclaim, convert, awaken to penance and to salvation their misguided perpetrators.”

The whole tenor of this letter is but to throw dust in the eyes of the reader: it is but a modification of the truth of the charge brought against the Irish priesthood under the covert of a specious form of denial and repudiation. The man who says less than the Irish priest from the altar “is muzzled on public delinquencies, and panting for forbidden patronage.” It is no difficult matter to justify any words or tone of expression that may be made use of, or how intemperate or reprehensible soever the language may be, if every feeling of man against man is to be uttered, and that in terms of language proportionate to the intensity with which the individual entertains it; neither is it any hard task to divert the attention of people in England from the

flagrant character of the charge itself by quoting St. Augustine, and enlarging *ad libitum* upon the construction of the text. If specious quibbling and subtle arguments will take off from the glare of truth, these appliances are not wanting to make them feasible and even unobjectionable.

After speaking in high terms of the piety and endurance of the Irish Roman Catholic Church, the Earl of Arundel, in his letter to Dr. M'Hale, turns his attention to the question of *denunciations*, and that with all the candour of one that admitted, to a certain extent, the truth of the charge brought against the Irish priesthood, and goes on to say—"With the knowledge of such sufferings endured for the faith, how bitter it is to my heart that I cannot defend the Irish Church in my intercourse with my friends, or against the attacks of violent opponents in the House of Commons! It is not the fearful crime of murder by individuals of the peasantry that I wish to speak, however shocking such cold-blooded revenge appears to those at a distance; nor do I wish to notice the frequent connivance of the *peasantry in the escape of the assassin*. It is *not so difficult* to make EXCUSES for men in their circumstances; but that which completely overpowers me, and deprives me of all defence, is the conduct of some members of the priesthood. *Denunciation* from the altar, followed by the *speedy death of the denounced*—and public speeches of a most dangerous tendency to an inflammatory people—are accusations to which I am unable to reply. If I assert the small number of the clergy that have recourse to such means of obtaining or retaining influence, I am immediately asked, 'Where, then, is

the boasted discipline of the Catholic Church? How is it, then, that men so imprudent, if not so wicked, are not suspended from their spiritual functions? I am told that either virtue or discipline is banished from the Church. If I assert the primitive custom of the Church, the public penance, and the paternal admonition of the pastor delivered in the presence of the people, the reply is, 'Why denounce those not subject to the discipline?' And 'Why make use of such dangerous methods in a country which has not forgotten the crimes engendered by cruel persecutions and subsequent despair.' *Oh, my Lord, it is, indeed, severe to feel the justice of these remarks.*"

To which Dr. M'Hale made this reply, which is tantamount to a justification of the acts condemned:—

"Your Lordship will not, I trust, imagine that I am now vindicating or excusing intemperate language, which I deplore: we must suppose when such is uttered (thus tacitly admitting the fact), the usual evangelical process of admonition is made use of (or has already been made use of); should such language, however reprehensible, be found, accompanied with such zealous reprobation of crime as the best friend of society and religion could give expression to, and should the sincerity of that zeal for public order be so borne out by the blameless tenor of a long and laborious life in advancing the interests of piety and public peace that it could not be questioned, *the isolated words* that would bear a *bad meaning* would be favourably interpreted by any lay jury—(What an apology in extenuation of guilt!). I think, then, your Lordship will put it to any of your scandalized friends, whether such a person so circumstanced, deserving

admonition no doubt, could be ignominiously laid aside from the discharge of the duties of a ministry which *he faithfully* fulfilled.

“ It is not to extenuate crime—that is out of the question—but within the range of lawful regimen it must, as will be said, that the ordinary food suited to a sound man is also fitted for one in the last state of sickness and exhaustion : so that the *same course of instruction and discipline adapted, by well-adjusted relations of English society, would be equally efficacious in restoring the shattered state of society in Ireland.*

“ Public denunciations of persons by name, whatever be their misdeeds, are not the *practice* in Ireland. The duties, however, of all, without exception, as they are contained in the code of Christian morality, come within the legitimate sphere of the priest’s instructions. With regard to the observation of some not being amenable to the discipline of the Catholic Church, I have only to remark that justice and humanity do not exclusively belong, or at least should not, to any peculiar body of Christians, and that the inculcation of those duties should form the theme of every pastor’s instructions. True, the Catholic pastors cannot subject the violators of justice or humanity, not belonging to the Catholic Church, to its rigorous penances and satisfactions ; but that does not preclude his right of denouncing aggressions on the rights of justice and humanity belonging to his flock from any quarter.”

Thus it would appear that this “ wild fury of revenge ” is the sort of regime which the Romish Church has in reserve for those who, not being within her pale, cannot be subject to the more wholesome treatment of penance and discipline. This, the duty of the holy office—this.

the practical application of the screw to the refractory—the terrors of an inquisition!

And what is justice and humanity? Hear another dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church, in answer to Lord Stanley's charge, that "the Roman Catholic priesthood do not bind themselves to the support of the law :"—

"We have so many laws, good and bad, that we cannot easily fix the meaning: we have a tithing law ordaining that a Church not ours should be supported by us. Surely, you did not mean to insinuate that we infringed on Christian duties by *not commending* that monstrous law. We have again game laws *ad infinitum*, by which the liberty of rational beings, of the lords of the creation, are being valued less than the woodcock, the partridge, or the pheasant. Surely, my Lord, you do not expect us to become the encomiasts of such laws."

Thus he proceeds in the spirit of that peace-making which consists in reviling and obstructing the operations of those laws that do not minister to the aggrandisement of their cause, and contribute to the success of their system; and then, with a sneer that conveys the impression, by implication, at least, that they do not and will not "lend themselves to the support of the law," he goes on to say—"Perhaps, my Lord, I have at length reached the meaning—that the laws to which we do not lend our support are the laws regulating the contracts between landlord and tenants. If this be the charge against us, for my own part I partly admit and partly deny its application. As far as they are founded on the principles of immutable justice, I emphatically deny the truth of the charge."

But, my Lord, to lend enactments which we felt to

be so mischievous a cordial support, or to sanction them with our approval, would, my Lord, be expecting too much *even from us*. What, my Lord, could induce us to respect such laws? Now, let us stay one moment and enquire what is justice, according to the Romanist definition of the term: we give it in the words of the dignitary from whom we quote:—"Our canon of justice is that of the great St. Austin—'*Non demittitur peccatum, nisi restitutus ablatum*'—Do not put away the crime, until satisfaction is given and restitution made." This interpretation, when taken in a wider sense and applied in a manner in which it is understood by Romanists, is "Ireland for the Irish, and the supremacy of the Romish Church." Every law, therefore, which is placed upon our statute-book, which has not this tendency, is repudiated by them and comes under the denomination of "that rancorous code which is written in characters of blood." Yes, indeed, in irony, he adds—"Duty demands of us the approbation of such laws! We must, in mercy to the system, divest ourselves of every Christian feeling, and call falsehood truth, wrong right, and the most monstrous iniquity the strictest equity. This, my Lord, would be too much for you to expect *even of us!*"

Permit me, my Lord, to suppose a case: it is hardly a possible case to be sure, for your native country would not endure it for one day: still, my Lord, let me suppose that the landlords of England were, with a few honourable exceptions, selfish, grasping, cruel, and tyrannical: that they had made for themselves a code of laws to regulate their properties—a code that made them irresponsible to their own minds, to God, and man—a code which enforced what they called their rights,



but never hinted at their duties ; that by the laws so craftily devised to carry out their intentional mischief, they made England desolate—scattered the English people and made them wanderers over the earth—left one-third of the ocean isle uncultivated, the other two-thirds comparatively unproductive—that with them they were enabled to exterminate hundreds, thousands, of the English people from the homesteads of their fathers, levelling their cabins, and casting them out on a merciless world to die in ditches to make room for the ox, the ass, the goat, or the sheep—thereby preferring the most stupid of the brute creation to him whom the God of heaven made “little less than the angels.”

Now, my Lord, you will at once see the object of all this : the motive for this deep colouring, the reason of this gross and unpardonable exaggeration, is to excite and to arouse the people to the “wild justice of revenge.” But this is not all ; for you will quickly find that after a still more rancorous distortion of the true features of the case—after a dissertation of still more hideous and mendacious detail, and taxing these laws with the cold-blooded murder of more human beings than came of “the eleven persecutions of the Pagan emperors of Rome”—he proceeds to put this question—*“In what terms would you speak of these laws? Would the parsons of England be Christian parsons if they gave their cordial support to a code which worked such ruin? Would they not be worse than the apostate priests of the cruel Jezabel if, folding their arms in silence, they looked with cold indifference upon their flocks crushed to powder beneath the wheels of this Moloch?”*

But what would they be, my Lord, if, instead of

siding with their suffering people, they raised their voices to applaud the causes and cheer on the authors of this universal ruin? No matter, my Lord, how you or they would feel: we know how those who love their people feel and have ever felt.

“ We know how David felt, though he only viewed the misery of his nation in the distance, when this cry of wounded nature escaped him :—‘ O, daughter of Babylon, miserable! Blessed shall he be who shall repay thee thy payment which thou has paid us.’ All this, and more, we know; and if the Irish priesthood have anything to answer for to God, it is the tameness, and silence, and patient submission with which *most* of them looked upon the wrongs and the ruin of their country; or for the *gentle whispers* they used when their voices should have been as loud as the roar of the deep, or the crash of the thunder-storm, arousing, awakening, the world to humanity, outraged in the person of their flocks, and *thereby* shaming their persecutors into mercy. Such, my Lord, being my conclusions, you cannot expect from us a cordial support of any system whose evil effects impressed us with such feelings.”

What can be expected from instruction such as this—what but the fruits that we have seen? The act of denunciation is tacitly acknowledged, and the priesthood blamed only for not being more distinct, emphatic, and effective, in the discharge of the duty imposed upon them by the allegiance they owe to their Church, and obedience to the instructions of their ecclesiastical rulers: nay, it is idle to suppose otherwise than that the charges in question can be fully substantiated and proved to be within the course of the priests’ duty, and in accordance with the system of the Romish Church.

A Mr. J. Holmes, a resident proprietor in the county of Sligo, having received intimation a short time since that the parish priest (Mr. Tighe) had made repeated attacks on him at the chapel, and that his life would be attempted by assassins who had arrived in the neighbourhood, he was prevailed on, by the entreaties of his friends, to leave the country for a short period until the passing of the late Government measure, when he returned. His brother, Mr. A. Holmes, who resides in England, on the 6th instant, presented himself at the chapel of Ballaghaderreen; and having asked and obtained permission from the Rev. Mr. Tighe to address the congregation, a very numerous one, he was accommodated with a place at the altar. He declined addressing the people until Mr. Tighe stood at his side; a second priest stood on his left. The following scene then took place:—

Mr. Tighe—Mr. Holmes has expressed a desire to address you, and I have given him permission to do so.

Mr. Holmes (advancing to the front of the altar)—I have travelled five hundred miles to say five words to you: pray, therefore, attend to me. Is there amongst you a man that can say that my brother has ever done an unkind or unjust act by him? (A pause). During the last two years by brother has expended 20,000*l.* in provisions to keep down the markets here that you and your children might not starve! He has daily, for the last sixteen months, fed one hundred and fifty of your children at his school-house—he has turned his house and offices into a provision-store for your accommodation—and what is the return he has met with? Why, when he left home a month ago it was notorious that

the assassins who were to murder him had arrived in the parish, and were harboured amongst you! They were attracted hither by the inflammatory harangues of the priest here (pointing to Mr. Tighe)—I tell him so to his face. (Tremendous uproar in the chapel: cries of "Turn him out—he's a liar.")

A scene of great confusion, during which time the curate in vain attempted to appease the people, followed; although Mr. Tighe succeeded, after many ineffectual efforts, in obtaining a hearing.

Mr. Tighe—It is false that I made any attacks on Mr. Holmes.

Mr. Holmes—I know that you did; and I tell you at this altar to your face, and in the presence of your congregation, that it is your attacks on my brother from this spot that have brought these murderers into this parish.

Here the uproar recommenced, and some of the more violent of the congregation appeared disposed to pass over the rails to the altar, the priests endeavouring to restrain them.

Mr. Holmes (advancing in front)—I am not afraid of you—I came here to tell you these truths alone, and am not to be deterred by five hundred of you.

Mr. Tighe—My friends, this is the house of God—let us have no more of this. Mr. Holmes has charged me with attacks on his brother, which I deny. If he has anything more to say, let him address you outside the chapel.

Mr. Holmes, having declined any further addresses to the people, left the chapel, surrounded by a mob, who refrained from any act of personal violence; but sa-

luted him with groans and execrations on his driving away.

Mr. Holmes has written to the *Times* to say that this report is substantially correct.

A respectable journalist in Ireland, taking up the subject, and speaking with more unaffected honesty, of his habitual knowledge, than with the subtlety of the Jesuit or the evasion of the priest—having learnt to speak from what he had seen, and heard, and believed—expresses his surprise that the thing should be questioned. “Should, then (asks the *Limerick Examiner*), exterminating landlords not be ‘denounced’ at all? We do not know how a clergyman can be silent when he beholds the terrible sufferings and heart-rending scenes attendant upon extermination.” . . . . . “The priest who exclaims against that sort of murder does his duty as a Christian and a man of feeling; and, if risk arises to the landlord, whose is the fault? Is the priest to be condemned?” . . . . “We deny the justice of imposing upon him any such obligation—we deny the *possibility* and the right; and we say, when he repudiates and refuses to obey the mandate, he acts well and discharges truly his duty to God, to society, to mercy, and the law of justice.”

Here is a man that speaks out: he tells us the truth as it is—the whole truth as he has been in the habit of receiving and understanding it; and nothing but the truth, consisting with the practical policy and systematic mode of action of the Romish Church. But, my Lord, should this be the truth of such a case—this the burden of woe hanging over this unhappy land—this the presiding genius of this misguided people—this the *Truth*

for the inculcation and propagation of which a Protestant empire is to be taxed—the Truth that the law of God and of these realms is to fall powerless at the feet of that fearful monster which stalks through the dark places of the earth—“the wild justice of revenge?”

Yes : this is one of those fearful truths engraven with the finger of blood on the record of the past—this, the enduring and staple legacy for, we fear, the future—the current coin of this region of darkness and moral turpitude! Oh, yes : its force has been felt in the anguish of the widowed and the cries of the fatherless : its solemn sound has been re-echoed through the dungeons of the Inquisition, and is still the passing-bell of moral worth. What say the spirits of the departed—what would the souls of the generous and the good, which have been severed from the mangled corpse by the foul hand of the recreant assassin, could they wing their flight from the far hence—and tell us the truth as it is known there, and as we are required to practise here? Surely it would not be that man may steep his hands in the blood of his brother—go and reveal the fearful facts to a messenger of a God of Mercy—and receive from him pardon, and peace, and a hope of eternal life! Nay—we think that the still small voice, rising as but the gentle dew of dawning light and reason from the cold turf, tells us things more human. And is this but an apostrophe to the feelings of mankind—but a feeble effort to arouse public sympathy? If so, then, to whom is it more correctly extended than to the widow bereft of the stay and staff of her life—to the fatherless, who have lost the guardian of their youth—and the friends of after years? To whom would we offer terms of condolence, and for whom crave protection, but for the

good, the generous, and the useful amongst mankind—those who lend their time, their talents, and their unceasing exertions, to carry out the laws of a paternal Government, and who, in the active service of their public and social duties, fall from time to time—and are doomed to fall—by the ruthless hands of the mid-day assassin? Were it not that we have before us graphic illustrations of facts of history, and by-gone experience in the record of every-day occurrences, these awful events would be treated as a tale too often told, sit heavily on the ear, and pass off with the incredibility of the narrative. And will it be that, after all that has been detailed at the bar, from the pulpit, and in the senate, this single fact will not be fixed on the minds of the framers of our laws, to whom it belongs to give safety to life and property?—will it be urged, and continue to be urged, that these statements—that these evident truths, set forth by such glaring acts of turpitude, written in the blood of our fellow-men, and those forsooth whose manner and habits of life are farthest removed from popular prejudice—whose conduct in the even tenor of a life they held at such *direful sufferance*, was neither harsh towards their fellow-creatures, nor stained with the charge of violence or oppression: nay, much rather than this, the verdict passed upon them was in the spirit of that vote which made Aristides an exile:—"I hate the man, because he is so just." Will it continue to be said, and that by those who ought to speak "the words of knowledge," that all this is but the remnant of days of superstition, bigotry, and ignorance—the ghost of departed things that will never be recuscitated or again shown up to the light of a more enlightened age? No: it is not thus:

the tragical events of our times have less of a local than a religious character in them; they are in strict accordance with the well digested morals of the Romish school; they have been done, and our eyes have seen it, and they remain to be done again, and repeated: but only it may be, withal, for “a time and half a time:” the deliberate decrees received, acknowledged, and sworn to by the priests of that Church—and we, alas! are, day after day, giving a living vitality to them, breathing into the embers that smoulder only and calling up the flame. Well may every friend to peace, and order, and religion in this country, exclaim:—

“Keen are the pangs, but keener far to feel  
 We nurse the pinion that impels the steel—  
 While the same plumage that still warms the nest,  
 Drinks the last life-drop of the bleeding breast.”

But lest this should be regarded as but a tirade of abuse, rather than that of well accredited testimony, I will endeavour to substantiate what I have said as to the principle and system of the Romish Church from her own authorities. Amongst the General Councils specified and indorsed by the Council of Trent is the fourth Council of Lateran; and in the third canon of this council, so irrefragably rivetted upon Popery, we find it thus enacted:—

“Secular powers of all ranks and degrees are to be warned, induced, and, if necessary, compelled by ecclesiastical censures, as they desire to be accounted faithful, publicly to swear that they will exert themselves to the utmost in defence of the faith, and *extirpate all heretics denounced by the Church, who shall be found in their territories.* And when any person shall assume gover-



ment, whether it be spiritual or temporal, he shall be bound to swear to abide by this decree."

And is all this a dead letter now-a-days? No, my Lord : it is the living principle of the system : it may be in abeyance in this country, but it is not so where it can be brought into action. Such, in truth, are still the tender mercies of Romanism—such her infallible laws ; and until she shall have renounced infallibility, and authoritatively and solemnly repealed as she enacted and promulgated her sanguinary decrees, she cannot evade the charge that she still authorizes and maintains the principle of persecution—the principle which generated and sanctioned the fearful massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, in 1572, when five hundred Protestant gentlemen and ten thousand of the lower classes were assassinated in Paris, and not fewer than forty thousand in the provinces—at which tidings Gregory XIII. was so overjoyed that he commanded a discharge of artillery to be made, ordered the cardinals to return solemn thanks to Almighty God, and caused a medal to be struck in honour of this lamentable occasion. Witness, also, the massacre in 1641, in Ireland, where (as in France sixty-nine years before) no ties of nature or of friendship could prevent the Papists from embruing their hands in the blood of their Protestant relations.

To these instances may be added the unprincipled revocation of the sacred and irrevocable edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV., against the faith of the most solemn treaties, in consequence of which the Protestant Churches were destroyed throughout France : the soldiers committed the most scandalous excesses ; and, after the loss of innumerable lives, fifty thousand of the most valuable and industrious of the citizens of France were forced into

exile. Once more (for the fearful annals are recorded on brass), in 1712, when, by virtue of the treaty of Alt. Rastadt, certain places were to be surrendered to some Protestant princes, Pope Clement II., in a letter to the Emperor Charles VI., denounced the Protestants as an "execrable sect;" and, in the plenitude of his pretended supremacy, declared everything which either was, or could be, construed or esteemed to be in any way *obstructive* of, or in the least degree prejudicial to, the Romish faith or worship, or to the authority, jurisdiction, or any rights of the Church whatsoever, "to be and to have been, and perpetually to remain hereafter, null, unjust, reprobated, void, and evacuated in all force from the beginning; and that no person is bound to the observance of them, although the same have been repeated, ratified, and secured by oath."—(*Digest of Evidence on the State of Ireland*. Part ii., p. 243.)

I ask you, my Lord, whether or not this is not sufficient authority upon which to affirm the principle of the Romish Church, that "the end sanctifies the means"—"no faith to be maintained with heretics"—and that even an oath taken by a Romanist, should the observance of it damage the interests of his Church, is to be violated—nay, the oath itself is esteemed *perjury*! For the sixteenth decree of the third Lateran Council prescribes that "oaths, which contravene the utility of the Church and constitution of the holy fathers, are not to be called 'oaths,' but rather perjuries!" But still, lest my statements should seem to lack authority, I will give one more practical illustration of the system of the Church of Rome. The bull of "M. Cœnâ Domini" shows the uncharitable and blood-thirsty principles of the Church in question to be as

flagrant in the middle of the nineteenth century as it was in the middle ages. The words that give the title to the bull, the spirit and wording of the whole, is well sustained and carried out in the decree itself. In the cup of the Lord the wine is red—it is full mixed ; and he poureth out of the same. What do they or the priest pour out but in the form of anathema—denunciation—blood!—human gore!—and, as applied to Ireland, that of “an enemy of his country and his religion.”

This fearful instrument, you are aware, my Lord (but it may not be as well known to some who may read what I have presumed to address to your Lordship), is a solemn excommunication denounced at Rome, at least every Maunday-Thursday, against those they are pleased to call heretics, and all who are contumacious and disobedient to the Romish see. These excommunications are read by a cardinal in the presence of the Pope, the whole conclave of cardinals, and a multitude of the Roman people. After the reading of the bull, the Pope, to show them that the practical operation and utility of the terms thereof are not to be lost sight of, takes a lighted torch, and throws it out into the court of the palace to give force to the anathema. It is of perpetual force in all the Roman Churches, and is, at this moment, in full force and operation in Ireland. It is quoted not fewer than ten times in the eighth volume of Dens’s “Theology,” as one of the established laws of the whole Romish Church.

This is the principle which generated and sanctioned the horrid butcheries in Ireland—which generated and sanctioned the murder of Henry III. of France, and of sundry other monarchs, and which is still maintained,

and has been reiterated lately by a Roman Catholic noblemen in terms as follows :—

“ But you, and I, and every Roman Catholic, must believe that the Pope ought to have in this country, and every other Christian country, an independent spiritual power by divine right.” As to an oath, his Lordship qualifies it with a “sub intelligitur,” and speaks of Queen Victoria as the “Queen of the English,” not of England. This is the principle which has so lately generated and sanctioned the expatriation of the Tyrolese Protestants from their native vallies—which has generated and sanctioned the resuscitation of the infernal Order of Jesuits—a pest which the earth would do well to shake from her lap—which has generated and sanctioned the ceaseless feuds, the multiplied assassinations, and unmitigable intolerance which convulse unhappy Ireland !

The tiger may slumber, but he is the tiger still !—the cameleon may vary her tints with every variation of light and shade ; yet the native colour, the shape, the habits, and the nature of the animal are all unchanged—Rome may lack the opportunity, but she lacks not the disposition to persecute. Let the sad change of opinion respecting her, which has already so deeply betrayed us, concede to Popery her long and continued thirsting for ascendancy ; and, again, we shall have all the principles of her system brought into active operation—all the horrifying detail, developed in their frightful proportions. No reliance whatever can be placed upon the oaths or words of the Popish hierarchy ; for they are spoken of as “perjuries” by their divines, and as “expedient fiction” by their agitators.

We are indebted, however, to the Rev. Mr. M’Ghee, minister of Harold’s Cross, and others, for discovering

and proclaiming the fact that they have lately published the third canon of the fourth Lateran Council for the extermination of the Protestants of Ireland; the bull of Pope Benedict XIV. for the entire restitution of Protestant property; the bull of universal excommunication against the Sovereign of England and all the estates of the realm being Protestant. . . . . And have empowered certain privileged persons to grant pardons for all treasons, murders, and crimes whatsoever—all which Mr. M'Ghee offered to prove at the bar of the House of Lords. Nay, it would seem that the practice of denunciations in Ireland—the practical carrying out of the system of the Romish Church—was so far acknowledged that a journalist of that country is only surprised that we, on this side of the water, should have any doubt at all about it or question the right of the priest to do so; and, further, it is reported that certain priests have been served with notices by some Protestants leagued together for the defence of the assailed and doomed;—for the life of every murdered man they will take that of the parish priest. Thus, they think, at least, that they will avenge the cause. Alas! what shall subdue these turbulent elements? We see little or nothing of these horrifying scenes, this social disorganisation, where Popery is not rampant, but in abeyance. It must be very evident to every thinking person that every effort to improve the country and educate the people is more than wasted. How have they received us in that character, but with scorn and contempt? Institutions for her benefit are designated “godless colleges;” and their great head in spirituals has commanded the priesthood to avoid them. And shall it be that Maynooth will evince

any gratitude for our unprincipled sacrifices in her behalf? And is it true that we are supporting an institution for the instruction and training of the moralisers of the people, the Irish priesthood, to be the messengers of peace unto the people; and we station, in the sacred precincts of the chapel itself, a constable to prevent these very men from breaking the peace themselves in their capacity of ministers at the altar? How monstrous and inconsistent!

My Lord, so low is the estimate at which the pure religion, and undefiled before God and man, the unadulterated Gospel of Christ, has been valued by our legislators, that it would seem they have adopted the views of an infidel who wrote only to blaspheme. "The various modes of worship (says Mr. Gibbon) which prevailed in the Roman world were all considered by the people as equally true, by the philosopher as equally false, and by the magistrate as equally useful." Taking this very low and unworthy view of religion, we doubt if our legislators will ever find that the nursery of Ireland, which we support and endow, will ever send forth ministers of peace and order such as shall be useful to the magistrate, or otherwise than such as your Lordship has affirmed and the dignitaries of the Church have acknowledged, "do not lend themselves to the support of the laws." Will they?—or, being true to their system, can they?

The Lord Chief Justice, in his address to the Grand Jury, on Thursday, 27th of January, 1848, at Limerick, says:—

"But I will shortly, and in a few words, advert to some of the circumstances that have transpired. What do they show us? That human life, in some places,

had a price fixed upon it—that human life has become the subject of barter. We have witnessed the attacks on human life—we have witnessed the preparation for the attack, the consummation of the deed itself, and the escape of the murderers—we have witnessed the conspiracy to murder with scarcely an attempt at secrecy—we have seen the conspiracy to murder plotted and planned—that many persons were present—that women and children, whole families, were present at it—we have seen the assassin hired and brought from a distance—we have seen him and his companions stalk abroad in the daylight, in a populous county, armed and scarcely disguised, his purpose known to every man who saw him—we have seen the victim approach to the place where the assassin lay in ambush for him, but there was no voice to warn him—no hand to protect him. The bloody deed is perpetrated under the eyes of hundreds of people; yet, after all, the assassin walks off observed but undetected: nay, as if to consummate the atrocity and infamy of all this, the murderer is housed, sheltered, protected, and preserved, for further deeds of destruction. I can scarcely trust myself to speak on this subject, or to detail to you any of the horrid crimes that have been committed, of which the proofs were laid before us in the neighbouring counties; but I will give you one instance in the simplest words I can.”

His Lordship here detailed the circumstances relative to the murder of the Hourigans, and caused a thrill of horror to run through the court by the recital. He then continued:—

“Gracious heaven! would that those things were not, or that we could expunge them from our memory.

Yes : there does seem to be a **demon spirit** let loose on the land—the spirit of vengeance rages without control—and no wonder, when these crimes are extenuated, palliated, and excused : nay, more, we see how the *spirit has gone forth* : people are told of ‘the wild justice of revenge’—a phrase which has now obtained credit and currency as if it were a great moral truth. Now, not to dwell upon the audacious impiety of *man arrogating to himself the exercise of that which belongs only to man’s Maker*—without stopping to dwell upon the profanity of the sacred name of justice by associating it with the idea of revenge—see what that principle means ! It means this—that murder is just—that rapine is just—that cruelty is just—that any and every crime is just ; provided only that revenge be the motive and its gratification the object. I regret to think that such a precept as this should have been *issued* to our ignorant, turbulent, and excitable fellow-creatures. How do they understand it ?—they understand it as it was meant. A man becomes the judge and the avenger of his own wrong, and the consequences are what might have been expected. The innocent fall by the arm of the assassin, and the assassin, his accomplices, and the conspirators, fall by the hands of the law.”

The bill now before the house, to enable her Majesty to hold diplomatic intercourse with the court of Rome, may pass into a law. The term “Sovereign of the Roman States” may be substituted for that of “Roman Pontiff ;” and, thanks to that uncompromising and right rev. Prelate who exposed the iniquity of such an admission, the clause also that no ecclesiastic should be received in the character of Nuncio from Rome may be carried ;



but an intercourse with such stipulations will be rejected by the Pope. You will, my Lord, have taken out the graces from the bill, and his holiness will not submit to such a compromise either in practice or principle. But then—we shall!—for others will be found, my Lord, to improve upon a measure which has been rendered abortive; and, yielding to an expediency so fatal to our security, will pass them over as of no importance and admit the objectionable parts. Rome will then have gained another step in her aggression. Surely, my Lord, we may learn something from the events that have occurred in France, as well as those of less momentous detail in Ireland, to be convinced that, to be secure, the throne should be established in righteousness, and that a religion that will conduce to good government, the security of the throne, and social order, must be first—pure—then peaceable!

And now, my Lord, we have laid before you some remarks on the system of Romanism, supported for the most part by authorities of the same faith, as expressed in the decrees and ordinances of that Church. We have also presented unto you the practical working of that system, as from time to time it has been developed before the eyes of the world, and has found a lamentable memorial in the record of history and our own times. We have also affirmed that the murders and assassinations which have been perpetrated in Ireland are necessarily the carrying out of the system of Romanism. And shall we continue to look with cold indifference upon the “pestilential plague-spot on the commonwealth,” the sore that festers, and is a gangrene in the very vitals of Ireland’s hopes and prospects? It is idle, perhaps, to speak of the various stages through

which this insidious disease has already passed; and *that* before the observation, and with the approval and fostering care, of a Protestant Government!

What shall we say of the memorable 1829, when we paid our tribute to the idol, did homage at her shrine, and introduced the monster iniquity into our senate; so that, with a serpent's hold, she coils about the throne, and shows her deformity in the wily movements of her counsel? Yes: we must show the sincerity of our idolatry still more by receiving the Pope's Nuncio, standing in the presence of a Protestant Queen, that the devices of Romish intrigue may be more effectually brought about; and the Jesuit, taking precedence of all other less designing ambassadors, "exalted far above his less abhorred compeers," will not forget that his vows are upon him.

Yes indeed, the Government of the country, acting, as it would seem, on the principle of the infidel, that "the various modes of religion that prevail are all considered by the people as equally true, by the philosopher as equally false, and by the magistrate as equally useful," have had a very fair trial and a pretty sufficient proof of the working of such a policy in Ireland. Reducing religion to the consideration of its utility as a police force, they find that they are woefully deceived in the spirit and character of Romanism when they suppose that she would, in return for toleration, endowment, and protection, sacrifice the vital principle of her constitution for the sake of the "peace and order of society." "As we have sown to the wind, so we are reaping the whirlwind!" "Yes indeed, the cameleon may change its colour, but the leopard will never change its spots"—the former being under the influence of circumstances, the latter

under the unalterable and inviolate principle of imbred necessity. In this country, Romanism adapts itself to the circumstances under which she is placed,—she is at a discount in England—more under the control of the civil power, exposed to the observation of a more enlightened people—and, therefore, puts on the fairer garb of moderation and peace. But what is she in Spain, with all the assistance of the holy office—the unmitigated horrors of a stern and unrelenting inquisition? What would she soon become in Ireland? What is she endeavouring to become in our colonies, where, shame to English rulers, she is cherished as an ally—taken by the hand as a sister and a friend? And what will she become the more she is unfettered by our strongholds and let loose on the world?

What an anomaly is presented to the mind of the public in the correspondence that this question has occasioned between individual members of the same communion! The Earl of Arundel affirms that “more harm has been done to the Catholic religion by the unwarranted influence of the priesthood in Ireland than could have resulted from the burning declamation and unmitigated hostility of a thousand bigots when in array against it:” and his Lordship meets with a severe castigation, at the hands of Dr. M’Hale, for betraying such ignorance, or to seem surprised that such events as he would seem to deplore are but the foul expedients which the Church ever and anon is wont to employ to effect her purpose in the world, or to carry out the working of her system.

The terms in which his Lordship deplores the occasion of his remonstrance are at once frank and ingenuous; affirming, as he does, the acknowledged fact,

that it is the mischievous and diabolical influence of the priesthood that involves Ireland in the fearful charge of spilling the blood of the good, the generous, and the active on her soil. The reply on the part of Dr. M'Hale goes so far as to assert the principle upon which they have acted, and will continue to act, to evade the charge by seemingly justifying the deeds of violence and outrage : indeed, it is, in his estimation, a verdict of justifiable homicide. Since the times of the Commonwealth we have not heard doctrine such as his so clearly expounded—that killing is no murder. This is the lively commentary he has elsewhere put upon that portion of Psalm cxxxvii., which he has quoted :—“ O, daughter of Babylon, miserable ! Blessed shall he be who repays thee as thou has paid us.”

But the Earl of Arundel is not the only English Roman Catholic that has taken upon himself to condemn this outrage upon humanity. It appears that, almost immediately after the murder of Major Mahon, followed as it was by a denunciation from the altar, the Earl of Shrewsbury wrote to Dr. Brown, the Bishop of Elphin, to institute a searching enquiry into the circumstances attending this event, with a view to clear Mr. Dermott of the charge which the public had brought against him or to hand him over to justice. No notice having been taken of it, and that for reasons best known and no doubt easily reconciled to the principles of the bishop, as expressed in his subsequent reply, his Lordship addressed his superior in office, Dr. M'Hale—indorsed a copy of the same letter—and, in addition, enforcing the burden thereof upon his mind by further remarks—by assertions such as this—that the Roman Catholic Church

in Ireland is “a conniver at injustice—an accessory to crime—a pestilent sore on the commonwealth”—that she has treated the kindness and liberality of England, so freely extended towards her people in times of famine, disease, and death, with unpardonable ingratitude—pursuing the benevolent and the good with “the wild fury of revenge”—as those “sores on her soil which poison all that was destined for the happiness of her people.”

Dr. M'Hale cannot make it so clear to the apprehension of Lord Shrewsbury that the same luminary can be distinctly viewed through different phases in the two countries; “that the same religion is to be differently dealt out to the disorganized state of society in Ireland and the well-regulated state of society in England;” affirming that it is the duty of all who minister at the altar to endeavour to allay, rather than to excite, the passions, and that the main business of religion is to subdue and regulate them. No wonder, then, that taking a stand of such uncompromising integrity as his Lordship does, he is fallen upon with the coarse invective and the foul rebuke of the arch-exponent of so foul a doctrine as this:—“Remove the provocation and the crime will cease!” See to the virulence with which he assails the means—the measures and the man, who would unveil and drag the truth to light, applying to Lord Shrewsbury the putrid slander of a man who immortalized himself by the shameless gains of his career—a sordid venality and a vicious recklessness of truth:—“The most religious of theologians (repeats such a man) is a pious fool!

When Dr. M'Hale was informed that the murder of the individual followed most certainly and surely on the heels of the denounced—that the same sun that saw

the withering blast proceed from the mouth of the priest rolling, as it were, down the steps of the altar, as desolating lava from the boiling crater, in damnation and death—looking also with dismay upon the appalling scene that spiritual vengeance had brought about, veiled not his face or closed the day before the victim fell—he coolly replied, “St. Gregory recommends the treatment—the ancient fathers denounced the persecutors of the early Christians.”

It should be borne in mind that Dr. M’Hale never once denies the fact of denunciations from the altar : he only affirms that such is not the practice, and his letters on the subject are but an official and authorised apology for the facts. He veils the truth under the specious guise thereof, and rails at the man who, seeing the monster vice under the transparent sophistry of a clumsy effort to “make the worse appear the better reason,” bears down upon him with all the thunders of an enraged demagogue. There is the sound but not the light and fire ; the elements of his rage are not in nature, but of art : therefore his letters-missive fall harmless at the foot of Truth—the howl is heard indeed, but tells us only to beware. And is it too much to say that such is the spirit and principle of Romanism?—that a horrid satisfaction even accrues from this contemplation of outrages such as we deplore. Yes : there is little short of a deadly gratification arising out of these streaming hecatombs. Is it too much, my Lord, to say that this spirit that we deprecate bears much the same relation to the spirit of human kindness and toleration which the Gospel of Christ inculcates, as unbridled cannibalism does to the humanised control of civilised nature ?

We see what Romanism is in Ireland, where the de-

formity of her system is but faintly developed : we hear, as it were, the savage and hideous yell of an approval that cannot be withheld—the sympathy that is reciprocated from prelate to priest—the bonds of that federal alliance which animates the entire body, and re-echoes “Ireland for the Irish, and the supremacy of the Catholic Church.” Such, we may reasonably suppose, is the following up of altar denunciations—such the working of that bull for Maunday-Thursday—that bloody statute called “In Cœnâ Domini,” which goes on to say, “In the cup of the Lord the wine is red, and it is full mixed, and he poureth out of the same”—that is—in the cup of the Lord is *vengeance*—full mixed—in *the depository of the Church*—he, the priest, poureth out in the form of denunciation and anathema. This is but a practical explanation of the wording of the bull.

And this is the faith which Dr. Wiseman, in terms of consolation for Mr. Chirol, affirms “is that which alone worketh by charity.” I honour Dr. M’Hale, as far as he tells us the truth as it is : he is less the Greek than the son of Troy ; but I abhor his principles, because they are earthly and sold unto death. If he had more of the spirit of private intrigue than he has of open virulence, prelatical insolence, and coarse vulgar invective, he would do Rome more effective service ; but he has, unhappily for the success of his cause, that *cacoethes scribendi* that he presents rather the character of Thersytes, “this preacher of woes for ever boding ills,” than that of the Ulysses of his enterprise.

If he excelled his brethren in that meekness of spirit which would give real dignity to his station rather than seek to display himself as a political agitator—and to be signally successful in giving the last and most delicate

touch to the bitterness of sarcasm and the virulence of angry rebuke—he would further, rather than damage, the cause he affects to love, and bring upon himself the reproof of the Vatican or the remonstrance of those who, though not in his fellowship, are nevertheless of his communion. Well may my Lord of Shrewsbury say of him :—“ But you, my Lord, have decreed that there shall be no peace in Israel in your days : you will speak peace neither to your own people nor to us. How is it that civilization has retrograded under your auspices—that religion has decayed within your influence ? (Because) “ such is the unhappy result of twenty years warring against the State.” How evident it is that what we see of Romanism in this country is by no means the lively portrait she presents to the eyes of her votaries and the world in Ireland ? For even a son of her own Church is disgusted with the frightful detail of her system in that ill-fated country. It is, indeed, “ a pes-silent sore on the commonwealth.”

And he, my Lord, is commanded to penance and contrition for having dared to unveil the truth, and tell the world how matters stand between it and the high priest of his profession ! It is the device of Romanism, first of all, to overcome the will, annihilate the understanding, enchain the inmost feelings of the heart and soul, and to subdue every energy of reason and light.

One of this faith, if he be but a novitiate, will tell that, in matters pertaining to the welfare of his own soul, or even affecting religious truth, he has no individual concern : he has given that in charge to the priest, his director, and the decrees of the Church : he feels a satisfaction which he had not before ; regarding the issue with a certainty arising out of total apathy and indiff-



ence, saying, with all the confidence that can be entertained under the circumstances,

“What that Church doth make it—  
That I believe and take it.”

Such, indeed, is the nature of that spiritual training that is carried on in that national seminary which Protestant industry has to support, *in statu pupillari*, with Dens and Delahogue.

Is not Rome then, my Lord, a silencer of the witnesses, the silent voice of God's Holy Spirit, which is vouchsafed to answer sincere and contrite prayer—to sustain, direct, and govern, in the uneven paths of man's blindness, infirmity, and warfare?

How different is that spirit from which Rome receives her light!—that fallen one that broods over or moves upon the murky waters of Ireland's peace—that unwholesome stream which supplies the vital lymph to an unregenerated people—the lurid glare, forsooth, of that *luminary* on her moon's disc, which gives of her gleam to lesser lights—in the baneful obliquity of that vision through which Dr. M'Hale views the real interests of his country! Never mind, says he (to these troubled elements, for there is no peace, says my God, for the wicked)—never mind the advancement of the social and intellectual improvement of the people; for this is of secondary weight with us: excite them with the hideous picture of imaginary wrongs—arouse them with the war cry, “the wild justice of revenge”—tell them that “England's extremity is Ireland's opportunity”—stimulate them—goad them on to acts of insubordination, violence, and discord. If but Rome and her proclacy be honoured, and the aggressive system of her

Church be advanced, the social disorganization and oppression—the unrelenting exaction from her severest sufferings and wants—are but a holocaust that will smell sweet to the Church and her *spiritual acolyte*.

Erect the Church on the basis of her supremacy, and the people will soon, as a Phoenix, rise out of their ashes—when, indeed, the reverse of all this is most sure; for wherever Romanism prevails and is dominant, the people are enslaved, ignorant, and in the lowest rank of intelligence and civilisation. No wonder that moral darkness should pervade the minds of the people when the lesser orbs take their light from Tuam; which as a gaseous fluid, is poured upon them, not as bread to make glad the heart of man, or as oil to give him a cheerful countenance; but as a material of most inflammable nature, that can be ignited from the galvanic battery of public tumult; or more effectually, perhaps, by a spark from the altar, or but faintly burning and not to be consumed, it may be but collecting, as a noxious vapour for a fearful and disastrous explosion—another '89. Rely upon it, my Lord, what is not spent is only pent up to accumulate: history affords us graphic illustration of this fact, from time to time, in our own country; and the Church of Rome is indeed virtually, as she may again show herself practically, "*semper eadem*." Those records in her calendar, marked in blood—they honour them with festal pomp, and the Church throws around them the hallowed sanctity of her blessing—an incense this, that smells sweet to Tuam! Let a fit opportunity present itself, when Ireland will have to lend her aid in defence of the land that has for two years given her daily bread, or when the power of which her priesthood are sighing be partially doled out unto her, and Rome will marshal

her battalions—will command in broad and daring phalanx the forces which we have recruited, trained, and brought up in discipline and for service ; and Maynooth, alas, after having been so long an arsenal, may become an hospital for the disbanded troops ; when, after an ignominious defeat, the scattered remains of spiritual antagonism may appear strewn upon the sands ; and the sorrowful affliction that must come to families—the sufferings to society at large, to say nothing of the paralyzing of the peace and security of life and property—all this—yea, more than this, is to be prepared, made ready, and brought about by that unpardonable apathy with which we regard the facts of history, experience, and the sober assertion of principle. Well may the Protestant, whose heritage is the truth for which our forefathers fought, take up, by way of apostrophe to the events that are casting their shadows before, the words of the poet :—

“ Behold I see thee weeping captive led,  
 In Argive looms our battles to design,  
 And woes of which so great a part were thine.”

And what shall we say more, my Lord, than to repeat the question—Why should we sustain such a cause, when we see the issue thereof so evident to our understanding ? Why continue to pander away our principles—to nourish the flame that kindles in the dust ?—to endow Maynooth and instruct the priesthood—the grand arsenal of Ireland from which is doomed to issue “ firebrands, and arrows, and death ?” But if we do this—yea, continue to do this in a green tree, what shall we do in a dry ? Alas ! darkness seems to have come across the minds of our rulers—a darkness that must be felt—a fatal slumber—a lethargy from which we may awake, but to see

Ichabod written upon the wall—"the glory departed from us"—the godly part of our constitution mutilated or decayed. Yet they have light in their dwellings—indeed, sufficient to withstand the shipwreck of their faith. Would to Heaven that we would learn from the appalling record of experience!

Amongst the other doctrines and dogmas which are taught at Maynooth, and which are received without compromise by the priesthood, are three, which must appear to every thinking mind most exceptionable and dangerous to society:—

1. The doctrine of the bull "In Cœnâ Domini."

2. The influence and office of the priest in the confessional.

3. The state and condition of the soul after death.

Concerning the first, I have quoted fully already: as to the second, I have the authority of a priest of that Church to say that the confessional is the bulwark of Papistry—the foundation and corner-stone by which they endeavour to support the whole fabric of Romanism; that "without confession there is no pardon to be hoped for—it is *confession* that heals—*confession* that justifies." He positively asserts that in its practical working there cannot be a more sinful practice, as is evident from the filthy communications between a priest and his penitents; for what is more abominable in the sight of God than the questions put by the penitent to the confessor, and from the confessor to the penitent? Those questions are so indelicate, so immodest, that it would be impossible to commit them to writing: but they are to be found in Dens and Delahogue—the text books of the priest; but which questions, if not answered by the penitent, the priest is bound, in the discharge of

his duty, to refuse absolution. And such is the danger that the Romish Church considers her priesthood to be exposed to, that the Popes have published the most severe laws against those priests who seduce their penitents in the confessional, if their guilt be proved ; and it is to be feared (adds my authority) they often require to be enforced. On this head read the revelation of Rev. Dr. Beatty, formerly a Romish priest, but now of the Protestant faith.

A great deal might be said on good authority, as that of the Rev. Messrs. Nolan, M'Ghee, and Dixon, themselves having been in the secrets of the Romish priesthood, to prove that the sacrament of confession has been prostituted to the breach of the seventh commandment. But the confession of a priest on his death-bed, related by Don Antonio Gavin, in his " Masterpiece of Popery," is a wretched and disgusting sample of the woeful perversion of this sacrament in the hands of the Romish priest.

I will say no more on this subject. I must add, however, that it is one of the most diabolical inventions of the idolatrous Church of Rome, and which has no foundation in Scripture. For we read in St. Mark ii. 7, " Who can forgive sins but God only ?" The Jews reprimanded our Saviour in considering Him nothing but man, when He said He could forgive sins, and our Saviour never once contradicted them. We read, also, in Isaiah xliii. 55, " I even am He who blotteth out thy transgressions for mine own sake, and I will not remember thy sins ;" and James iv. 12, " There is one Lawgiver who is to save and destroy ; who art thou that judgest ? and to his own master let him stand or be condemned ;" and St. Luke ii. 16, " It behoveth Christ to suffer, and to rise from the dead the third day, and

that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in His name among all nations." From whence it clearly appears that Christ has given to His faithful pastors the key of the kingdom of heaven by preaching the Gospel, through repentance and faith in the all-sufficient atonement and perfect sacrifice of Christ ; and what folly it is to assert that Christ should confer on frail man, one forsooth, of the very frailest of sinful men, the keys of heaven ! In fact, according to the Romish Church, if a priest, through caprice or any other motive, refuses absolution to his penitents, they cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven. How monstrous !—that upon *the intention* of the priest depends the validity of the sacraments ! "For without confession there is no pardon to be hoped for—it is confession that heals—it is confession that justifies."

There is another article of the Romish Church equally abhorrent to our understanding and contrary to Scripture—that of Purgatory ; and on which I believe there are no points, whereon the bishops and priests exercise more dexterous cunning and artful means to impose on the credulity of the people. They certainly defend it with all the pertinacity they are capable of ; but, whether from mercenary motives or not, the inference can easily be drawn from the proclamations that are issued forth on All Souls' Day, when the treasury of the Church is to be opened, and the suffering souls in purgatory are to be released from all their torments, to be translated into heaven. There is one thing certain—that a sum of money, varying from 2s. 6d. to 20*l.*, must be paid to the priest in order to release them from their torments. What a fabrication of the father of lies—what a dogma to be propounded with uncompromising

hypocrisy, as if the pardon and peace of the penitent could not be communicated through the spiritual intercourse between God and his own soul—that the mercies of God and the superabundant merits of individual sinners should be hoarded up to form a treasury for the Church, is altogether so much at variance with the words of the Almighty Himself, when He says:—“But to this man will I look, even to him that is meek and of a contrite spirit”—that no meek mind can do less than deprecate such a doctrine as a pure invention.

*Sat sapienti!* However, that such a place does not exist may be gathered from Holy Writ—Rev. xiv. 13 :—“Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, from henceforth : yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.” But all the faithful die in the Lord—therefore they rest from their labours. Where the tree falls there it shall lie. St. John v. 24 : “Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that heareth my word, and believeth on Him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation, but hath passed from death unto life.” From whence it would appear evident that there is no intermediate place between heaven and earth. St. Luke xxiii. 42, 43 :—“Lord, remember me when thou comest into Thy kingdom. Jesus said unto him, Verily, verily, I say unto thee, to-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.” Surely the thief, who had no time left for penance, needed most the refining of purgatorial fire! The fruits of faith could not be evident to prove the sincerity of his repentance.

The writings of the Apocrypha are generally adduced in argument for the foundation of the dogma of purgatory ; but it should be borne in mind that they were

written for the most part after the withdrawal of the directing Spirit of God, as the title itself implies, and therefore not of authority (excepting Esdras i. ii.) for the foundation of Christian doctrine, but only read so far as they may tend to edification in morals ; or, as St. Jerome says, "The Church doth, for example of life and instruction of manners ;" but, although we have no Christian foundation for this dogma, we have it abundantly from the resources of the heathen poets.

The Hindoos attach great importance to voluntary pains and mortifications. There are hordes of wandering devotees called Fakeers, who live on charity and go almost naked : they imagine that the expiation of their own sins, and sometimes those of others, depends on the penances to which they subject themselves. From Greek and Roman authors we have abundance, in the form of rambles along the river-side and through the Elysian fields.

Now, my Lord, I look upon these doctrines as set forth in the bull "In Cœnâ Domini"—the confessional and purgatory as they are inculcated by their priests—as ministerial, and mainly so, to all the indolence, the insubordination, and violence of the lower orders in Ireland—as a deleterious poison rankling in the imaginary wounds of the people—insinuating itself into their affections, and regulating their habits—under this influence they are, indeed, "hereditary bondsmen." We affect to say that light, and education, and intelligence are the grand panacea for the wrongs they suffer at their own hands, and which thrill through the nerves and enervate the sinews of our constitution ; but what light can beam upon the minds we pity—the darkness we deplore—if we nurse them in the shade ! It



is worse than Egypt's gloom—it is darkness that will bring despair—it is as the beams of light beclouding the sun in one continuous eclipse—a darkness, alas! that is felt.

Give knowledge—inculcate morals ; and then, under the direction of that Spirit which “lighteneth every man that cometh into the world” upon the foundation of a conscience regulated and subdued according to God's word, we may hope to *erect* the principles of that religion which is *first* pure, then peaceable.

Without this, knowledge is but a sword in the hands of an enemy ; and understanding but its scabbard which will be unsheathed but to avenge the foul purpose of the wicked heart of man.

And how preposterous, my Lord, to hear it affirmed, as we do, that this bull has been withdrawn and annulled in Ireland, where it has been published, and notoriously so in late years, and is in full force in all Roman Catholic countries ; and the doctrines of which are recognized and approved in a commentary from a Rhenish edition of the Douay Bible, published by M. Namard, of Cork, 1818, and approved by the hierarchy of that Church.

The question there is—Are heretics justly punished with death ? And St. Thomas answers—“Yes : because forgers of money or other disturbers of the State are justly punished with death. Therefore also, heretics who are forgers of the faith, and as experience testifies, grievously disturb the State.”

“This is confirmed, because God in the Old Testament ordered the false prophets to be slain ; and, in Deut. xvii. 12, it is decreed that if any one will act proudly,

and will not obey the commands of the priest, let him be put to death."

The wise moralist affirms that—"He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, both are abomination to the Lord."

My Lord, when I conceived the idea of addressing your Lordship, it was under the influence of a feeling of admiration of the manly manner in which you stood forward and gave utterance to a practical truth. Now that I have ventured upon this liberty with your name and station, and have repeated what you have doubtless already seen and heard, I trust that your convictions will be the stronger, that support can never be afforded to the laws by the insidious violators of them. When therefore, my Lord, the time shall arrive, to which I fear we are fast hastening and contributing to bring about—when the melancholy tocsin of woe shall roll, as it were, round the dome of St. Paul, as that of anarchy and blood does at the moment I write round that of Notre Dâme—may there be a Stanley still through whose veins the soul-stirring blood of his father runs, and a voice withal to tell out senators that "righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a disgrace to any people."

I am, my Lord, your humble servant,

H. BRAILSFORD.

Exbourne, Feb. 24, 1848.



THE  
MADEIRA CHAPLAINCY  
TREATED OF,  
AND THE  
SUPREMACY OF THE QUEEN VINDICATED,  
IN  
A LETTER  
ADDRESSED TO  
THE REV. R. T. LOWE.  
BY  
T. KENWORTHY BROWN, M.A.,  
BRITISH CHAPLAIN AT MADEIRA.

LONDON:  
J. HATCHARD AND SON, 187, PICCADILLY.  
1848.

*Price One Shilling.*



**LONDON:**

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## P R E F A C E.

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THE Protest, printed at the end of this Letter, will sufficiently prove the necessity for publishing a reply. The former document has been printed and industriously circulated amongst the members of the Church of England in Madeira, to induce them to desert their church and to follow the late chaplain to a room in the neighbourhood, wherein he performs divine service and ministers the sacraments. The history of the communion plate used in this room is as follows : A chalice was purchased by the congregation at the British Chapel, in 1844, and afterwards a paten and alms-basin were added from money collected at the offertory. These the late chaplain kept in his own custody, and now, after his supercession by her Majesty, and the arrival of his successor, he retains them for the use of the congregation in the room above-mentioned.

**The reason assigned for this is, that they do not belong to the Church of England as by law established, but to “ the Church in Communion with the Bishop of London.”**

## THE MADEIRA CHAPLAINCY,

*&c.*

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REV. SIR,

When I received your protest, I trusted that you had stated your case as fully as you thought necessary, and that when I replied to it, I should have replied to all your objections. But in its printed form, reference is made to appendices A. B. . . . H., which are shortly to appear, and there is no reason why they may not extend to appendix Z. With this prospect, I need hardly tell you, that the duties of my office are too arduous for me to have time (even if I had the inclination) to continue a controversy about a matter which has already been settled by the proper authorities: and therefore I beg to declare my determination not to answer any other statements which you may think it right to publish.



But, as many misrepresentations connected with my appointment to the chaplaincy have already been made, and in one, the refusal of the Bishop of London to grant me a licence has been used to impute a want of respectability to myself, I think it right to detail the circumstances which have placed me in my present position. It had come to my knowledge, that in consequence of the dissensions between you and your congregation, her Majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs had, after three years' discussion, empowered the consul "to call a meeting of the subscribers to the support of the British Church Establishment in Madeira," for the purpose of nominating a successor to yourself. This meeting, with great judgment and moderation, requested his lordship to select a chaplain for them, as from the recent divisions, they thought that a clergyman, definitively appointed by him, would be *more generally* welcome.

Under these circumstances, I was strongly urged to apply to Lord Palmerston for the appointment; and fully believing that it was in his lordship's gift, I took the liberty of requesting the Bishop of Ripon, my diocesan, and the lord lieutenant of the North Riding of Yorkshire, (a parishioner of mine,) both of whom had ample opportunities of knowing my manner of life for

some years, to bear their testimony to his lordship, of my personal character, and of my fitness for such an office. They immediately complied, and the answer they received from Lord Palmerston was the same, "that he always wished to consult the Bishop of London with reference to these appointments, and that I had better make an application to him." I did so, and his lordship's reply was, "Owing to the peculiar circumstances of the chaplaincy at Madeira, I am not at liberty at present to recommend any person to Lord Palmerston for appointment to that office. Should the present difficulty be removed, I will consider your application, together with others which I have received, and let you know the result as soon as possible."\* No further notice was taken, and the whole matter had nearly passed from my mind. But in the interim, a friend of mine mentioned my application to a resident, who had asked him to recommend some clergyman for the appointment; and in consequence of this, I received in December the

\* I hope that his lordship will not consider the publication of this letter a breach of confidence, but the circumstances of the case have compelled me to this, and to allude to other portions of our correspondence. Had time permitted, I should have requested his lordship to have allowed me to publish the whole correspondence, which would have been more satisfactory to myself.

accompanying resolution,\* which had been passed at a general meeting held on the 15th of November. I again applied to Lord Palmerston, and his lordship, taking into consideration the high character and position of those who had introduced me to his notice, and the wishes of the residents, recommended me to her Majesty, who was graciously pleased to signify her commands, that I should be appointed to officiate as chaplain forthwith. Meanwhile, anxiously desiring to pay every respect to the Bishop of London, I wrote to him on the receipt of the letter from Madeira, and I am happy to say, that I even anti-

\* Resolved,—That as the dissatisfaction with the proceedings of the Rev. R. Lowe continues, and as no information has been received from Viscount Palmerston, H. M.'s principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, of his having appointed a chaplain, as humbly requested in a resolution adopted at a general meeting of the 6th May last: and further, concurring in an opinion of his lordship, expressed in a dispatch to the consul, Mr. Stoddart, of the 16th April last, that such a state of things cannot be suffered to continue, and that the meeting should recommend another gentleman for the appointment of chaplain: This meeting, in accordance with his lordship's suggestion, (no person having yet been appointed,) does now most respectfully recommend the Rev. Thomas Kenworthy Brown, Vicar of Easby, for the appointment, as from his character and acquirements, it is confidently believed he is well suited to restore peace and harmony to the British community generally, an object so much to be desired by all. 15th November, 1847.

icipated any communication from the Foreign Office. And on my application to his lordship for a licence, he was kind enough to assure me, both personally and by letter, that, although he was unable to comply with my request, on account of the licence previously granted to you, the course he was pursuing was not intended to imply any disrespect towards me.\*

His lordship's refusal was communicated to the Foreign Office, and after some correspondence between him and Lord Palmerston, I was informed that the licence of the bishop was not requisite, and that her Majesty commanded me to commence my duties without delay.

The kindness I have received since I have been in the island, and the very large number of residents who have attended church assure me that if the bishop had thought right to follow the usual course, divisions would have quickly ceased, and peace have been restored. Also, from his lordship's conduct in other instances,

\* In a letter, dated January 4th, 1848, his lordship writes: "I am sorry to be under the necessity of acting in a manner, which I request you not to consider as implying any disrespect towards yourself."

Again, after I had intimated to him my purpose of proceeding to Madeira, he wrote, (January 20th,) "I am glad to find by your letter that you are aware that the question is not personal with regard to yourself."

I cannot but suppose, that he has not been made acquainted with all the circumstances of the case, or, that he would have counselled you, even more strongly than he did, to remove into another sphere of duty.

Having thus stated the circumstances which preceded my arrival, I will reply to the Protest, which, in the presence of two witnesses, you so formally placed in my hands. As the Protest contains *sixteen* distinct clauses, I have taken the liberty of making the following analysis, partly for the greater convenience of reply, and partly in order that those who read this letter may see what your accusations really are, and the manner in which I endeavour to meet them.

Reasons I., II., III., IV., contain charges of intrusion into the spiritual office of another, of breaking my ordination vows, and of conduct openly schismatical and sinful.

In VI., VII., you speak of the punishment due to my offences.

In VIII., IX., X., you attempt to show that the Queen, as supreme governor of all estates in this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, cannot, without assuming the power of the keys, dismiss one chaplain at a foreign part, and appoint another Presbyter to succeed him.

In XI. you apply the general rule of V. to my case, and state, that not possessing the qua-

fications for the chaplaincy specified, or contemplated by the act of parliament, I cannot celebrate divine service according to the rites and ceremonies of the United Church of England and Ireland.

In XII., you object to my appointment as contrary to the regulations for the management of foreign chaplains.

In XIII., you accuse me, 1st, of acting in contempt of the Bishop of London ; 2ndly, of recognizing in the civil government a dispensing power as to my ordination vows ; and, 3rdly, of being pledged, or prepared to follow in my ministrations the mere dictates of self-will, or popular caprice.

In XIV., assuming the truth of your charges, you speak of the reproach and scandal thus brought upon the Church of England, and, moreover, accuse me of encouraging strife and dissension amongst communities of British subjects abroad.

In XV., you limit the general statement of V. and XI., although from this limitation you exclude the case in point.

In XVI., again repeating your accusations, you denounce me as an unqualified intruder into the spiritual care and charge belonging to yourself.

Now, in endeavouring to free myself from the

imputation of offences so grave in their nature, and, if they could be justly alleged against me, so deserving of punishment, I find it necessary to state, (I fear at some length,) first, what I consider to be the true meaning of the text, Romans x. 15, to which you allude; (either by direct reference or by implication eight several times;) and, secondly, to show what I believe to be the authority which the laws of the *Church* and realm of England have intrusted to the crown in the case in point.

I. The text is, "How shall they preach except they be *sent*?" From the manner in which you have used the term "sent," you appear to consider the phrase to mean "the sending or mission" of *particular clergymen to particular places*, and of limiting the power of doing this to those of the episcopal order. If I misinterpret your meaning, I sincerely apologize for doing so, and your own words will do you justice;\* but I think you will not deny that my inference is correct. I, on the other hand, conceive the word "*sent*" in this text to imply, *not* an appointment to minister in a particular congregation, but ordination to the ministerial office, and that, in

\* As your Protest has been already published, and as your only reason for printing it must have been a desire to promote its publicity, I have requested it to be reprinted at the end of this letter.

other terms, the question asked by the apostle would be, "How shall men be ministers of the gospel of Christ except they be ordained according to the laws of Christ?" \* And this is evidently the view taken by the Church of England in her 23rd Article. This Article, referring to the text, and depending in a great measure upon it, states with authority, which we both acknowledge, that "it is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be *lawfully* called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge *lawfully* called and sent which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation *to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard.*"

The first clause in this Article you have alluded to in Reason II., and quoted at length in Reason V.; but concerning the second, which is explanatory of the first, you are altogether silent. Why was this? The second clause is so evidently opposed to what seems to be your interpretation of the text, that I cannot but suggest to you that

\* Bishop Shuttleworth thus paraphrases the passage:—  
 "How shall they hear his gospel preached without an apostle to preach it to them? and how shall a man become an apostle, unless he has his commission from God?"



it has the appearance of your being so carried away by your own views, as to overlook the teaching of the Church. But to proceed: I beg to assure you that I was ordained deacon and priest by prelates, who had public authority given to them in the congregation, and therefore that I am a person duly qualified (as far as compliance with the laws of man can qualify any person for so responsible an office) to preach the word and minister the sacraments in any congregation, to which, in accordance with the laws of the Church and realm of England, I may be called. Moreover, having been thus duly ordained, and therefore *sent* as a minister into the Lord's vineyard, my actual position in that vineyard may be determined (without sin on either side) by the Queen's most gracious Majesty, provided that, in making such an appointment, she acts in accordance with the laws *she has sworn* to maintain.\*

II. Again, as the power of the crown to remove one foreign chaplain, and to appoint another, is questioned in the whole of your Protest, I am

\* You assert that this special mission, or sending particular clergymen to particular places, belongs exclusively to the bishops and to the crown. Has it escaped your recollection that the crown, by a special mission, assigns to the bishops their dioceses, appoints chaplains to particular ships in the navy, to particular requirements in the army, &c. &c.

placed in the unexpected position of having to prove, in opposition to Reasons VIII. IX. X., that by the law of the *Church and realm* this power is entrusted to the Queen, or to those who have authority from her to act in her name.

There can be no doubt that the laws of the realm are conclusive in this matter. The words of the Act 6 Geo. IVth. cap. 87, "that the chaplain shall continue in his office during her Majesty's pleasure and NO LONGER," are too explicit for any ingenuity of argument to evade. The only question then is, whether the authority, so clearly given by the laws of the realm, be in accordance with the laws of the Church? With the same want of argumentative justice, which I have pointed out above, you have referred to Article XXXVII., for the purpose of showing that the Queen has not certain powers, (which powers she has never assumed, and I will venture to say, never desired to assume;) but you have omitted to state how far her prerogative does extend. It would have been more fair to have explained, especially as you could have done so by continuing your quotation, what the power of the crown really is, and then to have shown that in this case it had been exceeded.\*

\* It is worthy of remark, that your only complete quotation from the Prayer Book, viz. from the service for the consecration of bishops, "Will you be faithful in ordaining, *send-*

I will supply your omission. "We give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word, . . . but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in Holy Scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and the evil doers." This, I apprehend, must be understood to give her Majesty the same powers as godly princes of old in causes ecclesiastical, and over those who are her subjects, whether lay or clerical.\* But, that it may not be said that I wrest the meaning of this Article to make it meet the case in point, let me refer you to the authority of those great and shining lights in the Church, Bishop Jewel, Bishop Burnet, and Hooker.

*ing*, or laying hands on others?" tells most strongly against your interpretation of Rom. x. 15, while it marks your view of the text. If you distinguish between sending and the laying hands on others, you must also distinguish between ordaining and laying hands on others, instead of considering the three terms to be explanatory of each other, as they are generally received.

\* In the coronation service, the interference of the crown in disputes between the clergy and the laity (as, for instance, between yourself and your late congregation) is thus recognized in the prayer: "That the Mediator of God and man may establish thee in thy kingly throne, *to be the mediator between the clergy and the laity.*"

Bishop Jewel, in his "Apology," (which was ordered to be placed in all churches,) thus writes: "And now, seeing that princes *have employed their authority upon bishops*, received commands from God concerning religion, brought back the ark of God, composed sacred hymns and psalms, governed the priests, made public discourses concerning the worship of God, purged the temple, demolished high places, burnt idolatrous groves, and have admonished the priests concerning their office, and given them laws of living, have slain wicked prophets, *deposed bishops*,\* called councils of bishops, and sat with them, and taught them what they should do, have punished heretical bishops, have taken cognizance of religion, subscribed councils, and given sentence in them, and done all this, *not by the command of another, but in their own names, and that rightly and piously*; shall we say, after all this, that the care of religion belongs not to them? or that a christian prince, who is pleased to concern himself in these things, acts ill, immodestly, and wickedly? In all these affairs, the most ancient christian kings and emperors

\* Surely the power which can "rightly and piously" depose a bishop may "rightly and piously" depose a foreign chaplain, who is but a Presbyter. The power of the Queen's majesty, by canon 26, is, under God, supreme as well in all *spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal.*

have intermeddled, and were never accused of impiety, or immodesty for so doing; and will any pretend to find any more Catholic princes, or more illustrious examples?"—*Apology* vi. 13.

Again, in his answer to an objector against the interference of kings in the matters of religion, he writes:—"For why? Can Caiaphas and Annas judge well of matters of religion, and cannot David and Hezekiah? . . . We attribute nothing more to our princes than what is allowed them by the Word of God, and approved by the examples of the best governments. For besides that, the care of both tables is committed by God to a faithful prince, that he may thereby understand, that not only civil affairs, but also sacred and ecclesiastical, belong to his office."—*Ib.* vi. 9.

Bishop Burnet, whose authority I am glad to see that you respect, in his exposition of this article, thus writes respecting the supremacy of the crown. "In the Old Testament, the kings of Israel intermeddled in all matters of religion: Samuel acknowledged Saul's authority; and Ahimelech, though the high priest, when called before Saul, appeared, and answered to some things that were objected to him, that related to the worship of God. Samuel said in express words to Saul, that 'he was made the head of all the tribes;' and one of these was the tribe of

Levi. David made many laws about sacred matters, such as the orders of the courses of the priests, and the time of their attendance at the public service. When he died, and was informing Solomon of the extent of his authority, he told him that ‘the courses of the priests and all the people were to be wholly at his commandment.’ Pursuant to which, Solomon *did appoint them their charges in the service of God*; and both ‘the priests and Levites departed not from his commandment in any matter.’ He turned out Abiathar from the High Priest’s office, and yet no complaint was made upon it,\* as if he had assumed an authority that did not belong to him. It is true both David and Solomon were men that were particularly inspired as to some things, but it does not appear that they acted in those matters by virtue of any such inspiration. *They were acts of regal power, and they did them in that capacity.*—*Burnet, Exposition, p. 514, Oxford Edition.*

But if you do not agree with these Bishops,

\* Before warning the members of the Church of England in Madeira to avoid their pastor, would it not have been more prudent to have considered whether the Israelites sinned in transferring their *spiritual allegiance* from Abiathar who was removed by the crown, to Zadok who was appointed by the crown? The *Bible* does not charge them with any sin in yielding in this instance to the powers that were ordained of God.

let me call your attention to the following passages from the Homilies, which you have confessed to contain "godly and wholesome doctrine." "Here let us learn of St. Paul, the chosen vessel of God, that all persons having souls,—he excepteth none, nor exempteth none, neither *priest, apostle, nor prophet*, saith St. Chrysostom, — do owe of bounden duty, and *even in conscience*, obedience, submission, and subjection to the higher powers, which he set in authority by God; forasmuch as they be God's lieutenants, God's presidents, God's officers, God's commissioners, God's judges,\* ordained of God himself, of whom only they have all their power, and all their authority. And the same St. Paul threateneth no less pain than everlasting damnation to all disobedient persons, to all resisters against this general and common authority, forasmuch as they resist not man, but God; nor man's device and invention, but God's wisdom, God's order, power, and authority."—*Hom. x. part 1st.*

"It is well known, as well by all histories as by daily experience, that none have either more ambitiously aspired *above* emperors, kings, and princes, nor have more perniciously moved the ignorant people to rebellion against their princes,

\* The Homily is here speaking of the supremacy of kings, not of bishops.

than certain persons, which falsely challenge to themselves to be only counted and called spiritual. I must, therefore, here yet once again briefly put you, good people, in remembrance, out of God's holy word, how our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his holy apostles, the heads and chief of all true spiritual and ecclesiastical men, behaved themselves towards the princes and rulers of their time, though not the best governors that ever were, that you be not ignorant whether they be the true disciples and followers of Christ and his apostles, and so true spiritual men, that either by ambition do so highly aspire, or do most maliciously teach, or most perniciously execute rebellion against their lawful princes, being the worst of all carnal works and mischievous deeds. The Holy Scriptures do teach most expressly, that our Saviour Christ himself, and his apostles St. Paul and St. Peter, with others, were unto the magistrates, and higher powers, which ruled at their being upon the earth, both obedient themselves, and did also diligently and earnestly exhort all other Christians to the like obedience unto their princes and governors; whereby it is evident that *men of the clergy*, and ecclesiastical ministers, as their successors, ought both themselves specially, and before other *to be obedient unto their princes*,



and also to *exhort all others unto the same,*" &c., &c.—*Hom.* xxxiii. part 5.

But in Reason IX., you suggest that the passages in the Articles, &c., which give the largest authority to the crown, refer only to the opinion, that the Bishop of Rome, or other foreign powers, may have dominion in causes ecclesiastical in the realm of England. To answer this, in addition to the passages which I have already cited, the judicious Hooker comes to my assistance. In an article entitled the "*Limitations of the Supremacy,*" he thus writes:—  
 "When, therefore, Christian kings are said to have spiritual dominion, or supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs and causes, the meaning is, that within their own precincts and territories, they have authority and power to command even in matters of Christian religion, and that there is no higher nor greater, that can in those causes over-command them, where they are placed to reign as kings. But withal, we must likewise note that their power is termed supremacy, as being the highest, not simply without exception of anything. For what man is there so brain-sick as not to except in such speeches God himself, the King of all the kings of the earth? Besides, where the law doth give him dominion, who doubteth but that the king who receiveth

it must hold it of, and under the law? according to that axiom, ‘*Attribuat rex legi, quod lex attribuit ei, potestatem et dominium;*’ and again: “*Rex non debet esse sub homine, sed sub Deo et lege.*’ . . . . Where the king hath power of dominion, or supreme power, there no foreign state or potentate, no state or *potentate domestical*, whether it consist of *one*, or of many, can possibly have in the same affairs and causes higher authority than the king.” — *Hooker's Works*, book viii. ch. ii. 3.

Such, then, is the law of the Church of England, as expounded in Article XXIII., and interpreted by Jewel, Burnet, Hooker, and the writers of the Homilies. If you agree with these authorities, and admit that the crown has the extensive jurisdiction they attribute to it, I am unable to discover by what process of reasoning, you especially exempt *yourself* from the operation, or justify your contempt of it. Your late diocesan, the Bishop of London, has never claimed for himself or *you* any such exemption; so far from it, he spoke of your being “*virtually cashiered,*” by the dispatch of April last, in a letter to me, which I still possess. In vain then can you plead the licence of the bishop to justify your present proceedings. For in the first place, his lordship had no authority over foreign chaplaincies given to him by the act of parlia-

ment, and the jurisdiction which he has exercised over them, depended only on the regulations issued by her Majesty's government.

This arrangement has, as you are well aware, been found to be inconvenient, and therefore it has seemed good to the Secretary of State to alter it, and place this and all other Foreign chaplaincies on a different footing. But even if the licence of the Bishop were legally necessary for the due discharge of the duties of chaplain, *you have it not*. The licence you received about fourteen years ago, was to officiate as her Majesty's legally appointed chaplain at Madeira; this, by her Majesty's commands, legally given, you have ceased to be, and therefore your licence must by your supercession become unavailing. You were appointed chaplain by the crown, *not* because the Bishop of London gave you a licence, but his Lordship gave you a licence because you had been legally appointed. The licence was dependant on the appointment, not the appointment on the licence. No law compelled you to accept the chaplaincy in the first instance, subject to the condition of her Majesty's pleasure, for your continuance therein; but having accepted it on these terms, surely you are bound *in honour* not to cavil at the condition, nor to endeavour in any way to evade it. Again, even if the Bishop of London favoured this strange assumption of

power on your part, (I do not for a moment accuse his lordship of doing this,) still his authority would not avail you. "Nothing can give that to another, which it hath not itself," "Vide Reason VIII.,) and the power to maintain you in your former position, does not, nor ever did, belong to him. If it were so, his licence would render entirely nugatory the condition affixed to the Act 6, Geo. IV., Cap. 87, and would supersede those powers which the laws of the Church and realm have entrusted to the crown. In questions touching the supremacy of the crown, it is a well-known principle in the courts of justice to ascertain not, *quid voluit Rex*, but *quid dixit Parliament* ;\* but if your views were carried out, *quid dixit Episcopus*, would supersede both ; within the realm there would be established a "*potentate domestical*," which would be above the monarch, nay, above the law : and a sacerdotal order would arise with the means of absorbing all other powers of the state.

In Reason V., you adduce the thirty-sixth Canon to prove that no authority can dispense with the Bishop's licence, but in Reason XV., you admit that in certain cases, both at home and abroad, clergymen may officiate without it. This admission was wisely made, for in addition

\* Judgment of Mr. Justice Coleridge in the late celebrated case of *Regina v. Archbishop of Canterbury*.

to the clergymen officiating in college chapels, the peculiars, which the law of the Church and realm have for centuries exempted from Episcopal jurisdiction, refute the general rule of V. but you qualify your limitation by saying, that this exemption has been with the "Bishops' consent and tacit acquiescence." Now, from personal experience, I am able to show that you are again mistaken. In the Archdeaconry of Richmond, at the visitation both of the Archdeacon and Bishop, clergymen officiating in churches in the immediate neighbourhood of my own benefice, are always summoned to appear, and thus a claim for jurisdiction is made: but to show that they do not acknowledge it, they invariably refuse to answer to their names. So being by custom, and by statute, exempted from the operations of Canons XXXVI., XLVIII., XLIX., (as far as obedience to the Bishop and Ordinary is concerned,) they maintain the legality of this exemption, not "with the Bishop's consent as tacit acquiescence," but in direct opposition to it. The power which gave these privileges to the peculiars, was derived from the *crown*, and the power which has (for the present at least) exempted me and other chaplains in all Foreign parts and places, from Episcopal jurisdiction is the *crown*. And when there is no Bishop or Ordinary having Episcopal jurisdiction given by

law over a particular place, and when the power, to which custom has given jurisdiction over the place, refuses to act, I should be glad to know how a clergyman, otherwise legally appointed, can make such a declaration? Not that I for a moment wish to be placed in the same position as these peculiars, or to be free from the authority of a bishop. To entertain such a wish would indeed be an unworthy thing in any clergyman, who had held a benefice in the diocese of the Bishop of Ripon, and had experienced the fatherly counsel and assistance which his lordship is always so ready to afford. Accustomed as I have been to apply to him for advice, and the many times I have found that advice of essential service, I should indeed be ungrateful, if under any circumstances I thought lightly of his order; but under the circumstances of peculiar difficulty in which I find myself placed, on account of the dissensions which have arisen in Madeira during your ministrations, it would indeed be to me a great comfort to have some one in authority to whom I might apply for advice and assistance: and from the courtesy with which the Bishop of London has treated me, I do not doubt that I should have met with equal kindness at his hands.

Believing then that the chaplaincy at Madeira was vacant, believing that at my ordination I was

*sent* as a minister of Christ into the Lord's vineyard with power to preach the word, and minister the sacraments in any congregation, whereunto I was lawfully appointed, believing that her Majesty had power lawfully to appoint me to this congregation, I deny the justice of your accusations contained in Reasons I., II., III., IV., V., viz., that I have interfered with your office, have intruded myself into the spiritual cure or charge of another, have violated thereby my ordination vows, and have been guilty of conduct *openly schismatical and sinful*.

Reasons VI., VII., I will notice presently : as to Reasons VIII., IX., X., in stating what the prerogative of the crown really is by law, I trust that I have shown that her Majesty has not exceeded it in the case in point. With regard to Reason XII., if you had known when you *wrote* your Protest, that the regulations for the management of foreign chaplaincies had been rescinded, I suppose that you would not have charged me with violating a rule which had ceased to exist.

Reason XIII. contains three distinct accusations ; first, a disregard of, and contempt for the Bishop of London's authority ; secondly, the recognizing in the civil government a dispensing power as to my ordination vows ; thirdly, the being pledged or prepared to follow in my minis-

trations, the mere dictates of self-will or popular caprice.

As to the first, the explanation of the manner in which I obtained the appointment to the chaplaincy, will show that I paid all due respect to the Bishop of London, and that I did not willingly place myself in the position with regard to his jurisdiction, in which I now find myself: neither did I ever act in contempt of his authority, support, and counsel; inasmuch as his lordship *never claimed* authority over me, *never offered* me support, *never counselled* me to disobey her Majesty's commands. Also when I urged him "not to place me in the anomalous position of being the duly appointed servant of her Majesty, but unaccredited by himself," his reply was—*not*, that in such a position you will be a schismatic, *not*, that you will break your ordination views; *not*, that you will be an unqualified intruder into the charge of another,—but, quoting my own words, "if you proceed to Madeira without my licence, you will of course be in an anomalous and unpleasant position, but the difficulty will not be of my seeking." Observe the *difference* between the temperate language of the Bishop, and that of your Protest.\*

\* If you believe that the Bishop of London holds the same view as yourself, concerning my present position, how can you account for his failing to admonish me of the sin I



But when you thus accused me, would it not have been as well for you to have explained, why YOU disregarded your diocesan's counsel, when he advised you to resign the chaplaincy? If contempt has been shown to the power of a Bishop, surely it is by him who refused compliance with an expressed wish, and not by another to whom no such wish was ever communicated. What a contrast does this determination of yours to retain at any cost of good feeling your late appointment, present to the conduct of the rulers of the early Church!

When great contests were raised about the see of Constantinople, Gregory of Nazianzen, who then possessed it, stood up in the middle of the assembly and said, "If I be the Jonas that raises the storm, throw me into the sea, and let these storms and tempests cease." And then he resigned a bishopric in which he had been legally settled by the express command of the  
 was about to commit, and to warn me of the consequences? Would silence under such circumstances have been praiseworthy, rather would it not have been his duty to have pointed out to me clearly and expressly the grave error into which I was about to fall? Also, if my present conduct brings me under the censure of the Church, surely it pertains more properly to the office of a Bishop, than that of a Presbyter, "solemnly" to denounce such conduct "before Christ and his Church at large" **TO BE SCHISMATICAL AND SINFUL.**

emperor, and with the acclamations of the people.\* If you had pursued a similar course, how different would have been the state of the church at Madeira at this moment!

Your second and third charges I feel almost inclined to pass over; and if it were not from the fear that my silence with regard to them might be interpreted into the admission, that conduct so nefarious was ever found in members of our profession, I would treat them with the indifference they deserve. If I were to ask you, whether the obligation of vows solemnly and deliberately taken can be dispensed with by any power, either by that of kings, or bishops, or priests? I feel almost confident that you would reply, "They cannot." Give me then credit for the same regard for the obligation of an oath which you would claim for yourself; and before you again throw imputations upon my integrity, and assert that I recognize in the civil government a dispensing power as to ordination vows, and other solemn obligations, ask yourself whether such bitter railing is in accordance with that charity "which does not behave itself unseemly, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil."

As to the second evil intention, "that I came prepared to follow in my ministrations the mere dictates of self-will or popular caprice," my best

\* Vita Greg. Naz. per Greg. Presb.

answer will be my future conduct. Exactly in the manner in which I have been accustomed to perform divine service, and in strict accordance with the almost universal practice of the Church's ministers of every grade of authority and dignity, as far as memory will reach, I have commenced in this island : and strange to say, I hear that it corresponds in every particular with the manner in which you discharged the same duties for several years. But if the seed of schism, which has been so widely sown by your revival of obsolete customs, should bear fruit in protracted discussions, in my desire not to sacrifice religion for the sake of "rubrical niceties," I should be prepared to follow, in all things in which I lawfully could, the excellent advice contained in the following extract from a letter of the Bishop of London to the residents : "Whatever practice is not required by these rules, (i. e. the Rubrics,) or sanctioned by general custom, I advise him to lay aside, if by so doing he can satisfy the scruples of those persons who are really members of our Church ; but I cannot with any consistency urge him to disregard those rules where they are plain and positive ; although I might not think it necessary to press compliance with them in those instances where the non-observance of them has received a certain degree of sanction from general and long prevailing custom, ac-

quiesced in by the rulers of the Church.”—*Vide Pamphlet by Viscount Campden*, p. 10.

Most of your other accusations, notwithstanding the great guilt implied in them, have arisen from your strange view of the text Rom. x. 15, and of the power of the Church; but these last, as they intermeddle with what you say must be my *motives and intentions*, are such as you cannot establish, and which I trust you are already sorry for having made. Under any circumstances an oath is no slight bond, but under the circumstances in which we are admitted into the holy order of priests, words will fail to describe the strength of the obligation. Again, concerning the influence of self-will on my conduct, as I am quite a stranger to you, you can know nothing: concerning the dictates of “popular caprice,” from what I have seen of the British residents, I think that they are as little likely to attempt to dictate to their minister as any other body of educated men. They never, as far as I can discover, interfered with you until, by the introduction of novel practices,\* you led them to

\* Considering the circumstances of the times, few people will say that this dislike of change was irrational. The *British Critic*, the avowed organ in its commencement of the party in the Church which introduced these novelties, was established about this time, and its Roman Catholic contemporary, *The Tablet*, describes its principles to be “not less

fear that you had joined that party whose declared aim is to "un-protestantize our Church."

It only remains for me now to speak of the scandal and reproach which, you say, I am bringing upon the Church of England in the eyes of the Portuguese Church and people, and of the punishment due to my offences.

Being entirely satisfied with the legality of my appointment, I am at a loss to discover how it can be a "scandal and reproach." That the Church of England in this island has been for some years fearfully divided—that on account of certain ceremonial observances, (in the first instance at least,) the feelings of the congregation were disturbed—that the advice of the Bishop of London, urging on you the necessity of caution and moderation, was not sufficiently followed—that the recommendation both of the Earl of Aberdeen and Viscount Palmerston to you (either to desist from a course which had brought scandal upon our national Church, and was derogatory to our national character, or to remove from a place where your ministrations created religious animosities, instead of promoting christian peace) was entirely disregarded, are

distinguished for its abhorrence of every shred of Protestantism—for deep sympathy with the Roman Church—for disgust and loathing at the present condition, theoretical and practical, of the Establishment."—*Tablet*, July 27, 1844.

matters of public notoriety. Without doubt there has existed much bitterness of feeling, and with it a proportional injury to religion; but this state of things arose during *your chaplaincy*, not during mine. Hence, whatever blame rests upon the chaplain rests upon *you*, not upon me. And if the circumstances of the case justified the assertion,\* that “the members of the Church of England in Madeira were a little community of heathens under the feigned name of Christians, hateful and hating one another,” surely this should have taught you forbearance, and have prevented you from charging me, *on my arrival*, with encouraging strife and dissension. Is this the foundation on which any minister of Christ would wish to build? Is this the line of things made ready to his hands in which he would desire to boast?†

As to Reasons VI. and VII., being conscious of transgressing no law of the Church or realm, I fear no punishment. Fully acknowledging the supremacy of the crown in all causes, whether ecclesiastical or civil, endeavouring in all things “to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates,” I desire to carry out in my

\* These words, and others to the same effect, are said to have been used by the Bishop of Cape Town in a sermon preached in the English Church at Madeira, Jan. 2, 1848.

† Vide Reason I.

conduct the apostolical injunction, "submit yourself to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king, as supreme, or unto governors, as to those that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well."

Having thus passed in review the *Sixteen Reasons* of your Protest, and having replied to them as well as the necessity of replying quickly, combined with my many occupations, will allow, permit me, before finally dismissing the subject, to suggest to you one or two matters for reflection. The consideration of your position as a presbyter of the Anglican Church, respect for your private worth, and allowance for feelings of excitement, will prevent me from shewing how justly I might retaliate upon yourself many of the charges you have brought against me. But I do not think it right to abstain from urging you to alter your present plans. You will remember that when Novatian had caused many divisions in Rome, Dionysius, the Bishop of Alexandria, in expostulating with him, declared that "it is no less glorious, and probably more illustrious, to suffer martyrdom to keep divisions out of the Church than to die for not sacrificing to idols. For in one case a man suffers martyrdom upon his own account, but in the other, for the benefit and advantage of the whole Church."

(*Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* l. vi. c. 45.) According to the rule of this eminently good man, let me entreat you—if the love of peace, if the adornment of religion has any place in your heart,—not to continue to lend the sanction of your name to a course opposed, both in letter and spirit, to the laws of our Church and realm; but, by your obedience to these laws, to repress in yourself and others any tendency towards division.

If you consider the canons of the Church binding on your conscience,\* remember in how many instances you are transgressing them. By claiming a continuance in your appointment in opposition to Her Majesty's right of recalling you, and by resisting the exercise of her prerogative, do you not impugn the Queen's supremacy, and become subject to the penalty of the second Canon? † By setting up another place of worship, and *de facto* affirming that the Church of England *as by law established under the Queen's*

\* Vide Reason VII.

† Canon 2. "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that the king's majesty, hath not the same authority in causes ecclesiastical, that the godly kings had amongst the Jews, and Christian Emperors of the primitive Church, or *impeach any part* of his regal supremacy in the said causes restored to the crown, and by the laws of this Realm therein established; let him be excommunicated, *ipso facto*, and not restored but only by the Archbishop, after his repentance and public revocation of those his wicked errors."



*Majesty is not a true and lawful Church*, do you not break the law of the third Canon? By maintaining a conventicle of your own, and by leading away others from the Church to this conventicle, do you not become liable to the penalties of the eleventh Canon, \* *and involve your adherents in your fault?* In the same degree then as you consider the Canon law binding, you have, I fear, laid yourself open to the severe censure it pronounces.

After the detail of your sixteen reasons, you have also enunciated a principle which I cannot suffer to pass, without recording against it my strongest protest. While openly lifting yourself up against the laws of England, while endeavouring to defeat one of its enactments by claiming for a Bishop a power above the law, which he has not, and does not seek, you say, "the duty of submission to the supremacy of the crown is BEST shewn, and maintained by reverent obedience and due subordination to the spiritual authority of the Bishop." †

\* Vide Canons, iii. xi. xii.

† I see that you have taken for the motto of your protest a passage from Ignatius which means "let no man do any thing in matters pertaining to the Church without a Bishop." Allow me to suggest as a motto for your appendices, A. B. . . . the still more remarkable words contained in the next chapter. (Ad Smyrn. 9.) "He who honours the Bishop is honoured of God; he who does any thing without

The duty of submission to the supremacy of the crown is, in my mind, best shewn by obeying the lawful commands of the crown. Reverent obedience and due subordination to the spiritual authority of the Bishop standeth not in demanding for their exorbitant power, but in listening to his godly admonitions, and in following his counsels, when these (as I feel persuaded they always will be) are in accordance with other duties. Of late years I know too well that it has been the pernicious custom of a large body of professing members of the Church of England to array the authority of what they call "the Church" against other constituted authorities. The acknowledged supremacy of the crown in matters ecclesiastical as well as civil, combined with the union of Church and State, became to them a galling and intolerable burden, which must, at any cost, be shaken off. First, the power of Parliament in Church matters was vio-

the knowledge of the Bishop, *serves the devil!*" Surely if any one takes from the contest the exaggerated opinions of this noble and elevated servant of Christ, and sets them up as rules to govern the Church, he does him much wrong: for instead of procuring reverence for his name, the remark of most Christians upon such sentiments will be, "Thank God that they are not the sentiments of the Bible!" Would any one according to such a plan, desire to carry out the recommendation of the same Bishop (in his Epistle to Polycarp) concerning the sanction of Episcopal authority in marriages?

lently assailed, then the supremacy of the crown became the object of their attack. In short, the peace of the Church has for many years been grievously disturbed by what is called the Tractarian party, in which the leaders have ever striven to un-protestantize her doctrines, and to assimilate them to the teaching of the Church of Rome. With this party you have, by disobeying the powers that be, and by setting up such a principle as that to which I refer, to a certain extent, *identified yourself and those who countenance you*. I trust that you will discover, before you have proceeded too far, to what this course inevitably leads. The effect already produced by this movement has been too injurious to the interests of the Church to be disguised. "Not only have members been seduced from the Church of their Fathers to the corrupt Church of Rome, but (as it has been lately stated) among such, many even of the Clergy, forgetting their ordination vows, and their sacred obligation to the Church, which carried them to Christ in Baptism, have led the way in the Apostacy. Nor has the evil been stopped by these open secessions: Many remain among us deeply infected with the same principles, which have carried others openly to Rome."

I do not indeed charge you with entertaining any such views. I mention them in order that

I may entreat you to cease lending yourself to the devices of these men, and that you should rather pray "that the great Head of the Church will strengthen the hands of our gracious Queen Victoria, and all that are put in authority under her, with judgment and justice to cut off all such workers of iniquity, as turn religion into rebellion, and faith into faction, that they may never prevail against us, or triumph in the ruin of our Church."\*

As to myself, since some of the organs of this party in England have said, that language fails to describe their indignation at my accepting the Chaplaincy, so by my reply to your protest, I must anticipate a continuance of their anger. But when the so-called high churchmen are striving to separate the Church and State, it becomes every true-hearted son of the Church to do his best towards defeating the attempts of these assailants of our constitution. And if by this letter I should happily open the eyes of one waverer to the dangerous tendency of this party, and if by adducing passages from the reformers, &c., I have succeeded in shewing what the prerogative of the crown is, by the laws of the Church, I am quite prepared to endure additional insult. Moreover, being convinced that

\* Service for the fifth of November.

the late pious and learned Christian, Dr. Arnold, was right in saying that the union of Church and State is the "Magna Charta of the Church of England," I feel called upon to protest against the destructive principle of exalting the authority of a Bishop above that of the crown, and the law, and then practising disobedience to the law and crown under the shelter of this authority. I fully agree also with the opinion that a learned and judicious bench of Bishops, exerting their lawful authority over the Clergy within their Dioceses, advising, guiding, and assisting them in their arduous task, is, under the blessing of Providence, a most effective means of advancing the true interests of the Church, and of our holy religion. And thus, instead of pleading guilty to the charge of holding in contempt the authority of our Bishops, I regard them as the champions of the Protestant religion, and confidently expect that they will succeed in defending it against all its enemies.

I trust, too, that in the return of better times, the Church in our own Island will share, and that instead of being held up to the world as the place in which religious feuds exist with bitter animosity, we may, at no distant day, be "filled with all joy and peace in believing." And as my earnest wish is to bring about, as far as in me lies, so happy a change, it is my deter-

mination, as I have already said, to decline further controversy. As ministers of the Gospel we can both of us be more usefully employed than in agitating such questions, which engender strife; our work is to reconcile animosities, to heal divisions, and to extend the influence of His kingdom, who came to preach peace on earth and good will towards men. To this work may we entirely devote ourselves!

I have the honour to be,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed)            THOMAS KENWORTHY BROWN.

*Funchal, Madeira, 10th March, 1848.*

*The Rev. R. T. Lowe.*



## APPENDIX.

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*Protest against the ministrations in Madeira, of the Reverend T. K. Brown, in opposition to Episcopal Authority, and in violation of the Laws and Constitution of the Church of England. By the Reverend R. T. Lowe, the chaplain licensed by the Lord Bishop of London.*

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Sine Episcopo nemo quidquam faciat eorum, quæ ad Ecclesiam spectant.  
*S. Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. VIII. Ex vers. Cotel. Ed. Russel, ii. 50.*

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PROTEST against the assumption of the spiritual duties of this chaplaincy, without a licence, by the Rev. Thomas Kenworthy Brown, as unduly interfering with the office of the Rev. Richard Thomas Lowe, licensed by the Lord Bishop of London to the spiritual cure and charge of all members of the United Church of England and Ireland in Madeira.

1. Because such assumption is contrary to the Apostolical rule, not to "build upon another man's founda-



tion," (Rom. xv. 20,) "and not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to our hand," (2 Cor. x. 16;) and is opposed to the Apostolical position, (Rom. x. 15,) that the preachers of the Gospel must be "sent."

2. Because without "sending," i.e., *mission* or special executive authority from the Bishop, such interference with the spiritual office of another, however favoured by the civil government, is by the laws and constitutions of the Church, which are founded upon Scripture, openly schismatical and sinful.

3. Because no priest or deacon of the United Church of England and Ireland may presume to exceed the authority conferred on them respectively at their ordination; the priest being only empowered "to preach the Word of God, and to minister the Holy Sacraments *in the congregation where he shall be lawfully appointed,*" ("called and sent," Art xxiii.) "*thereunto,*" Ord. of Priests;) and the deacon receiving merely authority "to read and preach the Gospel, *if he be thereto licensed by the Bishop himself.*" (Ord. of Deacons.) See Appendix, A.

4. Because such assumption is in violation of the solemn promise and engagement made by every priest of the Church of England at his ordination, "always so to minister the doctrine and Sacraments, and the discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and *as this Church and realm hath received the same:*"—it being a well known law, and an integral part of the constitution of the Church and realm of England, that "it is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of publick preaching or ministering the Sacraments in the congregation, except he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same." (Art. xxiii.):—*sending* or *mission*, being one

of the peculiar functions, and belonging to the special office of the Bishop.—(See Consecr. of Bishops, “Will you be faithful in ordaining, *sending*, or laying hands upon others?”)

5. Because by the 36th of the Canons of the Church of England, which are especially binding on the clergy, it is expressly enacted, that “No person shall be . . . . . suffered to preach, to catechize, or to be a lecturer or reader of Divinity . . . . . *except he be licensed* either by the Archbishop, or by the Bishop of the diocese where he is to be placed,” &c. : and because, secondly, by the 37th Canon, “None licensed as is aforesaid, to preach, read, lecture, or catechize, coming to reside in any diocese, shall be permitted there to preach, read, lecture, catechize, or minister the Sacraments, or to execute any other Ecclesiastical function, *by what authority soever he be thereunto admitted*, unless he first consent and subscribe to the three articles before mentioned, in the presence of the Bishop of the diocese wherein he is to preach, read, lecture, catechize, or administer the Sacraments, as aforesaid :”—and because, thirdly, by the 48th Canon, headed “None to be curates but allowed by the Bishop,” it is enacted, that “No curate or minister shall be permitted to serve *in any place*, without examination *and admission* of the Bishop of the diocese, or ordinary of the place, having Episcopal jurisdiction, in writing under his hand and seal :”—and because, fourthly, by the 49th Canon, it is enacted, that “No person whatsoever, not examined *and approved* by the Bishop of the Diocese, *or not licensed, as is aforesaid* for a sufficient or convenient preacher, shall take upon him to expound in his own cure, or

*elsewhere*, any Scripture or matter of doctrine." (See Appendix, B.)

6. Because it has been already ruled and judicially decided in the cases of "*Barnes v. the Rev. James Shore*," and of "*the Archbishop of Dublin v. the Rev. T. D. Gregg*," that any clergyman of the United Church of England and Ireland celebrating divine service and preaching without the license and authority of the diocese, is amenable to correction and punishment by law.

7. Because whatsoever things the Church and Realm of England prohibits under penalties within the proper territorial jurisdiction of the same, are in equity and conscience equally binding upon all members of the Church and Realm, even where those penalties cannot be by law immediately enforced.

8. Because that the 37th Article of the Church of England, in attributing to the crown the chief government of all estates, ecclesiastical or civil in all causes, to the exclusion of any foreign jurisdiction, declares expressly in limitation, that "we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the sacraments." And therefore no appointment emanating simply from the crown, or government, can supply the want of *mission*, or the right of ministering God's word and sacraments to a particular congregation; the power of conferring which belongs exclusively to the spiritual office of the bishop. Archbishop Bramhall (*Works* ii. 128) says, "Our kings neither do challenge, nor ever did challenge, 'all jurisdiction in spiritual causes,' nor *any part of* the power of the keys, either to their own use, or to *derive it to others*." And in another place he

writes: "It may be that two or three of our princes at the most (the greater part whereof were Roman Catholics) did style themselves, or give leave to others to style them, the heads of the Church within their dominions. But no man can be so simple as to conceive that they intended a spiritual headship: to infuse the life and motion of grace into the hearts of the faithful; such a Head is Christ alone; no, nor yet an ecclesiastical headship; we did never believe, that our kings in their own persons could exercise any act pertaining *either to the power of order or jurisdiction; nothing can give that to another, which it hath not itself.*" . . . "But who told you that ever King Charles" (the 1st) "did call himself the 'Head of the Church?' thereby to merit such a heavy judgment. He did not, nor yet King James, his father; nor Queen Elizabeth before them both, who took order in her first parliament to have it left out of her title." (Archb. Bramhall, Works, i. 29, 31.)

9. Because, although the said Rev. T. K. Brown be appointed by the government under the crown, he cannot plead from such exercise of the royal supremacy authority to minister God's word and sacraments, inasmuch as, whatever meaning might be otherwise attached to the term "supremacy of the crown," (that of the "Head of the Church," assumed by Henry VIII., A.D. 1534, was dropped A.D. 1554 in the next succeeding reign but one, and never resumed,) it is certain, that by the royal admonition annexed to Queen Elizabeth's injunctions, and which was afterwards incorporated and referred to, as authoritatively expressive of the oath of supremacy, in an act of parliament, (stat. 5 Eliz. c. 1,) and in the XXXVIIth Article it was expressly forbid-

den "to give ear or credit to such perverse and malicious persons, which most sinisterly and maliciously labour to notify to her loving subjects, how by the words of the same oath (viz., of supremacy) it may be collected, that the kings and queens of this realm, possessors of the crown, may challenge authority and power of ministry of divine offices in the Church, wherein her said subjects are much abused by such evil disposed persons. For certainly her Majesty neither doth, nor ever will challenge any other authority than that . . . which is and was *of ancient time* due to the imperial crown of this realm, that is, *under God* to have the sovereignty and rule over all *persons* born within these her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as *no other foreign power* shall or ought to have any superiority over them." "By which," observes Bishop Beveridge, (Works VII. 558,) "we may see how vain and groundless the scandal is which is usually cast upon the oath of supremacy, as if we there acknowledged the king to have the keys as well as the sword committed to him, and that he might administer the Word and sacraments in spiritual, as well as justice and judgment in secular affairs; whereas the same power that asserted the king's supremacy, hath still denied it to extend to the exercise of any spiritual function." And as it is remarked by Palmer, (Treatise on the Church, I. 254,) "The clergy of England, in acknowledging the supremacy of the king, A.D. 1531," (see Appendix C,) "did so, as Burnet proves, with the important proviso, '*quantum per Christi legem licet*;' which *original condition is ever to be supposed* in our acknowledgment of the royal supremacy. Consequently, we give no authority

to the prince, except what is consistent with the maintenance of all those rights, liberties, jurisdictions, and spiritual powers, which '*the law of Christ*' confers on his church." (See Appendix D.)

10. Because the crown, abjuring all executive ministerial or spiritual office, function, or authority, and only claiming the chief power or supremacy of *rule* or *government* in the realm, in opposition to any *foreign* jurisdiction, over all *estates* or *persons* of men in all causes, whether ecclesiastical or temporal,—cannot exercise or confer an executive power or authority, of which it disclaims the possession; such as the power of *sending*, or of conferring *mission*, which, like that of ordination, is a function belonging solely to the executive ministerial or spiritual office and authority of the Bishop. (See Appendix, E.)

11. Because the Act of Parliament (6 Geo. IV. cap. 87,) itself provides "for the performances of divine service," and for the maintenance and support of a chaplain who shall be "resident and regularly employed in the celebration of divine service *according to the rites and ceremonies of the United Church of England and Ireland*;" whereas a clergyman officiating without licence from the Bishop, cannot perform or celebrate divine service as aforesaid according to the rites and ceremonies of the United Church of England and Ireland; the said Church not recognizing or allowing any right in her ministers to officiate, or undertake any spiritual cure, without special mission or licence from the Bishop. And therefore the appointment of the said Rev. T. K. Brown by the government without the Bishop's licence, is invalid: he as a clergyman of the Church of England, so appointed, not possessing the

qualifications for this chaplaincy specified or contemplated by the said Act.

12. Because by the XVth of the "Regulations for the management of British Church affairs at foreign ports and places: made and issued by Her Majesty, through one of her principal secretaries of state," (Viscount Palmerston,) "under the authority of the Act 6 Geo. IV. cap. 87,"—headed "Clergymen of Church of England to obey Bishop of London," it is ruled, that "All Chaplains belonging to the Church of England who are appointed under the Act, are, *at the request of the secretary of state, licensed by the Bishop of London.* Such Chaplains are to consult the Bishop of London in all spiritual matters, and are to obey his orders thereupon:"—a regulation altogether violated or rendered nugatory by the appointment of the Reverend T. K. Brown as aforesaid, without the licence or consent of the Bishop of London. (See Appendix, F.)

13. Because a clergyman accepting the Chaplaincy without the licence, in contempt of the authority, support, and counsel of the Bishop, having himself set the example of disregard and disobedience to the Church, and of recognizing in the civil government a dispensing power as to his ordination-vows and obligations to other laws and constitutions of the Church, has undermined, so far as in him lay, the very foundations of ecclesiastical government, and by his own insubordination (See Appendix G.) forfeited all claim upon the deference, respect, and due attention of the laity. And having not only deprived himself and his supporters of the right of appeal to the Bishop, but renounced his obligation of consulting him in all spiritual matters,—a duty recog-

nized generally by the civil government itself in the XVth of the regulations issued by the secretary of state, (above quoted,) should difficulties arise between himself and any portion of his congregation, and enjoined in special cases at the end of the second part of the preface to the Book of Common Prayer, intituled "concerning the service of the Church,"—must come pledged or prepared to follow in his ministrations the mere dictates of self-will or popular caprice, and must renounce all title to the due and proper independence which becomes a Christian minister.

14. Because such intrusion is a great reproach and scandal against the Church of England, and is especially calculated to bring discredit upon the English Church and nation in the eyes of the Portuguese Church and people, and to encourage strife and dissension, instead of peace and union, in this and other communities of British subjects similarly situated abroad.

15. Because although clergymen may in certain cases, both at home and abroad, officiate with no other licence from the bishop than his consent or even tacit acquiescence, — the Rev. T. K. Brown is prepared to officiate in the face of a direct refusal by the bishop of his licence or consent; and not so only, but in opposition to a clergyman already approved and licensed by the bishop.

16. Because the Rev. T. K. Brown, aforesaid, being possessed in Madeira of no other authority but that which he derives from his appointment by the British civil government, which without the licence, consent, or sanction, of the bishop, is incomplete and inoperative for the due discharge of any spiritual function, can be considered in no other light than that of an unqualified in-



truder into a spiritual cure and charge, belonging, under licence of the bishop, to another.

I THEREFORE, the undersigned, as in painful duty bound,—acting herein moreover in conformity with the regulations above quoted, made and issued by her Majesty through the civil government, and considering, in accordance with the same, that the duty of submission to the supremacy of the crown, is best shown and maintained by “reverent obedience and due subordination” (see Appendix H) to the spiritual authority of the bishop,—do hereby solemnly protest against the assumption of the spiritual duties of the chaplain’s office in this place by the said Rev. T. K. Brown, without licence from the bishop, as a schismatical and unlawful act; and before CHRIST and HIS CHURCH at large, I hereby warn all members of the United Church of England and Ireland, dwelling in Madeira, not to attend upon his ministrations, and so become partakers in the sins of disobedience and schism, nor to recognize him as one duly authorized to celebrate divine service, to administer the sacraments, or to perform any other ecclesiastical act, or ministerial function, in this island, according to the rites and ceremonies, the laws and constitutions, the rules and observances, of the United Church of England and Ireland.

Witness my hand,

This 17th day of February, 1848,

R. T. LOWE.

*Funchal, Madeira,*

*The Rev. T. K. Brown.*

P.S.—(February 19th)—In delivering this day the

foregoing Protest personally to Mr. Brown, before its publication, and having implored him, as he valued the Church's peace, and his own soul's, to draw back even yet from his mistaken course,—I requested him to regard any words or expressions in this paper, which might seem strong or harsh, as forced from me only by the very urgent circumstances, and extreme nature of the case: and I earnestly deprecated his considering them designed to be in any way personally discourteous, or needlessly painful, in the unhappy position into which he has allowed himself to be placed. And I am happy to add, that he equally disclaimed all disrespectful words or feelings towards myself.

An Appendix, containing further references and authorities in illustration, will appear shortly.

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NATIONAL SCHOOLS AND NATIONAL  
SCHOOL TEACHERS.

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A L E T T E R

TO HIS GRACE

THE

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

BY

THE REV. RICHARD BURGESS, B.D.

RECTOR OF UPPER CHELSEA.

LONDON:

J. HATCHARD AND SON, 187, PICCADILLY.

1848.



**LONDON :**

**PRINTED BY G. J. PALMER, SAVOY STREET, STRAND.**

## NATIONAL SCHOOLS AND NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS.

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MY LORD ARCHBISHOP ;

IN the high and solemn office which, by the good providence of God, you have been called to fill, the subject of the education of the poor of our land will doubtless occupy a large portion of your Grace's time and attention. In your capacity of President of the National Society, it will pertain to your Grace to moderate in all the great questions which come before its committee, and perhaps infuse new life into some of its operations, so as to meet the exigencies of the times, and obtain for it the hearty co-operation of the whole of the clergy and laity of our Church.

It may be thought presumptuous in me to address your Grace on this, or any other subject of a public nature, but being anxious at this particular crisis to gain the attention of the Government and of the Church at large to the question of national schools and school teachers, I did not find any

more effectual mode of accomplishing that end than by connecting the subject with the name and exalted station of your Grace.

It is now generally allowed, even by those who look with suspicion upon the zeal and activity of the clergy, that the Church is virtually the instructor of the children of the poor and industrious classes of this country; not the Church by the clergy alone, but by her members generally, who in many parts of the kingdom have zealously taken up the cause of popular education. It is not my intention to trouble your Grace at any length, by referring to the statistical view of the question; but I may be permitted to lay before you, in a few words, the facts and reasonings by which I arrive at the following conclusions: first, that five-sixths of the children of the poor now in public elementary day-schools are what may be termed Church of England scholars; and, secondly, that the number of children under thirteen years of age, for which provision has yet to be made in daily instruction, is below half a million.

The population of England and Wales may now be taken at 17,000,000, and the greatest number of children *of the poor* we can ever expect to see gathered under daily instruction, at any one time, in our public elementary schools, is one-tenth of the whole population;\* in other words, if we

\* See the reason assigned for this opinion in a letter to Sir James Graham, 1842. (Hatchard and Son, Piccadilly.)

should find 1,700,000 children under thirteen years of age in our daily schools for the poor, Education, as to quantity, would be carried as far as can be looked for among us.

The estimated number of daily scholars in 1846, in connexion with the Church, was 911,834, in 10,509 schools. From Lady-Day, 1846, to the corresponding period in 1847, the National Society assisted in making additional accommodation for 51,319 scholars ; if a similar estimate be taken for the year 1847-8 we shall have a total of upwards of a million. It is known that many Church schools are not returned in these numbers ; and I have little doubt but that the result of the National Society's inquiry, which will shortly be made known, will show that the gross number of daily scholars connected with the Church does not fall far short of 1,100,000. To these may be added the pauper children in union schools, which, according to Mr. Chadwick, amounted in 1840 to the number of 56,833.

In the seventh report of the Wesleyan committee of education, 1846, the total number of children in their daily schools is stated to be 30,686.

According to the second report of the board for general education, presented to the annual assembly of the Congregational Union, May 16, 1846, it appeared that the Congregationalists had made accommodation, on the voluntary principle, for 25,552 daily scholars, but it does not appear that the accommodation was all used.



In Mr. Inspector Fletcher's Official Report, "On the Day Schools of the British and Foreign School Society," he states the grand total of scholars in the 229 schools inspected by him to be (in 1846) 30,052; and he considers that this forms, perhaps, one-fifth of the whole number of schools and scholars in correspondence with the Central Society. If this be so, the number of such scholars will be 150,000 and upwards.

The account will, therefore, stand thus:—

In schools connected with the Church	. . .	1,100,000
In union schools for pauper children	. . .	56,833
In British and foreign schools	. . .	150,000
In Wesleyan schools	. . .	30,686
In congregational schools	. . .	25,552
		<hr/>
Total	. . .	1,363,071

It is possible, my Lord, these numbers may be overrated, but they are taken from the best sources at which it is possible to arrive; but if they at all approximate to the truth, we shall have these two points established, viz., that five-sixths of the children in our daily elementary schools for the poor are taught by the Church, and that less than half a million, we may say 400,000, have yet to be provided with the means of instruction. The National Society will still have to promote, for its share, the building of 2,000 schools, chiefly in our populous districts,

each school to contain upon an average 160 children. This work alone would be sufficient to exhaust all the present and future means of the National Society, and if, crippled in its resources, that Society should decide to limit its operations to the building of new schools, and improving those that already exist, it will then be necessary that Training Institutions should be established and maintained by other means, and from more permanent supplies.

But, my Lord Archbishop, not only is it actually true that the Church, by means of her clergy to superintend, and her laity to support and encourage education, is in possession of the field; but it is further acknowledged that the state is not competent to educate the people of this country, without the co-operation of the Church. Not all the funds which parliament might be willing to supply, would suffice, without the assistance of the resident clergy; nor would all the resources which the present financial state of the country could afford, be adequate to supply school buildings, and maintain a sufficient number of educational institutions: on the other hand, the Church is not able to sustain and adequately extend the means of educating the people, without the aid and co-operation of the state; and this is the particular point to which I humbly beg leave to call your Grace's attention.

Inadequate as the present number of schools is

to the demand, or what ought to be the demand for elementary instruction, the sums which have been expended by members of the Church of England upon the establishment of schools, are immense, and highly creditable to the zeal, patriotism, and piety of the more wealthy members of our community. It may be seen in the records of the National Society, and of the Committee of Council on Education, what the amount is which, within the last twenty years, has been raised for the one purpose of building, repairing, and fitting up schools in connexion with the Church:\* to this should be added all that has been done privately, where the rich proprietors of the soil have chosen to build and maintain schools of their own, and giving them in charge to the incumbent of the parish, have not thought it necessary to put them in relation with either the National Society, or the Committee of Council: but independent of this immense capital, supplied by voluntary gifts, for establishing schools, there is the annual supply which is still flowing in for the maintenance of those schools: six years ago, I ventured to make a calculation of the sums that were annually raised by the benevolence of churchmen for instructing about 700,000 children daily, that being the number then supposed to be under education; and it appeared from the best

\* Minutes of Council, vol. i. p. 121, 1844.

sources of information, that not less than £250,000 per annum was raised, by voluntary contributions of members of the Church of England, towards the cost of public education; if it be true that there are now 300,000 or 400,000 more children in our daily schools, and the contributions required to maintain them are in a proportionate increase,—we may conclude that not less than 350,000*l.* per annum is now supplied by the voluntary contributions of churchmen for national education—this is altogether independent of those large sums which have been raised, under the head of special funds, for the erecting and supporting of Training Institutions.

But, my Lord, here is the limit to voluntary contributions; every Bishop in his diocese, every clergyman in his parish is at full stretch to maintain existing institutions. The progress of National Education as to quantity is stopped, and must inevitably be retarded as to quality, unless Training Institutions are speedily erected. The National Society, as your Grace well knows, is about to make its last effort, to raise a fund for paying off certain debts which it has incurred, and for enabling it to support its Training Institutions; the cries of distress which reach its committee from numerous incumbents, can only be met by sympathy, without relief. Some of the schools in Manchester, after struggling against the tide for two or three years, are, or were on the

eve of being closed for want of funds ; at the east end of London, we have clergymen begging from door to door for their schools, and at last obliged either to abandon their projects, or to involve themselves in debt ; our walls are placarded with notices of sermons for the support of schools, but we seldom hear now of any attempts to add to existing institutions. The maximum of benevolence has been attained : if the number of national scholars is to be increased, and national school teachers to be trained, for supplying the schools that are already established,—the state must now furnish the means ; the time, my Lord, has come, for a cordial and enlightened co-operation between the Church and the State. The *Church* can carry education no further, without the aid of the public treasury. The *Government* is powerless for a national education without the agency of the Church. A good understanding between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, and mutual concessions, if need be, are now indispensable ; and if a happy union of this nature should be accomplished under the influence of your Grace, the future stability of our social system, and of the Church, will be dated from the beginning of your Archiepiscopate.

The assistance which our national and parochial schools have derived from the minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, has in no degree lightened the burden which the managers

of those schools have had to sustain : the payments on account of apprentices, which the government plan affords to schools of the best description, do not relieve the local funds, but rather the contrary. The examinations by the inspector are often attended with suggestions of improvement, which entail additional expense ; and except in the case of grants towards the erection of school-buildings, or the supplying of school apparatus, the minutes of council have only tended to *raise the quality* of the instruction, and the qualifications of the teacher. Nothing that has yet been done, has relieved the managers of schools from their pecuniary difficulties, and nothing that can be done under the present minutes, will effect more than to put better qualified teachers in the places of the old ones ; the whole subject of educational extension, and the supplying of teachers, is yet to be taken up by the State, and I am now to solicit your Grace's further attention, while I show the absolute necessity of the intervention of government in this great question.

Training institutions for the sake of existing schools, demand our first consideration.

One of Her Majesty's inspectors of schools, has calculated in his official reports,\* the number of vacancies which would occur annually by death and superannuation in the office of school-teacher, supposing the elementary education of the country

\* Minutes of committee of council, 1845, vol. i., page 335.

were adequately provided for ; and he arrives at the conclusion, (assuming each teacher to become superannuated at sixty-five) that 1,595 vacancies in the whole body would be obtained annually : to minister therefore to the educational necessities of the country, the different Training Institutions should have continually under instruction a body of 3,190 students. The inspector who makes these calculations assumes the number of children for whom elementary instruction is to be provided, to be 3,283,830, which is nearly double the number I have supposed as possible to be collected into our schools at any one time ; and therefore without any ceremony, and that I may not exaggerate our wants, I take one half of the number of vacancies which the inspector has set down in his report : in round numbers, I would say, that 800 vacancies, caused by death and superannuation, will henceforth have to be supplied in the body of elementary school teachers ; and if the average time of training be two years, it will follow that the different training institutions should have continually under instruction a body of 1600 students. Having thus ascertained the *minimum* of demand, allow me to turn your Grace's attention to the Church's supply.

There were, in 1845, seventeen Church of England training institutions, independent of the five establishments of the National Society, and in

all those institutions put together, (as the same inspector reports,) the students preparing for the office of teacher, by a systematic course of instruction, (male and female,) extending over a period of one year and upwards, did not exceed 400 in number.\* Since that period, however, some of the diocesan training schools have increased their numbers, and two or three new institutions have either been added, or are in the course of being erected; and it is possible, taking the most favourable view of the subject, that there may be found in all the training institutions put together, when those which are new come into full operation, 700 students, male and female, preparing for the office of teachers. Allowing a due proportion for the efforts of other Christian communities, the deficiency of teachers in the supply for Church of England schools will be found now to be 400 annually, which, supposes accommodation for 800 students yet to be wanting. A clear deficiency of ten new Training Institutions is therefore made out, unless our National Schools are to fall back into the hands of untaught men and women, such as in former years served as an excuse for giving instruction to the poor.

But, my Lord, there is another fact, coming upon us, which must drive us upon the resources of the State. In the course of four years from this time, 1000 young persons, having served their apprenticeship in schools, will be

\* Minutes of Council on Education, 1845, vol. i., page 335.



ready, as Queen's scholars, for Training Institutions; it is already provided in the minutes of council, that those young persons shall be entitled, upon their successful examination, to a gratuitous training of one, two, or three years, and it will not be possible for the Committee of Council, having brought them on so far, upon the faith of promises, to abandon them at that stage of their career: it will then be asked where are the institutions to which those 1000 students can be sent? and if the Church has not already provided accommodation for them, the State will be bound in honour to secure to them the advantages promised them from the beginning:—that ten or twelve training institutions in the course of four years, should be established by the voluntary gifts and exertions of churchmen, (even with such aid as the committee of council is now prepared to give,) I hold to be most improbable: it will require a sum approaching to 200,000*l.*, to erect and supply with school furniture the required number of normal schools; and I do not think that the most sanguine speculator on public benevolence would have the courage to attempt such an enterprise. The existing training schools under the National Society and Diocesan boards, cannot be supported from year to year, without the most strenuous exertions. Several are looking forward to Queen's scholars, as their only hope of existence. The recent efforts which have been made to establish new training

schools, have only proved that the sources of voluntary contributions for these objects are dried up; after two years of exertion on the part of various committees and influential persons, all the funds raised or promised put together, would not build and maintain one large and efficient training institution. It remains, therefore, for the Committee of Council on Education to move in this work; that which is found impracticable to be done by the voluntary efforts of a few, will be easily effected by means of a parliamentary grant. If the Committee of Council on Education should see fit to appropriate £30,000 a year, for five years, ten Normal Schools of the largest class, with the help of voluntary contributions, might be erected. It would not be difficult to form local boards, to whose care such institutions might be committed, conditions being made by which the State would have security for an efficient training of the students, and the members of the Church, lay and clerical, who might form the committees of management, would obtain the assurance that the religious instruction, according to the doctrines and discipline maintained by the Church of England, should not be interfered with. It could not be expected that Parliament would vote a supply to be exclusively applied to the building of normal schools for Church of England students only. My lords of the Committee of Council would naturally be constituted as landlords of those buildings, and offer them for use or

hire on their own conditions, and the parties requiring the use of them would be equally free to accept the terms or not. Negotiations with the civil authorities in such matters would be safe in your Grace's hands on behalf of the Church, and it has already been decided by the people of this country, and promulgated by two successive administrations, that no system of national education in this country will be countenanced in which the religious and secular departments of instruction are not combined.

But, my Lord Archbishop, I have yet to come to a subject of delicacy, and upon which all our expectations of a more enlarged co-operation of the state are made to rest :—I mean the question of opening our national and parochial schools wider to the children of non-conformists. The strongest argument, I may say the only one with any show of reason, which the dissenters urged against the minutes of council of August and December, 1846, was the monopoly of education by the Church in rural parishes; and that such monopoly would be strengthened by the aid which the government proposed to give to schools already established. It was said that in a district where one school was all that could be supported, that school would, in almost every instance, be found to be in connexion with the Church; and that if the dissenters, living within that parish or district, should desire to have education for their children, they were forced

into a school where the Church Catechism would be taught, to which those non-conformists might have a conscientious objection: in other words, the solitary dissenter, in order to gain instruction for his child, must make a sacrifice of his conscience in some matters of religion. Her Majesty's Government, as is said, have long been anxious to see a case like this reasonably met; for they feel, that in going to Parliament to ask for any increase of supplies, they must be enabled to say that the schools to be aided are not exclusive. Whatever may be said about the Church's right to teach her own children in her principles, and that therefore our national schools stand open only for the children of churchmen, it is a fact that our schools contain a considerable number of the children of dissenters, and that there are no general rules by which such children are excluded; it is a fact, my Lord, which no one knows better than your Grace, that we have hundreds, perhaps thousands, of children of non-conformists in our national schools; and how are they taught religion? generally by considering them to be what they are not, i. e., baptized according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, and so teaching them that which is not applicable to their case. The whole question turns upon the Catechism, and I humbly venture to think that this "*verata questio*" might be so adjusted as to maintain the principles of church teaching, meet all reasonable

objections of dissenters, and secure the aid of the State.

Your Grace is aware, that in the Liturgies set forth by authority in the reign of King Edward VI., the Creed, the Lord's prayer, and the Commandments, together with the "renunciation," was the whole of the Catechism, and there was a discretionary power left with the Bishop, and through him with the minister, as to the "questions." The rubric runs thus: "So soon as the children can say, in their mother tongue, the articles of the faith, the Lord's prayer, the commandments, and also can answer to such questions of this *short catechism* as the Bishop (or such as he shall appoint) shall, *by his discretion, oppose them* in, they shall then be brought to the Bishop," &c. In the liturgical service set forth in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1559, no alteration was made herein. The questions and answers on the sacraments were added after the conference at Hampton Court in the first year of the reign of King James I.; "they were composed by Bishop Overall, then Dean of St. Paul's, and *allowed* by the Bishops." The Catechism alluded to in the 59th, 60th, and 61st canons, as "set forth in the Book of Common Prayer," could be no other than the short Catechism of King Edward's and Queen Elizabeth's times. The exhortation to godfathers and godmothers which we now use, is the same as that which is found in the liturgies of King Ed-

ward's time, when the questions and answers on the sacraments did not exist; and the rubric at the end of the Catechism as it now stands in our Book of Common Prayer, requiring children to "answer to the other questions of this short Catechism," being a transcript from the older liturgies, must be supposed to point more particularly to the questions in the original Catechism.

The rubric in the liturgy of King Edward VI. runs thus, "Then shall the curate of every parish either bring or send in writing, the names of all those children of his parish which can say the Articles of their faith, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments; and ALSO how many of them can answer to the other questions contained in this Catechism." In this rubric two classes of catechumens are contemplated, and consequently a discrimination in teaching the Catechism authorized; and I think the whole history of catechetical instruction in our Church, shows that a special and prime importance is attached to the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments. It is not my object, in referring to this history of the Catechism, to show that the Church sanctions the omission of any part of it as it now stands, but only that "the bishop, or such as he shall appoint," may use discretion in "opposing" the questions of this short Catechism. The principles of the Church's teaching would therefore be maintained if the Catechism were introduced into

our national schools, with the sanction of the Bishop, in parts, and the children, for the purposes of instruction in the Catechism, classed according to their circumstances. The first part would naturally consist of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments. I have indeed heard of some sects in Wales who object to have their children taught to say the Lord's Prayer, but no reasonable non-conformist would object to his child learning portions of Scripture by heart, and the Apostle's Creed, every article of which is in scriptural terms. The "first part" of the Catechism would, therefore, be taught to *all* children admitted into our schools, being that part to which the Church attaches the first importance.

The portion of the Church Catechism to which dissenters chiefly object, is that which is comprised in the first four questions and answers; and here that discretion which the Church permits in "apposing" those questions, may properly be applied. I can perceive the consistency of a rule which some clergymen have, of admitting no children into their schools, unless they can bring a certificate of their baptism according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church; but wherever the school is thrown open for the admission of children of dissenting parents, I cannot imagine that any clergyman would wish the first four questions to be put to children who have either never been baptized at all, or if baptized, not according to the rites and

ceremonies of the Church of England. It would be competent for the Bishop to advise the clergy in such cases not to "oppose" those questions, but to reserve them for a different class of catechumens. The "second part" would consist of the whole of the Catechism as far as the questions on the sacraments, and this would be taught to all children whose parents should consider themselves to be members of the Church of England.

The questions and answers on the sacraments being added to the second part, form the whole of the Catechism, which is usually reserved in our national parochial schools for the upper classes of catechumens.

By some such arrangement as this, my Lord, the objections of non-conformists would be anticipated; they would bring their children to our schools, knowing the rule with respect to the teaching of our Catechism, and they would have no longer any ground of complaint in the matter of religious instruction. We could not indeed hope that even these concessions, if concessions they can be called, would throw open the doors of our national schools to every dissenter, but they would remove all reasonable objections on the part of the great body of non-conformists, and put the Church in an advantageous position in any future negotiations with the civil authorities.

I am well aware, my Lord, that in effect, a clergyman in his own parochial school is at liberty to use his discretion in imparting religious in-



struction, and I also know that in a great number of our national schools the Catechism is practically taught in parts or selections; the younger children begin with the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; in other words, we have a "first," or lowest class of catechumens, and as we proceed up the school, we add portions of the Catechism until we get the whole; the arrangement in a Church school, therefore, where the children of dissenters are admitted, would simply be to put *them* for the purpose of catechising them in the classes suited to their respective cases. Such a measure as I have ventured to recommend, would only be to sanction with authority that which is now practised as a matter of prudence: but it is the sanction of this practice which is wanting, and a recommendation from the National Society, implying the consent of the bishops, would be sufficient for the purpose; it would come with the force of a recommendation from each diocesan to his clergy, to reserve the first four questions of the Church Catechism, in the case of children of dissenters, and to make a suitable arrangement of the classes in the school for religious instruction. The Holy Scriptures according to the authorized version, will of course be read and taught daily in our schools, but I am inclined to agree with the following suggestions, as to the manner of using the Bible. "The Holy Scriptures should be used only as a medium of religious teaching. They should not be employed

“as a horn-book, associated in the mind of the  
 “child with the drudgery of mastering the almost  
 “mechanical difficulty of learning to read at an age  
 “when it cannot understand language too often left  
 “unexplained ; on the contrary, the Holy Scripture  
 “should only be put into the hands of those chil-  
 “dren who have learned to read [with fluency\*].”  
 If this mode of imparting catechetical instruction  
 to the children of dissenters admitted into our  
 national schools should meet with the approba-  
 tion of your Grace, it will not be for me to suggest  
 in what manner episcopal sanction might be given  
 to the practice. No question would arise out of  
 it, which could affect the religious instruction as  
 it is now imparted to *children belonging to the*  
*Church*. The terms of union with the National  
 Society would remain untouched, being applicable  
 only to such children. If the subject should come  
 before the committee of the National Society  
 for discussion, the question, I apprehend, would  
 be, whether the Society would sanction the ad-  
 mission of the children of non-conformists into  
 schools in union with it ; and if this should be  
 decided in the affirmative, a supplemental article  
 of terms of union, permitting the partial use of  
 the Catechism in the case of children not having  
 been baptized with sponsors, would be a sufficient  
 public recognition. I can anticipate the objec-

\* Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education, 1846,  
 vol. i. page 63.

tion that might be urged by some against such a measure, "that it would be sanctioning a principle;" but I think, my Lord, unless it be morally wrong, the sanction of a principle is better than conniving at a practice.

I have some reason to think, that if this question of teaching our Catechism, with reference to dissenters, were settled, many clergymen would be relieved from a great embarrassment, not because they would act under an episcopal *injunction*, but because they would be relieved from the responsibility of solving a great practical difficulty.

In "promoting the education of the poor in the principles of the established Church," I am confident that any concessions unworthy of a minister of that Church to make, in the matter of religious instruction, would receive no countenance from your Grace; and therefore I am under no apprehension of being charged with submitting a scheme for obtaining more assistance from the State in return for an abandonment of church principles. If, however, your Grace should see fit to ask the Government to provide more liberally for the support of national schools in poor and populous districts, it would be a powerful argument to be able to state that the doors of church schools would be opened wider in such districts for the children of non-conformists, by modifying the practice of the indiscriminate teaching of our Catechism. It would be easy for the Committee

of Council on Education to make a yearly grant to a local committee satisfactorily constituted ; or, by the still better plan of paying at the rate of 10s. or 12s. a-head for a certain number of free scholars, under proper regulations.

The arrangement of our Catechism, with reference to the children of non-conformists, and the founding of training institutions, are the two principal things to which I have been anxious to call public attention. If the authorities in the State should see fit to found, out of the parliamentary grant, a certain number of institutions for the training of teachers, they would, in all probability, commit the use of them on equal terms to such local boards or councils as were prepared to agree to the conditions required ; in those institutions there would be no question upon the religious instruction wherever the board should be composed of churchmen : the management would be left entirely to the local board, the Government inspector seeing that the instruction was efficient of its kind. It would be for the board or council to undertake, with the aid of the exhibitions allowed to Queen's scholars, to maintain the institution, to furnish the rooms, except the class-rooms, to provide salaries for masters, of which they would have the appointment, and, if necessary, to pay a small rent for the building.

It cannot be supposed that any number of

normal school buildings, which the government might erect out of parliamentary grants, would supersede the necessity of those which already exist, or which may be established by private contributions. There will be ample room for the exertion of those benevolent associations which either have been, or are in the course of being formed, for the purpose of supplying pious teachers for our elementary schools; but a great deficiency, as I have shown, will still remain, and until there be 1,600 students, at the least, in training for the yearly supply of vacancies, and a proportionate increase as we increase the number of our schools, this branch of our educational economy will be defective.

If, upon reflection, your Grace should be of opinion that the things here suggested are important and require to be done, you will probably find other things that are overdone and require to be modified. I do not go along with that unworthy suspicion which appears in the minds of some members of our Church to attach to almost every measure that is proposed by the Committee of Council on Education, as if there were some deep-laid scheme for drawing away the influence and authority which the Church has and ought to have in the religious and moral education of the people: it seems to me as unusual as it is unwise to throw upon any one individual the whole responsibility of the acts of an administrative body;

and there is something in a continual jealousy of the acts of others which ill accords with that charity which "believeth all things, hopeth all things;" but when we have pleaded for a righteous judgment of the proceedings of a public body, the measures of the Committee of Council on Education must be subject, like all other state proceedings, to the criticism of the public.

It must be allowed that the parochial minister has some reason to complain of the complicated machinery by which the parliamentary grants are conveyed to his school. The legislation of the committee of council has now to be gathered out of some twelve octavo volumes, and the forms which have to be filled up, in order to obtain all the grants for a single school, will run to several hundred queries. In establishing a new department of state, some time must necessarily elapse before experience can fix a happy routine of business; it is probable, that in the course of time my lords will dispense with much of that official apparatus which now alarms the parochial minister at a distance; but in the meantime your Grace might obtain as a favour some abridgment of those accumulated rules and conditions upon which those small grants of money are made.

Another subject which would seem to deserve the attention of your Grace is the high standard set up by her Majesty's inspectors in their examinations of the students in training schools. Ac-

According to the reports of those inspectors, we learn that the attainments of the children found in our schools are, for the most part, miserably low, and that parents, either from indifference or necessity, are reluctant to send their children to school for any length of time, and that few remain beyond the age of eight or nine years. It is stated in the official reports of the inspectors, that the period allowed for education is becoming less, and that by far the great majority enter the schools unable to read monosyllables: such are the materials which our teachers, when taught and trained, have to work upon, in our elementary schools, where the children do not remain long enough to acquire more than the very elements of moral and religious instruction: and yet, my Lord, it is to teach children of this description that we are preparing men and women in our training institutions with all the technicalities of literary and scientific knowledge required for professors in learned academies! The examinations at those institutions are prolonged through many days, (in one instance, recently, thirteen days,) with all the forms and apparatus of a senate-house examination. The questions put even before the female students, are such as, if answered, might do credit to an under-graduate at the university; and the knowledge which the inspectors seem to exact, can never, by any possibility, be brought to bear

upon the material they will have to touch. One consequence of these high literary attainments is, that the men quit the service for which they were especially trained. "In my late tour," an inspector reports, "I met with seven masters about to leave their schools, for the purpose of admission into the holy orders of our Church. Five of them had been trained in diocesan Training Colleges for the office of national schoolmaster. I do not think that any one of them has been in his present situation four years. I cannot but lament that their services will be lost to the Church, in that field of her labour for which they were specially exercised."\* This, my Lord Archbishop, is, and will naturally be the case; and it would be ungracious to attempt to stop the progress of any man whose qualifications fit him for a higher position in society. The mistake is in laying out a course of studies more adapted to form a learned professor than a village schoolmaster, and which serves to deter many a valuable teacher from competing in a field of learning and science so far beyond his utmost conceptions. If our social system is to remain and be strengthened as it is, teachers must have their grades as well as other classes of society; and while the student who is destined to fill the office of an elementary school teacher should be furnished with all the information necessary to make a sound English

\* Minutes of Council on Education 1846. Vol. i. p. 410.



scholar, and with all the appliances which, under divine grace, may fashion him into a Christian teacher, philology and the differential calculus may safely be left to the students of our learned universities. It would be a great service rendered to the cause of education of the poor, and an economizing of the resources raised with no little exertion by voluntary contributions, if your Grace could interpose and recommend that some of the higher branches of secular learning should make way for some of the humbler lessons of Christianity.

It is unfortunate, my Lord, at this time when a united effort of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities is so essential to the progress of education, that the good understanding which was thought to exist between them should be endangered; and it is to be regretted that the Committee of the National Society, having once approved of the management clauses in school trust deeds, should, by "a pressure from without," have been induced to re-open that subject. The negotiations with the Committee of Council on Education, were amicably conducted under the direction of your Grace's venerable predecessor, and the letter of final approval written by him as President of the National Society, agreeing to recommend the clauses to the clergy, is now among the official documents of the committee of council. It is admitted that those clauses are in most cases suitable for Church of

England schools ; they afford more security for the perpetuity of religious teaching than many of the old trust deeds which now regulate the management of our national and parochial schools, a due preponderance is given to the clergyman in the direction and control of the moral and religious instruction, the teachers, who will all have been trained in our own institutions, are to be members of the Church of England, the lay members of the committee, elected by subscribers, are also to be members of the Church, and where any difference may arise between the clergyman and the other members of the committee of management on the subject of religion, the Bishop of the diocese is constituted the final court of appeal. It does appear to me, my Lord, as one who was glad to adopt those clauses into a trust deed eighteen months ago, that no clergyman who is willing to concede to laymen a fair share and influence in the management of a school, need fear to adopt the clauses. The teacher is the school, and he will be what the training institution makes him ; and the clergyman, independent of all trust deeds, will naturally be entrusted with the selection, except in those cases where some control might be useful. On the other hand, it may be expected that the mild and respectful memorial which has recently been presented to the committee of council under the auspices of your Grace, will receive every consideration, and where, for special reasons, the strict

letter of those clauses could not be complied with, it will no doubt be conceded that such special cases may be referred to some satisfactory arbitration. I confess, my Lord, I for one should be sorry to see the education of the people wholly in the hands of the clergy, as I should also regret to witness any unnecessary fetters put upon the local proceedings of the zealous promoters of schools for the poor.

But, my Lord Archbishop, this is no time, as you well know, to be engaged in special pleading against a few clauses in a legal instrument, and in seeking to undo what we have gained for National Education by an alliance with the State. The untaught masses of the people are pressing upon our gates, and are ready to burst in upon our inheritance. The sad effects of ages of neglect or insufficiency are now beginning to appear, and armed men, and police, and special constables are called in to restrain by force, what the schoolmaster might have prevented by early training. Four hundred thousand, or 500,000 children are growing up amongst us to swell the ranks of sedition and discontent; the hands of the clergyman hang down for want of adequate support for his school, that necessary auxiliary of his daily ministrations; and we can ill afford, in these days, to divert either the time or the energies of the clergy, from the deeply-felt moral and religious wants of the country, to the barren discussion of

a few harmless clauses in trust deeds. Our Church, my Lord, under your firm but gentle administration, and with the blessing of the Great Head of the Church, will maintain her position in this land, become, as she virtually is already, the instructress of the people; she will maintain the principle for which the National Society has always contended; viz. that education, to be worth any thing, must be grounded on morality and religion, and that religion must have a creed. But while maintaining these principles, and seeing them carried out into practice,—the Church will lose the means of extending such education much beyond its present limits, if, by any overt acts of hostility, she should alienate from her clergy the co-operation and resources of the State; and when urged by Parliament, with the assurance of a majority of votes, to establish a system of National Education, which may bring all sects into one school, the Government should see no other alternative, it may be too late to realize the prospects which are yet before us, of diffusing the truths and duties of Christianity, as taught by the Church, among all classes of this great community.

I am,

My Lord Archbishop

With profound respect,

Your Grace's very obedient servant,

RICHARD BURGESS.

Chelsea, 10, Cadogan Place,  
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