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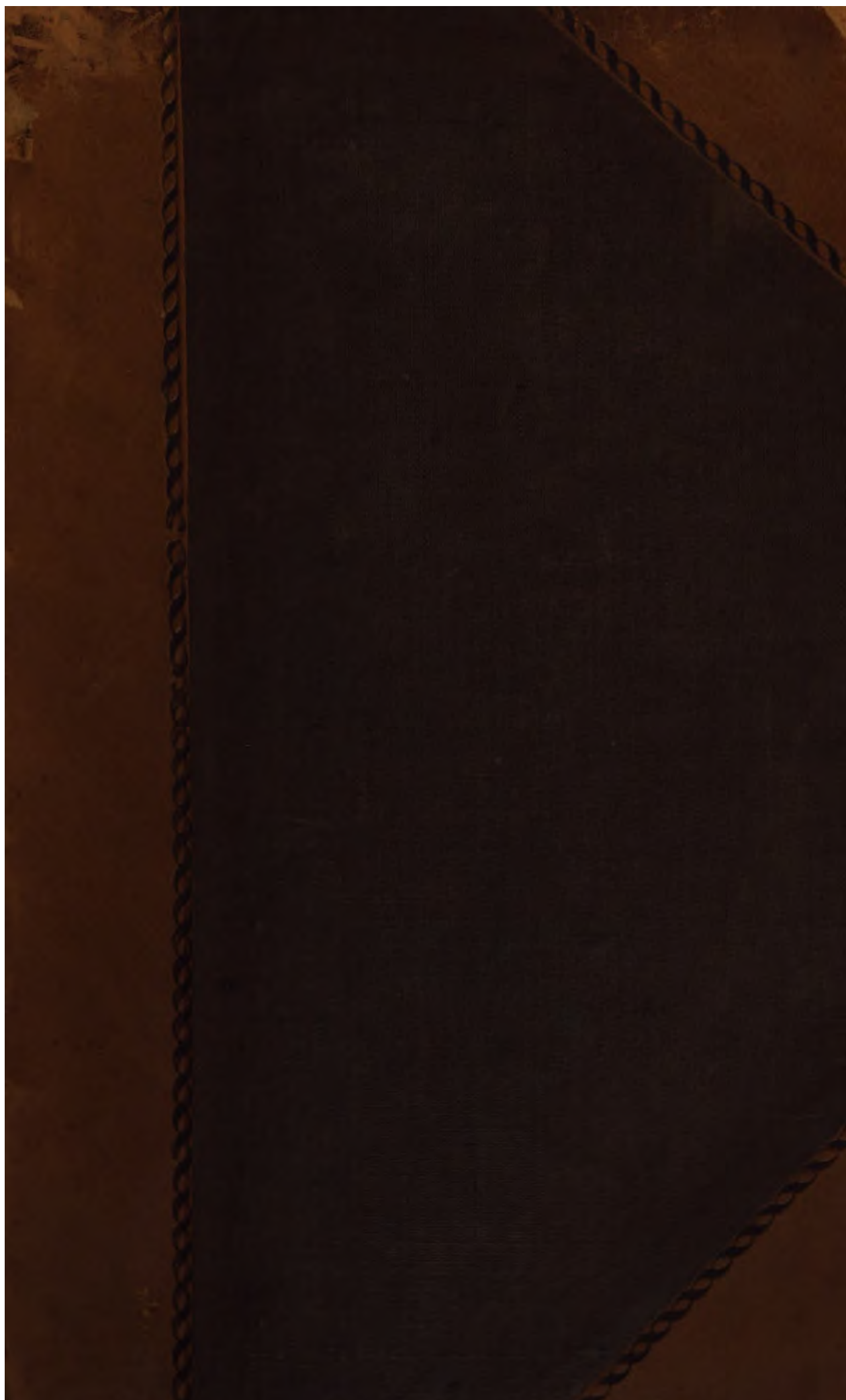
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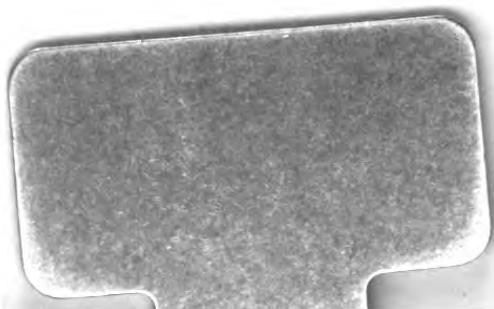


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REVIEW OF THE SESSION.

S P E E C H

OF THE

RIGHT HON. LORD LYNDHURST,

DELIVERED IN

THE HOUSE OF LORDS,

ON

FRIDAY, AUGUST 23, 1839.

L O N D O N :

JAMES FRASER, REGENT STREET.

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BEING THE
S P E E C H

RIGHT HONORABLE LORD LYN DHURST,
DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS
August 18, 1836.
Third edition.



PRICE 3d. EACH.

JAMES FRASER, REGENT STREET.

S P E E C H.

I AM anxious, my Lords, to call your attention, in pursuance of the notice I gave yesterday, to the proceedings of the two Houses of Parliament during the present session. As far as I am personally concerned, the task is by no means an agreeable one; but I have undertaken it as a duty—in some sort, as a duty to the noble Viscount (Melbourne), and partly also in pursuance of an intimation which I received from him at a former period of the session. Your Lordships may, perhaps, recollect, that when the Irish Municipal Bill was under discussion, I stated in considerable detail the circumstances attending the tardy and heavy progress of that Bill through the other House of Parliament. The noble Viscount, on a subsequent day, with reference to that statement, and also to some similar remarks made by my noble and learned friend opposite (Lord Brougham), said that this was an unfair course of observation; that I ought to have considered, not that particular case alone, but to have taken into account the general proceedings and measures of the Government. My Lords, I felt the propriety of the observation made by the noble Viscount; and I shall, therefore, in pursuance of that intimation, in justice to the subject, and in justice to the noble Viscount himself, call your Lordships' attention to the entire proceedings of the present Session of Parliament, in order that when the case is fairly before you, stated with plainness and simplicity on my part, your Lordships may be in a condition to judge how far Her Majesty's Ministers are entitled to your confidence—how far they can be considered as capable of conducting the affairs of this country, in a manner suitable to the interests of this extensive and mighty empire.

My Lords, in directing your attention to this subject, there is one thing that is very remarkable. Your Lordships will find, that during the five first months of the session, not a single bill of any importance passed the two

Houses of Parliament. Legislation was a perfect blank. It seems that Her Majesty's Ministers, either from want of energy or capacity, or from not possessing the confidence of the other House of Parliament, are, while that house can be considered as fairly representing the country, incapable of dealing with it and conducting the business of the Government. It is not until the benches of the house have become empty, not until 550 members, as we are told, have quitted the metropolis, and the house is reduced to such a state as to be little more than a mere Government board, that they are roused from their supineness, or able to conduct in any manner the legislation of the country. This, my Lords, is a striking illustration of the correctness of the anticipation of my noble friend, the noble Duke, when he asked, at a former period, with reference to a House of Commons composed like the present—How is the King's Government to be carried on? The anticipation of the noble Duke has been amply verified by the result; for as long as the House of Commons continues to be a House of Commons, and to form the representation of the country, it appears the Queen's Government cannot be carried on; and it is not until it ceases to assume that shape, that any thing like legislation can be conducted through that house by Her Majesty's Ministers.

My Lords, I consider the fair and just mode of examining the subject I am about to submit to your Lordship, is to refer, in the first instance, to Her Majesty's gracious Speech; which must, of course, be considered as the Speech of the Ministers, pronounced at the opening of the session. I look to that speech for the purpose of ascertaining what were the views of the Government, and what were the measures they considered essential to the interests of the country; and looking to the speech with that view, let us inquire to what extent the promises held out and the pledges given in it have been redeemed by Her Majesty's Government. In that speech, my Lords, there are four principal points to which the attention of Parliament was particularly directed. The Irish Municipal Bill, we were told, was essential to the interests of that part of the empire; we were called upon to take measures for the purpose of settling the important affairs of Canada; we were told, that to carry into effect the recom-

mendations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners was a matter of great urgency ; we were further informed, that it was a matter of the first importance that we should direct our attention to measures which would be submitted to us for the more speedy and certain administration of justice. These, my Lords, were the prominent topics of Her Majesty's Speech ; and I am desirous, in the first instance, of leading your Lordships through the course of the proceedings of this session, to shew how far these important objects, to which our attention was thus directed, have been realized.

First, then, with respect to the Irish Municipal Bill. It is not my intention to enter into any details on that question. It came up to your Lordships' house, where it was amended in a manner to make it correspond, or nearly so, with the bill of the last session. What, then, was the course pursued by the noble Viscount? What was the objection, placed as it were in front of the battle, and urged against the amendments proposed by your Lordships? It was the amendment made with respect to the freemen. Now, it is remarkable, as shewing how forgetful the noble Viscount was of the past history of this bill—how careless and inattentive to its provisions—that exactly the same amendment had been made last session. It met with no opposition from the Government when it went down to the other House of Parliament, although many other objections were urged against the measure in its amended shape. This clause, with a trifling addition, was assented to ; and yet now, so inconsistent were Ministers with themselves, that the amendment which before had been acquiesced in, to which no objection was even whispered by the Government, was put prominently forward as a ground for rejecting the bill. This is not all. Another amendment was opposed with great zeal and earnestness. That amendment related to the appointment of sheriffs. It turned out, that three years ago the noble Viscount had himself made in a former bill precisely the same amendment, and defended it upon just and constitutional grounds ; but now, because the amendment proceeded from this side of the house, the noble Viscount turned round and gave it his most decided opposition. So much, my Lords, for the consistency of Her Majesty's Ministers, and the manner in which they have treated this important bill. I can only ascribe this to

thoughtlessness, to indifference, to their utter carelessness about a measure which they told us, in the speech from the throne, was so "essential" to the interests of Ireland. But there was another amendment made by your Lordships, the effect of which was to strike out a number of clauses that had been introduced into the bill for the first time, during the present session, in the House of Commons. These clauses were never heard of till the present year. They related to the grand jury cess, the powers of which were to be transferred to the town councils. They were not even introduced into the bill when it was first brought into the House of Commons; but in that memorable committee of the 19th April they were, for the first time, ingrafted on the bill. We objected to that alteration. We said, "Let the law in this respect remain as it is." We struck out these clauses. The noble Viscount told us it would defeat the bill in another place. I said, that is impossible: it is an assumption of privilege and power to which we never can subscribe. You introduce clauses which you call money clauses, and ingraft them on a bill which is, in itself, a complete measure; we strike them out, and say, let the law remain as it is, or at all events introduce them in a separate bill; and we are told this is to be fatal to the whole measure. When the bill went down to the other house, this alteration did prove fatal to the measure; but it is worthy of remark, that at the very time when the amendment was objected to, it was admitted by the noble Lord who had the conduct of the bill in that house, that the clauses might and therefore ought to have been made the subject of a separate bill. To ingraft them on the Municipal Bill—to tack them to it—was an encroachment upon the privileges of this house. It was a clumsy proceeding, and if done with design, could only have been intended to keep on foot something that might be considered in certain quarters as a grievance of which the Government might avail itself as occasion might require. Her Majesty's Ministers have thus made themselves responsible for the loss of this bill. The tacking of such clauses to such a bill was an unjustifiable act; it was advised by Ministers, and formed a pretext for getting rid of the measure. They, therefore, have themselves defeated a bill calculated, according to their own statement, essentially to promote the interests of Ireland.

So much, then, as to the first measure alluded to in Her Majesty's gracious Speech from the throne.

Now as to the measures called for by the state of Canada. We all felt that nothing could be more pressing and more urgent than the necessity for taking that most important subject into consideration early in the session. We felt that every hour's delay, and what has since occurred has confirmed the justness of our opinion, would add to the difficulty of the subject. Noble Lords hastened up to this house from all parts of the country and the Continent, anxious to be present at the earliest moment during the discussion of these important measures. But nothing was done ; no measure was even submitted for consideration. A few conversations of a personal nature took place, and thus the matter ended. At length, however, at an advanced period of the session, we were told that the plan for settling the Canadas was matured—the plan came forth. A constitution was to be formed for the two provinces, which were to be united into one ; this plan, however, was not to come into effect till after the expiration of three years—in 1842. The temporary government was to be continued till that time ; and thus it became necessary, as a matter of course, from this extension of the duration of the temporary government, that further powers should be given to it, particularly with a view to provide for local improvement. Thus the affair rested, and continued for some time in suspense. Intimation, however, was given, that these measures proposed by Ministers would meet with opposition. It was ascertained that the opposition would be of a vigorous character, and the whole scheme was suddenly abandoned. We were told it was abandoned in consequence of information recently received from Canada. What that information was has never been communicated to your Lordships or the other House of Parliament ; and any person who will take the pains to trace the proceedings in Canada for the last six months will find, that no alteration had occurred in the state of things in that country, which could have any influence upon this measure. With the bill fell also the other part of the scheme, which was to continue the temporary government for a period of three years. But then it was necessary that something should be done—that at least there should be an appearance of legislat-

ing for Canada. Therefore it was that that bill, that fragment of a measure which passed the other House of Parliament, was brought up and submitted to your consideration; but so little importance did Her Majesty's Ministers attach to it, that the noble Lord who had the conduct of the bill in this house was unacquainted with its provisions, and the effects of them, and utterly unable to explain them to your Lordships. It would of course have been desirable, if the temporary government of Canada had been prolonged for three years, to give extended powers to the governor, for the purpose of providing for local improvements; but when that plan was abandoned, such necessity no longer existed, and in fact, as the bill is now framed, nothing effectual can be done under it until the next spring; at which time your Lordships must legislate for Canada, because in the course of the year the powers of the Governor under the former bill will expire. The bill was therefore idle and unnecessary, and was obviously introduced merely for the purpose of making a show of legislation. So much for the redemption of this pledge—so much for the conduct of Her Majesty's Government on this grave and important subject—the settlement of the affairs of Canada.

With respect, my Lords, to the third subject referred to in Her Majesty's Speech, there is an absolute blank: here there is not even a show of legislation. We were to take measures for carrying into effect the recommendation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. A bill was brought into the other House of Parliament for that purpose; it proceeded on a false statement of facts; it was read a second time; nothing further was done with respect to it; it was abandoned. In the speech from the throne it is described as a measure most urgently called for; the recommendation was followed as far as the stage I have mentioned, and by the act of Ministers themselves the measure was then abandoned.

The fourth subject, my Lords, referred to in the Queen's Speech, was stated to be of the first importance. Measures were said to be in preparation to provide for the more certain and speedy administration of justice—a subject, undoubtedly of paramount importance. What has been done, then, in this respect? As in the case of the recommendation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, literally no-

thing. Upwards of two months ago I thought it my duty to call your attention most seriously to the state of the business in the Court of Chancery. There is no court, there are no proceedings in any court, to which the recommendation in Her Majesty's Speech would so strongly apply as to the Court of Chancery. I brought the subject under your Lordships' consideration, shortly after the Easter recess; I stated the immense arrear of business in that court, and the remedy that was required. Referring to the arrears, I stated that the evil had become grievous and intolerable. My noble and learned friend, the Master of the Rolls, advertng to those expressions, said the terms were strong, but were hardly strong enough to describe the extent of the evil. And, my Lords, it is impossible to form an adequate idea of the cruelty of the system, unless you direct your attention to some particular case; then only will you adequately feel, by considering its details, how individuals, and whole families, are ruined, and their prospects for ever blighted, by this delay of justice; then only can you form a just estimate of the extent and magnitude of this evil. Don't let it be supposed for a moment that I am finding fault with the learned judges who preside in that court: they are all persons faithful in the discharge of their respective duties—vigorous, active, learned, able men. But they have not power, not physical strength, to cope with the evil: the force of the court is not adequate for that purpose; this is admitted—it is avowed by every person acquainted with the subject. When I brought the matter forward, I laid before your Lordships a plan for remedying the evil, which I understood, at the time, was assented to by my noble and learned friend on the woolsack, and by Her Majesty's Ministers. It was assented to by my noble and learned friend opposite (Lord Brougham); and I did expect—indeed I understood we had something like a pledge, that some bill would be brought in during the present session of Parliament, to remedy the evil. It was stated, indeed, by my noble and learned friend on the woolsack, that I did not go far enough: but he was willing, as I understood, to try what I proposed; which, to a considerable extent at least, would, even according to his admission, have provided a remedy for the evils of the present system: but, from that time to this, we have heard nothing from

Her Majesty's Ministers on the subject. They have not touched this grievance, this intolerable grievance. The more speedy and certain administration of justice was stated to be a matter of the first importance in the Queen's Speech ; the attention of your Lordships and of Ministers was earnestly directed to the subject ; we had a sort of pledge that it would be immediately attended to ; but, from that time to the present, no steps whatever have been taken to redeem that pledge. But, my Lords, it may be supposed that Ministers have been engaged upon other measures for reforming the law and rendering the administration of justice both speedy and certain. I look around in vain for any thing as the fruit and result of their labours upon this subject. No bill has been introduced into this House, or come up from the other House of Parliament, on this important matter. The whole is a blank. There was, indeed, a measure which had been lingering through Parliament for three sessions, relative to Bankrupt Estates in Scotland, and to which no opposition was offered. There was also a bill for the purpose of increasing the salaries and making some trifling alterations in the Supreme Court of Scotland. But, with respect to England, there has been no attempt whatever to perform the promises which Her Majesty's Ministers held out in the speech from the throne ; and upon a subject which they themselves justly described as of the first importance. They have done nothing to promote the more speedy and certain administration of justice. Seeing the noble Baron, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster opposite, reminds me of the extent of this supineness. The noble Baron, three years ago, directed a commission to inquire into the state of the Court of Chancery within his jurisdiction ; a Commissioner was appointed, he immediately went down to make the necessary inquiries, but no report has yet been made, nothing further has been done—matters stand precisely where they did.

My Lords, I have now gone through the particulars noticed in the speech from the throne. I have stated to you what were the promises and pledges given in that speech by Her Majesty's Ministers at the commencement of the session ; and I have shewn you what has been the performance, or rather I should say the absence of all performance, on their part, relative to these important subjects. What is the

conclusion to be drawn from such a state of things? Obviously this: Her Majesty's Ministers, at the commencement of the session, stated in this document, deliberately and in terms, the opinion they themselves entertained as to the measures of legislation which the interests of the country required; they stated what, in their judgment, the country had a right to expect from a vigorous, an able, and an effective administration. Not one of these measures has been accomplished. They have thus enabled us to compare their own opinion of what their duty required with their subsequent performance. They have thus pronounced their own condemnation. The ministry has passed judgment on itself — *habes confitentem reum*; and yet, my Lords, these men still continue to hold the reins, without being able to direct the course, of Government.

“ — Versate diu, quid ferre recusent
Quid valeant humeri,”

is applicable not to poetry alone; it extends equally and emphatically to those who undertake to conduct the affairs of a great empire. To undertake the conduct of such affairs, without possessing the vigour, or the capacity, or the parliamentary confidence and support necessary to carry such measures as are essential to the interests of the country, is considered, and justly, by the constitution of these realms, as a high misdemeanour, as subjecting the parties to impeachment. And yet this is the course which has been pursued by the noble Viscount and his colleagues. This, at the present moment, is their actual state and condition. I here take leave of the measures referred to in the speech from the throne.

The Ministers found it necessary to attempt something — something to gain the support of at least a certain class of their followers; and it seems to have occurred to them, that nothing was so well suited to their purpose as some measure on the subject of general Education — a matter undoubtedly, my Lords, of the first importance, and deeply interesting to the welfare of the country. What course, then, would an enlightened, able, and straightforward Ministry have pursued upon this great subject? They would have prepared a bill containing the principles and the details of their measure; they would have submitted it to Parlia-

ment, and have given ample time for the consideration of it, not only by Parliament itself, but by the country, deeply interested as it must have felt on a subject of such a nature. This was the course pursued by my noble and learned friend opposite, who set them a bright example, which they would have done well on this occasion to have imitated. It was the course which a manly, able, and constitutional government would have pursued ; but such a course did not suit the views, and was at variance with the principles and practice, of Her Majesty's present advisers. They constantly prefer to the broad highway, in their course of policy, the tortuous by-paths which lead more obscurely and indirectly to the end which they are desirous of attaining. Availing themselves of, and abusing, the confidence which your Lordships had placed in them and in the other House of Parliament, they proceeded, by a vote of that house, carried only by a majority of two, to give effect to the appointment of a committee of general instruction to superintend and control the general education of the country. This policy they pursued for the express, I had almost said the avowed, purpose of excluding your Lordships from all deliberation on this the greatest of all national subjects. Looking at the composition of your Lordships' house, do I say too much when I assert, that no assembly in the world is better qualified to consider, to discuss, and to advise on, such a subject? Yet the policy--the little and narrow policy I must call it--of Her Majesty's Ministers has been to exclude you from all consideration of it, and to proceed exclusively on the vote of the other House of Parliament. But of whom does this Committee of Education consist? There is the Chancellor of the Exchequer; there is the noble Viscount at the head of the Board of Works, who has of late been so active in the business of this house; there is also the Secretary of State for the Home Department; and lastly, and as a matter of course, the President of the Council. Such is the composition of this Committee -- such the Board which has to form plans and to digest schemes for the superintendence and conduct of the general education of the country. With the greatest possible respect for these individuals, I must say, that they are not exactly the description of persons whom I should have selected, or whom I believe the nation would

have selected, for the discharge of so delicate and important a trust. We find, in their very first publication, one of them betraying his ignorance of the very terms of the science of which he is appointed a professor. And what has been their first act? They published their scheme; it was circulated throughout the country, and it was met every where with universal reprobation; and not only in England, but also in the northern part of the island. So strong was the feeling excited against it, that though Her Majesty's Ministers endeavoured to conciliate the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, by placing three hundred livings at their disposal, they passed a unanimous vote in condemnation of this scheme.

Your Lordships considered it your duty to address the Throne upon the subject, not because you had been treated with indignity by Her Majesty's ministers, but because you thought the interests of the country required that as a branch of the Legislature, you should have been consulted upon a subject of such extensive and immeasurable importance. I rejoice that you did so; and, if for no other reason, for this — that we have thereby discovered what are the further objects and intentions of Her Majesty's Ministers. It might otherwise have been supposed that this Committee of Instruction was a mere temporary body, appointed to dispose of the sum of 30,000*l.* voted by the House of Commons; but from the answer which the noble Viscount advised Her Majesty to give to your address, we are, for the first time, let into the secret that the system is intended to be permanent; for we are told that the proceedings of the Board are to be submitted to both Houses of Parliament annually. They are establishing, then, by the votes of the House of Commons, a permanent system for the superintendence and direction of education in this country. As to the other part of the answer which the noble Viscount advised, it is a mere mockery, though I can hardly suppose it was so intended by the noble Viscount. You complained, my Lords, that you had not been allowed to exercise any judgment upon this important subject; and what is the reply? "Of the proceedings of this Committee, annual reports will be laid before Parliament, so that the House of Lords will be enabled to exercise its judgment upon ^{them}." But when

your Lordships expressed yourselves anxious "to have an opportunity of fully considering a measure of such deep importance to the highest interests of the community," you, of course, intended that your judgment was to be coupled with a control—not a judgment without fruit; not a judgment which would be followed by no practical result. It was, then, a sneer and a mockery—for I will not use a harsher expression—to tell you that you would be enabled to exercise your judgment upon these annual reports, though, I repeat it, I can hardly bring myself to believe that it was so intended by the noble Viscount.

I pass, my Lords, from this subject to another of no inconsiderable importance—another measure of legislation. The subject to which I have just adverted was in substance a measure of legislation by one house alone, for which your Lordships may indeed find precedents; but precedents drawn from times of tumult and disorder, which I can scarcely think the noble Viscount would wish to see renewed. I now call your attention to the first Jamaica Bill. The Assembly of Jamaica contended that we had infringed their privileges, by legislating without necessity respecting the internal affairs of that island. They did what they had before done under similar circumstances. They presented an address to the Crown, and resolved that they would not proceed in any work of legislation except such as related to the maintenance of public credit, until they received an answer to their address. They were immediately prorogued, and were afterwards continued under prorogation. No answer was returned to their address; no explanation given; no communication of any description was made to them: but a bill was prepared by the Colonial Office, and brought into Parliament to annihilate for ever the constitution of Jamaica;—I say, a bill to annihilate the constitution of Jamaica: for, though that bill was in terms only directed to the suspension of the constitution for the period of five years, every one who reflects for a moment must be aware that the practical result of such a measure would have been its complete and entire extinction. A measure so strong and so despotic met with a vigorous opposition in the other House of Parliament. A reformed House of Commons—itsself a representative assembly, and professing liberal opinions—could not well consent

to abolish another and ancient representative assembly, except in a case of absolute necessity. The bill, on its second reading, was carried only by a majority of five. It was considered as lost, and so in substance it was. Her Majesty's Ministers felt and stated that they no longer possessed the confidence of the House of Commons. They never had enjoyed the confidence of this House; and as to the people, they well knew that they were regarded by them with hatred and contempt. They, therefore, tendered the resignation of their offices to Her Majesty, and that resignation was accepted. The history of the few days subsequent to that event I pass over, it forms no part of the matter which I have to submit to your Lordships; it has, besides, been so fully laid before you by the noble Duke, himself an actor in it, and was afterwards treated in so able and masterly a manner by my noble and learned friend opposite, that the recollection of the whole subject must be fresh in your memories, and I will not impair the effect of it by any statement of my own. But there is one point connected with it to which I must call the attention of your Lordships. Her Majesty's Ministers tendered their resignation—that resignation was accepted, and they stated that they only held office until their successors were appointed. Then commenced the communications for forming another administration. While these were still in progress, the ministers, who only held office until their successors were appointed, interposed, individually and collectively, with their counsel, advised the letter addressed by Her Majesty to Sir Robert Peel, and were thus the negotiators with their political opponents. In the result, they advised Her Majesty to break off the negotiation, and to restore themselves to the position they formerly occupied: for that was the constitutional effect of the whole proceeding. Such a course of conduct never before occurred in the history of this country; and I trust in God that it never will occur again. And what, my Lords, was the first act of this restored Government? Their first act was to draw up their celebrated Cabinet Minute—a document historically false, argumentatively false, legally false; and the unconstitutional character of which was only equalled by its folly, its extravagance, and its absurdity.

Ministers, I have said, were reinstated in their former position. They had declared that they had lost the confi-

dence of the House of Commons. What had they since done to regain that forfeited confidence? Every act, every circumstance which had occurred in these transactions, had tended only to sink and lower them still further in public estimation. Far from having gained an increase of confidence in the House of Commons, all these proceedings had tended only to weaken and degrade them. It was necessary, however, to put the question to the test; and the second Jamaica Bill was brought in. The pretence was, the necessity of continuing certain laws which were about to expire in that colony; but other clauses were engrafted upon it, equally pernicious in principle with the bill which Ministers had abandoned. The second reading was carried by a majority of ten. With a majority of five, they confessed that they had forfeited the confidence of the House of Commons; and with all this management they had contrived to advance this majority in a house of six hundred and fifty-eight members from five to ten. Such was the fruit of these intrigues.

Their situation had become uneasy and almost desperate, and it became necessary to attempt something to regain the confidence of a party in the House of Commons, and the subject of the Ballot was selected for that purpose. It was perhaps, after the Reform Bill, the most important question that had been submitted to the consideration of Parliament. If ever there was a measure respecting which it was incumbent upon the Government to act as a Government, it was this measure of the Ballot. The opinion of the Government was well known regarding it; but they thought, that to make it an open question would be considered a concession, and would tend to increase their influence with a certain party in the House of Commons. It was a shabby proceeding! It was supposed, however, that there would be a further advantage attending it; that it would enable some members of the Cabinet to win the regard of their constituents by their votes in favour of the measure. The result of this policy was an entire failure—it disgusted many—it conciliated no one; and when a leading member of the Cabinet, with unexampled frankness, let out the secret that he had voted for making the question an open one, as the best way of defeating it, the shabbiness of the proceeding was forgotten in the contempt of the hypocrisy and deception which had

been practised in this transaction. I cannot then, my Lords, congratulate the noble Viscount, and his government, on any accession of strength gained by the course pursued upon this question of the Ballot.

When the second Jamaica Bill was over, the 9th of July had arrived. Up to that day not one bill of any consequence had passed the two houses. The whole was a blank. We had passed, it is true, the Mutiny Bill, and the Annual Indemnity Bill; we had passed nine or ten money bills, of the ordinary course and character; we had also passed twelve or fourteen other bills, some for the amendment, some for the continuance, of former bills, and others for trifling and unimportant matters, to which no opposition was made in either House of Parliament. There were many bills lying on the table of the House of Commons, and several of them of an important nature. It became, therefore, necessary to inquire what the Government intended to do with them. The session was far advanced, and members were naturally anxious on the subject. And accordingly, we find, upon this intimation, that measure after measure was abandoned. I hold a list in my hand of these bills. There was a bill for the Registration of Voters in England; it was abandoned. A similar bill was introduced for the Registration of Voters in Scotland; it was in like manner abandoned. The Fictitious Votes Bill (Scotland)—a bill of importance to that country, was abandoned. The Preparation of Writs (Scotland), abandoned; the Registration of Leases (Scotland), abandoned; the Heritable Securities (Scotland), abandoned; the District Sessions Bill, abandoned; the District Prisons Bill, abandoned; the Town Councils' Bill, abandoned: so also the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill, it was abandoned. The Factories' Regulation Bill—a bill which had been much discussed, and of vast importance to the interests of humanity, was abandoned. The Collection of Rates Bill, the County Courts Bill, the Embankments (Ireland) Bill, and many other bills of different descriptions, all, all were abandoned, because Ministers, from not possessing the necessary energy, vigour, and capacity, and above all, from not enjoying the confidence of the House of Commons, found it impossible to carry these measures through Parliament.

But there is another measure on which, at the close of the session, some reliance may possibly be placed, and upon which,

therefore, I must say a few words. I allude to the Postage Bill. That measure was at first ridiculed and assailed by the retainers, and also by some of the members of the Government. It was abused as absolutely impracticable; with a deficient revenue to give up another million, upon such an experiment, was the very extreme of impolicy and absurdity. All this was urged and circulated with great activity by the members and retainers of Government. But the measure was pressed from without, and Her Majesty's Ministers did not possess sufficient vigour or character, nor enough of the confidence of Parliament, to resist it; and, in opposition to their better judgment, they prepared to bring in the bill. Not having the courage or the ability to look the measure directly in the face, they hit, as they fancied, upon a contrivance to get rid of it by a side-wind; and Her Majesty's Chancellor of the Exchequer, with that singular ingenuity which distinguishes his character, thought that if he could introduce into the bill a clause distasteful to the House of Commons, he should be enabled to defeat the measure. Accordingly a pledge was introduced, that Parliament would make good any deficiency which might be occasioned in the public revenue by the adoption of the new project. This pledge proved as he had anticipated, distasteful to the House, and it was strenuously opposed. It was said, and said justly, by its opponents, that such a pledge was unnecessary; for that if the revenue proved deficient, it would become the duty of the House of Commons, without any such pledge, to make that deficiency good. At length, however, in spite of all these manœuvres, the Postage measure passed through all its stages in the House of Commons. Then the Government looked for assistance to your Lordships; the cry was, "the Lords will never pass the bill—they will not suffer the revenue to be thus reduced; it is sure to be defeated in the House of Lords." Well, the bill came on for discussion here upon the motion for the second reading; and I never observed, upon the consideration of any important ministerial measure, a thinner attendance upon the opposite benches. The noble Viscount moved the second reading; he urged with great force, with all the talent, and with all the knowledge of the world which distinguish him, every reason that could be urged against the measure; and, after he had expatiated upon and

exhausted all these topics, he concluded by saying, "However, as the bill seems to be wished for, I now move its second reading." Your Lordships considered it principally as a measure connected with the finances of the country, and on this account more particularly within the province of the other House of Parliament, and for which the Ministers were responsible. No effective opposition was therefore directed against it. It was passed, I cannot say with the satisfaction of the noble Viscount, and has now become the law of the land.

My Lords, in pursuing the course which I have chalked out for myself, I come now to another bill of very deep interest—I mean the bill for the Suppression of the Slave-trade. When that bill was introduced, I read with care and attention the treaties between this country and Portugal, and also the correspondence which has passed between our Minister and the authorities of the Court of Lisbon on this subject; the conclusion to which I have come is, that Portugal has violated her engagements with this country, and never entertained the slightest intention to fulfil them. But this does not appear now for the first time; it was long ago equally clear. And I say, without hesitation, that Her Majesty's Ministers deserted their duty, and forgot what was due to the honour and character of their country, and to the interests of humanity, in not having long since called upon Portugal to fulfil the engagements into which she had entered with us. I say further, that they might and ought, by the blockade of the port of Lisbon, or by other similar measures of energy and vigour, and according to the ordinary and usual course of proceeding in cases of this nature, to have compelled Portugal to the performance of her engagements. The result would have been, that thousands of lives would have been spared which have since been sacrificed in this inhuman and detestable traffic. And believe me, my Lords, that this straightforward, correct, and legitimate course of proceeding, would have been far more effectual for its object than the new, irregular, and doubtful policy, upon which this measure is founded. Instead, therefore, of giving Her Majesty's Ministers credit for their Bill, I complain of their tardiness, and of the substitution of an indirect and inefficient course of proceeding for those measures, usually resorted to on such occasions, and which can never be resorted to without effect by

a great and powerful nation like England. I consider this as another proof of their utter want of efficiency to discharge their duty towards their Sovereign and their country.

My Lords, I have now brought you down to an advanced period of the session. The 9th of August had arrived, and then a great flight of bills, the *οἱ πολλοί* of legislation, were introduced, some of them mischievous—some of them unconstitutional—some of them of a jobbing character, but the great mass of them unimportant and inoffensive, and which met with no opposition. It appears as if Her Majesty's Ministers were determined to make up by number what they wanted in the weight and quality of their legislative measures. Am I expressing myself, my Lords, too strongly? I will select one or two instances in proof of what I have stated. One of these measures was the Metropolitan Police-Courts Bill. By this bill, a patronage, to the extent of 54,000*l.* a-year, was given to the Secretary of State for the Home Department. There was another provision of the bill, by which the trial by jury, in a particular class of felonies was abolished. This was the first attempt of such a nature ever made in this country, except perhaps during the disorders of the seventeenth century, from which the present liberal Government seems very much inclined to draw its precedents. Trial by jury had always been respected even in the most arbitrary times, but, instead of a jury, a magistrate appointed by the Crown, paid by the Crown, and removable at the pleasure of the Crown, was substituted. Stealing, and receiving stolen goods to any amount, came within his jurisdiction, and it was left to his arbitrary will to decide whether the accused should or should not have the benefit of trial by jury—to the arbitrary will of a judge, removable at the pleasure of the Crown. Such was the bill as it passed through the Reformed House of Commons. It was sent up here at the close of the session, and your Lordships, acting wisely and constitutionally, struck out this extraordinary provision. Another objectionable measure was the Admiralty Bill, the salary of the Judge presiding in that Court was to be increased to 4000*l.* a-year, and he was to be allowed to sit in the House of Commons. I wish to speak with every respect of the learned gentleman who at present fills that office, but it is notorious that he is a keen political partizan, and most devoted and inflexible

in his adherence to the present Government. Other alterations of an extensive character were proposed to be effected by the bill, and at a period of the session when it was impossible for your Lordships to give them due consideration; your Lordships therefore rejected the bill. Another measure was brought up to your Lordships' house, which I do not characterise too strongly when I state it to have been one of the most scandalous jobs ever attempted to be carried through Parliament. When I recall that measure to your Lordships' recollections, I am sure you will not think the terms I have used are too strong for the occasion: I allude to the Sale of Spirits (Ireland) Bill. Another bill had been introduced into the other House of Parliament for electioneering purposes, having for its object to alter a law of great importance passed for the protection of public morals. This bill was so distasteful to the other house, and of such a character, that here was no chance of its ever passing; what then was the course pursued? The Chancellor of the Exchequer's bill for the Sale of Spirits, had passed through its various stages up to the third reading. Then it was, when nobody expected such a proceeding, that he allowed the person who introduced the bill I have just referred to, to ingraft that bill, at the third reading, on the Government measure, and thus it passed the House of Commons by a contrivance as scandalous as had ever occurred in the history of legislation. It is unnecessary for me to say, that this addition to the Government bill was thrown out by your Lordships, without any attempt being made to defend it; for the whole proceeding was one which would not bear consideration or argument for a moment. Why was this bill embodied in the Government measure? It was felt convenient to conciliate the patron of that bill, and therefore it was that this extraordinary consent was given. But this kind of proceeding always fails of its object, and it failed signally in the present instance; for when the bill relating to the Charter of the Bank of Ireland came on shortly after for discussion, the individual whom it was wished to conciliate, opposed that Bill with the utmost activity and vigour; and, in consequence of that opposition, that measure so important to the credit and character of the Government, and the loss of which proved them to be utterly incapable of managing the affairs of the country, was,

after a long and ineffectual struggle, finally abandoned. With respect to the rest of these bills, the mere sweepings of the offices, they were dealt out like cards at the table by the noble Viscount the Lord Privy Seal, to whom the whole Government business seems, at this important period of the session, to have been entrusted. They were submitted with little explanation to your Lordships, and met with no opposition.

But there is another class of bills—three in number—which calls for a few observations. These were among the last bills of the Session. One of them has been discussed to-night, the others having been considered on former evenings. They relate to the establishment of a police force at Manchester, Bolton, and Birmingham. They are mere temporary measures; but what has led to their introduction? Because, in granting charters to those particular towns, Ministers have been so careless and negligent in their proceedings, that serious doubts have been entertained as to the validity of the charters, and they are now under consideration in the courts of law. These bills, therefore, were rendered necessary in consequence of the bungling of Ministers themselves; and they, surely, therefore, are not entitled to take praise for their introduction. There were, however, other considerations which unfortunately called for the passing of these bills. They were felt to be requisite on account of the tumults and disturbances which have taken place in the northern parts of this island, and for which the Ministers are deeply responsible. It was they who first roused the people—they first excited and stimulated them to acts of tumult and disorder—they first sent forth the watchword, “Agitate, agitate, agitate!” and they are, therefore, responsible for the consequences which have followed. Agitation was convenient to raise them to power, and they were willing to keep up as much of it as was necessary to maintain them in their position. They wished that thus far the flood might proceed, and no further—that at this point the proud waves might be stayed. But it is far easier to let loose the tempest, than afterwards to enchain or to direct it. In all ages the same course has been pursued, and the same result has followed. Ambitious men make use of the multitude, and awaken their passions, for their own ambitious purposes—for the attain-

ment of their own personal objects of aggrandisement and power. They ride into authority on the shoulders of the people, and then they find the tumult and violence to which they owed their elevation inconvenient and dangerous. It then becomes necessary to coerce and restrain those whom they had before incited and encouraged; and their astonished and deluded followers at length discover that they have become the dupes and the victims of those whom they had formerly eulogised and extolled. Such, too, is the history of the present Government. We all remember the period when the noble Lord at the head of the Home Department received an address from one hundred and fifty thousand persons assembled in the neighbourhood of Birmingham. With affected humility — for

“ Lowliness is young Ambition’s ladder ” —

he received that address: “ he was utterly undeserving of the great honour conferred upon him ” — “ he was deeply grateful for it ; ” and then it was that that noble Lord drew a comparison between the conduct of that meeting and the proceedings of your Lordships’ House, designating the one as the voice of the nation, and the other as the whisper of a faction. Are you surprised then at what has followed? Are you astonished at the result? It is all in the natural order of things; had it been otherwise, there would have been indeed reason to have been surprised.

I have now gone through the business of the session, and have executed the task which I undertook to perform. I have done it, *more meo*, with plainness and simplicity; I trust, with accuracy, and without exaggeration. I now put it to your Lordships, Whether the Ministers who have thus conducted themselves in matters of legislation during the last seven months, can possibly enjoy, or ought to enjoy, the confidence of Parliament? Whether they have shewn themselves capable of conducting the affairs of this mighty empire in a manner suitable to its wants and necessities, and such as the country is entitled to expect from the Ministers of the Crown? I stated in the outset, what I now repeat, that, in submitting this matter to your Lordships’ consideration, I have felt, that I was discharging a duty: it has not been a grateful task to me, but I have endeavoured to perform it faithfully, and to the best of my power.

From "The Times" of Saturday, August 24, 1839.

SESSION 1836.

GOVERNMENT BILLS BROUGHT IN, AND NOT PASSED.

1. Church of Ireland.
2. Benefices Plurality.
3. Registration of Voters.
4. Charitable Trustees.
5. Poor Laws, England.
6. Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues.
7. Clergy Discipline.
8. Bankrupts (England).
9. Bankruptcy (Scotland).
10. Bankrupts' Estates (Scotland).
11. Municipal Corporations (Scotland).
12. Scotch Burghs, No. 1.
13. Scotch Burghs, No. 2.
14. Court of Session (Scotland).
15. Sheriffs' Courts (Scotland).
16. Court of Session Audits (Scotland).
17. English Municipal Corporations Act Amendment.
18. Municipal Corporations (Ireland).
19. Malt Duties (Ireland).
20. Copyholds.
21. Copyholds' Enfranchisement.
22. Descents and Heriots.
23. Escheats.
24. Manorial Boundaries.
25. Imprisonment for Debt.
26. Ecclesiastical Courts Consolidating.
27. Court of Chancery.
28. Appellate Jurisdiction.
29. Stamp Duties.

SESSION 1837.

GOVERNMENT BILLS BROUGHT IN, AND NOT PASSED.

1. Tithes (Ireland).
2. Benefices Plurality.
3. Registration of Voters.
4. Boundaries of Boroughs.
5. Poor Relief (Ireland).
6. Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues—notice given of this bill.
7. Enclosure Awards.
8. Bankrupts (England).
9. Bankruptcy (Scotland).
10. Bankrupts' Estates (Scotland).
11. Municipal Corporations (Scotland).
12. Scotch Burghs.
13. Court of Session (Scotland).
14. Sheriffs' Courts (Scotland).
15. Registration of Births (Scotland).
16. Municipal Corporations (Ireland).
17. Medical Charities (Ireland).
18. Imprisonment for Debt.
19. Church Rates.
20. Courts in China.
21. Clandestine Marriages (Scotland).

SESSION 1838.

GOVERNMENT BILLS BROUGHT IN, AND NOT PASSED.

1. Registration of Voters.
2. Municipal Boundaries (England).
3. Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues.
4. Fines, &c. (Ireland), No. 1.
5. Arms (Ireland), No. 1.
6. Arms (Ireland), No. 2.
7. Bankrupts' Estates (Scotland).
8. Prisons (Scotland).
9. Registration of Leases (Scotland).
10. Registration of Voters (Ireland).
11. Kingstown and Dublin Port and Harbour, No. 1.
12. Shannon Navigation.
13. Municipal Corporations (Ireland).
14. Factories' Regulation.
15. Copyholds.
16. Copyholds' Enfranchisement.
17. Descents and Heriots.
18. Escheats.
19. Boundaries.
20. Copyholds Improvement.
21. Duchy of Cornwall Possessions.
22. Grand Jury Presentments (Ireland).
23. Sea-coast Fisheries (Ireland).
24. Prisons (England).
25. Parliamentary Electors.
26. County of Clare Advance.
27. Courts in China.
28. Sheriffs' Courts.
29. County Courts.
30. District Courts.
31. Clergy Discipline.
32. Parliamentary Burghs.
33. Post Office.
34. Pilotage.

SESSION 1839.

GOVERNMENT BILLS BROUGHT IN, AND NOT PASSED.

1. Registration of Voters.
2. Jamaica Government.
3. Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues.
4. Upper and Lower Canada.
5. Registration of Electors (Scotland).
6. Fictitious Votes (Scotland).
7. Registration of Leases (Scotland).
8. Heritable Securities (Scotland).
9. District Sessions.
10. Summary Jurisdiction.
11. Embankments (Ireland).
12. Grand Jury Cess (Ireland).
13. Municipal Corporations (Ireland).
14. Factories.
15. Collection of Rates.
16. Copyholds' Enfranchisement.
17. Inland Warehousing.
18. Registers of Births.
19. Slave Trade (Portugal).
20. Poddle River, Dublin.
21. Sheepstealers (Ireland).
22. Excise Licenses (Sale of Spirits).
23. District Prisons.
24. Preparation of Writs (Scotland).
25. Birmingham Police, No. 1.
26. County Courts.
27. Clergy Discipline.
28. Bank of Ireland.

A
LETTER
TO THE
MIDDLE CLASSES
ON THE PRESENT
DISTURBED STATE OF THE COUNTRY,
ESPECIALLY WITH REFERENCE TO
THE CHARTIST MEETINGS.

BY
MONTAGUE GORE, ESQ.

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A LETTER,

&c. &c.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN,

I ADDRESS you at a crisis, one of the most important that has occurred in the annals of your country. You will have read, with mingled feelings of horror and of shame, the account of the recent disgraceful transactions at Birmingham — transactions which are a reproach and a scandal to the country: but more formidable than these results themselves, are the deep-rooted causes from which they have sprung; the extensive prevalence of doctrines and opinions amongst a large body of the population, which threaten with destruction, not only our political institutions, but the very fabric of society itself; the rapid spread of that spirit of democratic ascendancy, which, unless timely checked and manfully resisted, must ere long overwhelm all classes of society in one general ruin. It is on your conduct at this period, that your country's fate mainly depends; it is for you, by your resolute resistance of these baneful theories, and your support of legitimate authority, to save your father-land from the horrors of anarchy and civil war; to preserve unimpaired, and unscathed, the laws and constitution of your country, and to enable her still to maintain that proud position which she has so long occupied amongst the nations of the earth.

If I were to refer to the past history of England, and to consider why this country has so pre-eminently flour-

rished—why it has so long and so securely enjoyed the blessings of well regulated freedom—why it has been exempt from many of the political and social evils, that have afflicted neighbouring states—I should be inclined to say, that to no one cause has this happy state of things been owing, more than to the existence of a *middle class* in society, which has moderated the passions, and formed a barrier against the excesses of aristocratic pride on the one hand, and democratic innovation on the other. At the period of the Norman Conquest the old Saxon principles were preserved amongst the middle orders; they formed at that period an intermediate and important body between the serfs, on the one hand, and the feudal barons on the other; the remembrance of their ancient laws and privileges was never extinguished in their minds; and it is to their fond regard for their ancient institutions, on the one hand, and their sturdy spirit of independence on the other, that we are indebted for the establishment of that well-regulated system of liberty, which has so long been the pride and boast of our island. Again, in later times, the spirit of commercial industry and enterprize has fostered and supported the cause of national freedom; it has raised to eminence and importance an order of men who valued liberty, because, without its protection, trade would languish, and commerce decay: but who equally valued the preservation of social order, and the maintenance of law, as affording the only security that they would be able to enjoy the profits of their labours. It is to this class, which has cherished in their infancy, and protected in their mature growth, the kindred interests of order and of rational freedom, that I appeal, at a moment when law and order are threatened with subversion; and when freedom is menaced with overthrow, by that worst of despotisms—the despotism of revolutionary frenzy.

You have been addressed by the Political Unions,

and your fears and your interests have been alike appealed to, to induce you to aid the views of these bodies; —I have no apprehension as to the result of these appeals; I have no fear that threats, on the one hand, or false views of interest on the other, will induce you to swerve from the straight path of honour and of duty. But if amongst you there should be any who may hesitate as to the course which you should pursue, I would ask them to turn the pages of history, and therein mark how surely retributive justice has fallen, with sure and unerring force, on those who have encouraged and promoted the progress of revolution.

Who were amongst the earliest and most zealous reformers in the reign of Charles the First? *The Nobles!* “The Nobility,” says Mr. Hume,* “whom the King had no means of retaining by offices and preferments suitable to their rank, had been *seized with the general discontent*, and unwarily threw themselves into the scale which already began too much to preponderate; sensible of some encroachments which had been made by royal authority, men entertained no jealousy of the Commons, *whose enterprises for the acquisition of power had ever been covered with the appearance of public good.*” Within a few years the nobles reaped the fruit of this spirit in the vote of the House of Commons, that the House of Lords was “*useless and dangerous, and ought to be abolished;*” in the persecution of their own order, and the subversion of their hereditary rights and privileges. Who, again, were the great advocates and supporters of those ideas of liberty which led to the French Revolution? The Nobles and privileged classes. “The young Nobles,” says Mr. Alison,† “applauded the writings of Raynal, Voltaire, and Rousseau, and repeated all the arguments against their exclusive privileges, and the feudal system, *without once suspecting that*

* Hist. vol. vi, pp. 362-3.

† Vol. i. pp. 92-3.

they would be the first victims of such opinions. The clergy, too, headed by their prelates, made common cause with the commons at the commencement of the Revolution. The spectacle of the union of the clergy with their brethren of the commons excited the most lively transports, and they embraced each other amidst tears of joy. *Who could then have foreseen, that in a few weeks the whole ecclesiastical body were to be reduced to beggary by those who now received them as deliverers; and that a clergyman could not appear in the streets without being exposed to the grossest insults? Such is the fate of those who think by concessions, dictated by fear, to arrest the march of a Revolution.** And if such was the fate that befell the clergy, not less remarkable was that of Bailly, the President of the Assembly, the idol of the people, their champion and advocate. "But how vain," says the same historian, "are the hopes of permanent elevation, founded on the applause of the multitude! Could the eye of prophecy have then unveiled the future, it would have discovered this idol of the people shivering on his face in the Champ de Mars, with his arms tied behind his back, and the guillotine suspended over his head, condemned by the Assembly, execrated by the multitude, subjected to a cruel and prolonged punishment to gratify the peculiar hatred and cruel vengeance of the populace, whom he now incurred these dangers to support!"† Every class concerned in the French Revolution perished in turn, the victim of the passions which they had themselves excited. "The Constitutionals overthrew the ancient monarchy, and formed a limited government; but their imprudence in rousing popular ambition paved the way for the 10th of August, and speedily brought themselves to the scaffold: the Girondists established their favourite dream of a republic, and were the first victims of the fury which it excited: the Dantonists

* Alison's Hist. vol. i. p. 141.

† Ibid. p. 142.

roused the populace against the Gironde, and soon fell under the axe which they had prepared for their rivals: the Anti-Christ^s defied the powers of Heaven itself; but scarcely were their blasphemies uttered, when they were swept off by the partners of their bloody triumphs."*

Such, Fellow Countrymen, has, in a neighbouring kingdom, been the fate of those who encouraged and promoted rash and precipitate innovation; and if the middle classes of this country, at the present moment, could be guilty of the folly of assisting the wild views, and promoting the senseless projects of the Chartists, do they imagine that their fate would be different? Do they fancy that they could bridle the wild fury of the people? Do they imagine that they could aid them in the overthrow of our existing laws and constitution, and that they would afterwards be quietly allowed to retain their property, and the honest fruits of their industry? Miserable indeed would be the infatuation of those who thought thus! The same notions of equality which represent the accumulation of large fortunes and the possession of large domains as unjust, would lead the people to dispute the tradesman's right to his moderate profits and income; nothing short of a general distribution of all property would satisfy those who are imbued with these wild and chimerical ideas. At present the property of the lowest individual in the community rests on the same security, and is held as sacred as that of the highest; the queen has no other title to her throne than that which the mechanic has to his enjoyment of his humble gains;—the law of England knows no distinction; it extends its protection alike to the palace of the prince and the cottage of the peasant. But if in an evil hour you destroy the respect for law, if you disregard the enactments by which it has secured the fortunes of the more wealthy, and treat them with contempt, in the same

* Alison's Hist. vol. ii. p. 202.

hour you cancel your own titles to your earnings; you wilfully surrender the protection which you now enjoy; you abandon the security of law, and place yourselves at the mercy of the arbitrary will of the people.

As far, then, as regards your own interest, I call on you not to listen to those who would seduce you from your duty. You may have grievances to complain of, you may have burdens which you deem enormous, you may have wrongs which you think ought be redressed; but the portals of the constitution are open to you all. You all have free access to her courts; you enjoy the right of representing your grievances by petition; you have the choice of your own representatives; and, above all, you have, in the freedom of the press, an engine for the redress of your wrongs (if wrongs you sustain), more powerful and more availing than any which physical force could supply. You enjoy, too, great blessings; you live under a system of laws the most perfect and admirable which the world has ever seen; your lives and properties are protected; you have full scope for the exercise of your talents, or the aspirings of your ambition; and if you see around you many in more opulent circumstances, and who move in a more brilliant, though, perhaps, less happy, sphere than yourselves, you have at least the consolation that you, too, may be founders of families, and the architects of your own fortune; that integrity and ability are sure, in this favoured land, to meet with their due reward, and that the temple of British honour is open to all who approach it by the path of virtue.

But if you would continue to live under this happy dispensation—if you would preserve the blessings you have inherited from your forefathers, and would hand them down to your children, you must now come forward and rally round the throne and the constitution!

The recent proceedings at Birmingham are, indeed, a sad scandal to the land! That in the nineteenth cen-

tury—in an age boasting of its humanity and refinement
 —at a period of profound peace—in an opulent town
 —one of the principal marts of British industry; a mob
 should proceed to attack the houses of individuals who
 had given them no offence, to plunder their property,
 and deliberately to burn it in a public place—thus, in an
 hour, consigning to ruin honest and industrious citizens,
 is a transaction so scandalous, so disgraceful, so atrocious,
 that for the sake of my country's honour I could wish it
 were possible to veil it from the sight. Nor is the
 actual destruction of property the whole of the evil. It
 is the shock given to public credit; it is the feeling of
 insecurity which has been engendered, which is not the
 least alarming result of this affair. If industrious citizens
 are thus to be exposed to the loss of their fortune,
 accumulated, perhaps, by a life of honest and laborious
 industry, the spirit of enterprise will be paralysed, and
 capital will be scared from this country. What was it
 that enabled Great Britain to make the prodigious efforts
 she did during the last war? What but the maintenance
 of public credit? But *what was the cause of that credit?*
The supremacy of law! the confidence every man felt
 that his property was under the safeguard and protection
 of the law. But if the property of Englishmen is to be
 liable to such attacks as those made at Birmingham, there
 will be an end to public credit, because there will be
 an end to all supremacy of law. In fact, if such proceed-
 ings are to be permitted, society itself will be dissolved.
 For what is the end and object of all society but to
 protect the weak against the strong? It is for this
 that society is formed; it is for this that government is
 constituted, and the subject has a *right* to protection in
 person and property in return for his allegiance; nay,
 more, he has a right to be secure from all apprehension
 of injury.

And if credit should be subverted, if capital should

be scared away, *who would be the principal sufferers?* The mistaken men who take part in these transactions! The capitalist may go to other lands, where he will find more security than under the boasted laws of England, and where he may continue to increase his fortune, or pass the remainder of his days in comfort. But what is to become of the unfortunate labourer and artizan? Can they, without assistance, transfer their labour to other climes? Can they follow their wealthy fellow-citizens who at present give them occupation? It is impossible for imagination to conceive, it is impossible for pen to describe, the horrors that must ensue, if, in a large commercial country like England, where so much depends on the maintenance of credit, where so many thousands subsist on the wages of labour, any feeling of insecurity should induce wealthy capitalists to withdraw their funds from those channels which at present furnish profitable employment to their poorer fellow-citizens; nor can I conceive guilt more heinous than attaches to those who thus delude the labouring classes to a crime, which, whatever its results to the rest of the community, *must* be destructive to themselves.

Assuredly, of all the delusions now attempted to be palmed on human credulity, that of a community of goods is the most absurd. A community of goods! But can those who propose it insure a community of talent; a community of virtue; a community of industry; a community of physical strength, and of physical wants? If not, a community of goods could not last, I will not say a month, nor a week, nor a day, but not an hour! I would ask the labouring classes themselves—Are you not aware that you differ in habits of industry—in habits of temperance and frugality? Would it not, then, be the greatest, the most cruel, the most crying injustice, that an industrious man, who toiled daily from sunrise to sunset, who endeavoured by the sweat of his brow to obtain

a competency, to maintain his independence, and to support in comfort his wife and family, should be obliged to share his earnings with the sluggard? That the profligate should live on the earnings of the virtuous and industrious? I am sure there is not an honest labourer or mechanic in the nation whose good sense would not lead him to revolt at so monstrous an idea! Well, then, let him extend this chain of reasoning. The large masses of capital which form objects of envy—how have they in general been accumulated? By the hard-earned industry and temperate habits, either of the present possessors or of their ancestors. On the same principle, then, that the industrious and temperate labourer would deem it very unjust that he should be defrauded of the just recompence of his labours; surely he must admit that it would be a case of great hardship, if an industrious and honest man, who, from the labours of a long life, has acquired a considerable property,—acquired it under the guarantee of the laws of his country,—is to be deprived of that property; nay, more, exposed to popular obloquy—perhaps to popular violence. What is this but to offer a premium on idleness and vice?

Put the matter in another point of view. We hear a great deal of the pressure of taxation, and of the increase of the national debt. The true answer, as I conceive, to all remarks of this kind is, that if taxation be greater, and the debt be larger than in some former times, the nation is enabled to bear this in consequence of its increased wealth. But what was the cause of this increased wealth? The spirited exertions of the manufacturers and mercantile classes to improve their fortunes; and which exertions they made trusting to the protection of the laws of their country. The labourer suffers, because so much money, which might have been spent in the purchase of commodities or in paying the wages of

labour, is taken from the capitalist in the shape of taxes. Granted: but the accumulation of capital which has taken place within the last forty years, and the great fortunes that have been made, have, to a certain extent at least, balanced the evil; and those vast accumulations of capital, which are now looked at with such feelings of envy, have been, in truth, the means of giving employment to labour, and of imparting comfort and happiness to many a poor family, which would otherwise have suffered the extremity of famine and distress.

In all revolutions the lower orders have been the principal sufferers. There perished in the French Revolution 1,022,351 souls. Of these, how many were from the lower orders! "It is in an especial manner remarkable in this dismal catalogue, how large a proportion of the victims of the Revolution were persons in the middling and lower ranks of life. The priests and nobles guillotined are only 2423; while the persons of plebeian origin exceed 13,000! The nobles and priests put to death at Nantes, were only 2160; while the infants, drowned and shot, are 2000; the women, 764; and the artisans, 5300! So rapidly in revolutionary convulsions does the career of cruelty reach the lower orders, and so wide-spread is the carnage dealt out to them, compared with that which they have sought to inflict on their superiors."*

It is to the middle classes I now appeal to save this great and glorious empire from the horrors of revolution. You have great power in your hands: you may discountenance on all occasions the wild and democratical doctrines which are abroad. Point out to your less enlightened neighbours their danger and their fallacy; warn them against the pernicious consequences of them;

* Alison's Hist. vol. ii. pp. 358-9.

resolve resolutely in no way to countenance or abet them. Do this with firmness, yet with temperance; in the spirit of kind and friendly admonition; and, come what may, you will at least have the satisfaction that you have done all that lay in your power to save your country from the evils that may befall it.

But this is only part of your duty: if deaf to admonition, and blind to reason, these misguided men resort to acts of violence, then it is your duty,—it is the duty of us all,—in every way, and at every risk, to uphold the public power. You will probably be required to act as special constables; enrol willingly, cheerfully, zealously. I speak not to you of personal courage, because it is a quality indigenous in the breast of every Briton. But of this I am sure, that there is no man, in whose breast glows one spark of honest national pride, who would not rather die a thousand deaths, than live to witness the fair fame of England sullied,—her honour stained,—her industry paralysed,—her greatness blasted, by such atrocious proceedings as those which have lately cast a stigma on the land. At such moments, vigour and decision are the surest, the safest, nay, the most humane policy. There were periods in the French Revolution, when a few resolute men might have saved the throne and the monarchy,—might have saved France from the black catalogue of crimes and horrors that disgrace her annals. By the memory of your ancestors, by your regard for your posterity,—in the name of your queen, your country, and your God,—as you value the fair fame of your native country, and would save her from the horrors of revolution,—I call on you, each and all, in your respective stations, to exert your best endeavours to prevent the spread of these abominable principles, and to suppress the evils which may result from them. Do this, and you will add another to the claims you already

have on your country's gratitude; and you will reap your reward in the approval of your fellow-citizens, and in the proud satisfaction that, in the day of her need, you have fulfilled "*her expectation, and done your duty.*"

Depend on it, that of all the ills which can desolate a land—of all the evils which can afflict society, there is none so great as the spirit of democratic innovation. You have seen its evil consequences in a neighbouring state—you have there seen the throne subverted, the altar desecrated, the bonds of society snapped asunder, beneath its withering influence. May the example not be lost on you! I call on you to save this hitherto favoured land from being the scene of such horrors! You have triumphed over revolutionary arms; I now call on you to combat the still more baneful evils of revolutionary principles. You, by your vigour and patriotism, saved the shores of England from invasion; a higher and nobler duty now devolves on you—to preserve her laws and her constitution from being subverted, and her altars from being desecrated, by the curse of revolution.

I remain, Fellow Countrymen,

Your sincere Friend and Well Wisher,

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OF
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IN A
LETTER,
ADDRESSED TO THE ARCHDEACONS
OF
STAFFORD, SALOP, AND DERBY,
BY THE
REV. W. GRESLEY,
HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE LICHFIELD DIOCESAN BOARD.

“ Συμφέρτη δ ἀρετὴ μᾶζ’ ἀμείνων. If we were compelled to *knit our strength in clusters*, our prowess would be better tried in God’s cause than when we come single and scattered one from another.”

BISHOP HACKETT’S SERMONS, p. 878.

LONDON :
J. G. & F. RIVINGTON, ST. PAUL’S CHURCH-YARD ;
T. G. LOMAX, LICHFIELD.
1839.



A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE ARCHDEACONS, &c.

KNOWING the great interest which you take in the success of our newly-formed scheme of Diocesan education, I venture to address you in the following remarks. When the Board was first established in this Diocese, you did me the honour to appoint me your secretary; and having consequently had my attention directed to the practical working of the plan, having attended a conference held in London of the secretaries from the different Dioceses, and the originators and promoters of the scheme, and having been in constant correspondence with the Central Society, and with the Local Boards, I trust it may not be deemed intrusive for me to take this mode of calling the attention of the clergy of the Diocese, to certain practical points, to which it is important that they should give their consideration.

As there is reason to believe that some of the clergy and lay-members of the church, are still imperfectly acquainted with the objects of the institution I will begin by very briefly laying it before them.^(a)

It is not too much to say that the Diocesan scheme of education stands on the highest Christian ground which can be taken. It is founded on the commission given by Christ to his apostles,—and through them to the church in all ages,—“*go and TEACH all nations.*” The church of this nation now stands forth, and offers to superintend the education of all who will accept her services. She desires to “feed the lambs” of Christ’s flock. As there are places of worship provided in each parish, to which every Christian in the land may go freely for the sacraments and ordinances of

(a) For a fuller account I would beg to refer my readers to Archdeacon Bather’s able Charge, delivered in June, 1839, and to the Report of the Exeter Board, published in the form of a pamphlet.

the gospel ; so now the church offers to provide *schools* also, to which every Christian churchman may send his children, with the security (so far as human means can give security) that they will be brought up in God's true religion.

Must it not be confessed that this is an undertaking worthy of all praise ? Has any scheme of equal importance been devised of late years ? Does it not well deserve the cordial support of all of us ? In fact, it is scarcely necessary to say any thing in advocacy of the *principle* of the scheme. It has already met with the approval of churchmen of all opinions. Those who insist mainly on scriptural knowledge, have here a plan prepared for them, by which, instruction in the word of God may be every where diffused. Those who lay great stress on the necessity of church union, have the means devised for keeping the members of the church in her communion and reclaiming stragglers to her fold ; and even those, if any such there still be, who look upon the church as a mere state establishment for the religious instruction of the people, have a surer prospect of retaining the rising generation within its pale than they have in any other mode which can be devised. Indeed the scheme is eminently valuable for this, if for nothing else, namely, to shew that the church is prepared to act *as a body*. It is just one of those practical plans in which all members of the church may cordially unite, without any compromise of their peculiar principles ; and it has already proved of infinite use in drawing churchmen together. Therefore I conceive that I have a right to speak of it, as having received the cordial assent of all the principal divisions of professed churchmen, as well as of the heads of the church. In truth I know not any objection which has been made to it except by those who desire the Church's overthrow. Dissenters ask, in alarm "whether the church supposes that she has the fee simple of all the souls in the land ?" To which—if it be meant, that she, and she alone is commissioned to preach the gospel to every creature, and bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord—we at once answer, yes.

But perhaps some may be inclined to say the scheme is excellent, but impracticable ;—it is too bold and extensive to warrant the hope of success. This is not the language of faithful and hopeful Christians. If the scheme is for the

honour of God, it demands our zealous co-operation—especially if it can be shewn, as I trust it may, that it has been carefully and prudently devised, and that the mode of carrying it out is such as to warrant the hope of God's assistance.

The whole plan of operation is based on the existing institutions of the church. To take this Diocese for an example:—the Bishop appoints a Board, comprising the principal churchmen, both lay and clerical, who are willing to render their assistance. For dispatch of business a Standing Committee is elected, consisting of representatives from the different parts of the Diocese. Already, funds have been obtained by subscription, sufficient at least for the commencement of the design, but not, as yet, sufficient to carry it out to the extent which is contemplated. By common consent, the first object of the board has been to establish a central school for the training of masters, and also as a model commercial school. Two experienced masters have been appointed, and nearly forty scholars already admitted; of which two are received gratuitously, to be trained as masters. It is proposed to collect from all parts of the Diocese such boys or young men as have shewn, in their respective schools, the greatest aptitude for teaching; and in order to draw them to the central school, it is most desirable that exhibitions should be founded;—that is, a certain annual sum provided, which may, in a great measure, relieve their parents from the burden of their maintenance while under training. Our forefathers used to give their money freely for these purposes. Why should not the present wealthier generation do the same? The young men so trained at the central school, will, it is hoped, receive a certificate or licence from the Bishop, and be considered the most eligible masters for the different establishments in the Diocese—as “being found meet (according to the language of the seventy-seventh canon) as well for learning and dexterity in teaching, as for sober and honest conversation, and also for right understanding of God's true religion.”

The character of the education to be given at the central schools is a wide and important subject, upon which many able men are now employing their thoughts and pens. All I would observe on this head is, that the constant communi-

cation, which, under the Diocesan system, will be kept up between the principal schools attached to it, will obviously be the likeliest means of working out such important improvements, as experience may, from time to time, suggest. The principles and details of education are at present undergoing a thorough sifting, and it is confidently hoped that the Diocesan establishments may contribute to the introduction of a far sounder system than has hitherto generally prevailed.^(a)

But I pass on from the central school to the districts. The ultimate object of the Diocesan scheme is, as I have already observed, to secure that there shall be schools in every part of the Diocese for the education of youth in the principles of the church. In order to effect this object, and to secure an uniformity of principle,—though not of course, descending to details—it is intended *to form an union of all schools of sound religious instruction*: and to all such as shall consent to this arrangement, it is proposed to afford the benefit of periodical examination by an inspector, appointed by the Bishop, who shall be thoroughly conversant with all the details of education. It is not wished to intrude this inspection upon private establishments, the masters of which may entertain any objection to the arrangement; still it is hoped, that those masters or managers of schools who are members of the church, will discern the great advantage of having their establishments thus brought with close union or connexion with the religious institutions of the country.^(b)

The schools thus formed into union throughout the Diocese, will be considered *Church of England schools*, and as such, will be recommended and encouraged by the clergy and the board: and it is confidently believed that there is that strong religious feeling amongst members of the church, that they will prefer sending their children to schools where sound religious education is thus guaranteed, rather than

(a) On this subject let me particularly recommend the Lectures recently published by the Rev. F. D. Maurice. “Is the State or the Church best able to educate the Nation?”

(b) For the terms of union and connexion, see the note at the end: and it should be remarked that, contrary to the former plan of the National Society, the *Diocesan Boards do not require that the schools in union with them should be pledged to the use of any particular list of books.*

to any other institution. And there can be little doubt that, if the scheme is cordially and zealously pursued, schools so recommended will increase and flourish; the masters will be amply remunerated; the children trained in them will, in addition to all other branches of knowledge, receive what is of higher importance than all, sound Christian instruction; the parents will have cause to be well satisfied with the moral and religious training of their children, and the glory of God will be promoted.

It is the earnest wish of the promoters of this scheme, to interfere as little as possible with the interests of existing institutions. In every instance the managers of existing schools will be first invited to join the union. Thus for instance, in Lichfield,—the central school is founded upon an establishment, which had already flourished, though on a smaller scale, and a large proportion of the boys who belonged to the former school have been admitted to the new Diocesan school. In any other case besides the central school, there would be no need of the new modelling of the establishment: schools would be admitted to union by the managers simply accepting the terms of the board. In places where there are no schools already existing, or where the managers of the present establishments refuse to join the union, and it is supposed that either no religious instruction is given, or that what is given, is of a vague and unsound description—in such places *it is the object of the board to establish entirely new institutions*, which may supply the wants of the members of the church residing in the neighbourhood, until, eventually, good Church of England schools shall be spread every where throughout the country.

Now the question is, how is this scheme to be carried out to the extent here described? *It is at once evident that it cannot be carried out without great local zeal and hearty co-operation on the part of churchmen.* However admirable the scheme; however well devised by its original movers; however great the efforts already made in many quarters to promote it; however important and encouraging the meeting held in London in June last, at which almost every Bishop on the bench was present, and more Peers and Members of Parliament than ever were collected together on any similar occasion; however satisfactory the meetings

held in different parts of the country, as for instance, those at Lichfield and Shrewsbury, in our own Diocese,—yet it is certain that the scheme can never succeed so as to make a real impression on the moral condition of the country, unless it is *locally worked out* by the Archdeacons, Rural Deans, and Parochial Clergy. And if the church fails in this scheme, to which she is committed, what is to prevent the plans of the infidel or latitudinarian party from being adopted? It has been said by a politician, well able to discern the signs of the times, that, humanly speaking, the very existence of the church, as a national establishment, must eventually depend on the success of this scheme of education.

Is it not then, I would again ask, a scheme which requires the hearty co-operation of all who revere their Church or love their country? What we want,—what the Church of England has long wanted, is a *true Church-feeling*—a spirit of ecclesiastical union. The parochial clergy act too much independently of each other; and so lose the power which united exertion would give them. Some are too much inclined to consider themselves as holders of property, who have a right to do what they will with their own; and to think that each may manage his own parish and his own school according to his fancy. Surely it is too much for any clergyman to say that he has got his own school into the best possible order, and does not want to have anything to do with Boards and inspectors. If his school is so perfect, it would be courteous in him to allow the rest of the Diocese to benefit by it as a model: if, on the other hand, it is defective, the Diocesan inspector is just the person to help him to improve it. The true church principle is to act together as a divinely commissioned body. Therefore if a clergyman has made every personal exertion to render his own school and parish as perfect as he is able, still he has not done all he might do, unless he co-operates with his brethren for the general good. If we could but learn to act heartily together, our power of doing the Lord's work would be increased an hundred-fold.

Now to show how the want of hearty co-operation must needs cripple the scheme of Diocesan education:—In order to set about providing schools for the Diocese, it is of course of primary importance to obtain accurate statistical infor-

mation what districts are at present well supplied, and what ill-supplied. On the result of such inquiries the future operation of the board must depend. With a view to obtain this information, the Board, with the sanction of the Bishop, has sent out a list of inquiries to each parochial clergyman, in order to ascertain what number of children are receiving education in each parish, and what proportion are educated at schools connected with the church, and what proportion by dissenters; also what is the opinion of each clergyman as to the wants of his particular parish or district, and how they may best be supplied; together with other similar inquiries. At the same time, forms of union were sent to be signed by those managers who desired that their schools should be in union with the board.

For a clergyman who has, perhaps, three or four sermons or lectures to prepare in the week—his own schools to look after, and his sick to visit—whose whole time is marked out for such occupations—it must be confessed that it is rather hard to receive a string of forty or fifty questions to answer, which will require him to employ a whole morning in going round his parish. Besides it is not agreeable to lay himself under obligation to the dissenting school master, by asking him for an account of the number of his scholars. And yet surely the importance of the object is well worth the sacrifice of a little time and trouble: and though it may be an irksome duty to make the necessary inquiries, *yet it is a duty.*

I am bound, as secretary, to express my thanks to many of the parochial clergy, who have sent in most accurate reports, prepared evidently with great pains. In comparison with those made, during the present year, by the Board of Guardians, some of which I chanced to see, they are as light to darkness. The returns of the Boards of Guardians were, a sad jumble indeed. Any one who has been called on to look over the answers usually sent in to printed inquiries,—no matter on what subject, or from whom the answers come,—will bear witness to the strange mistakes which are continually made. Some returns are written so illegibly that they cannot be deciphered; some so laconically, that they cannot be understood. Sometimes half the questions are not noticed. Sometimes the answers are put down in the wrong place: as for instance—*sixty schools* and *two scholars*, instead of

sixty scholars and two schools. One of the most perplexing, but not the most uncommon modes of answering is, when the exact questions are disregarded, and a mere general statement on the subject inquired about, is set down in the place allotted for "observations."

From the clergy, as being educated men, one confidently expects more accurate reports ; and so in truth their reports are, in comparison with others. Still some amendment even in these is required, in order to render their information as definite and valuable as it might be,—and no doubt will be. I trust my brother-clergymen will pardon me for complaining of the way in which some, even of *their* returns are made out. Some appear not well pleased that the questions should have been sent to them. Some refer to "elaborate statements, which they have recently made to parliamentary returns," leaving the poor secretary to send to the Speaker of the House of Commons for the necessary document, in which, after all, he will find the questions quite different from those of the board. Some gentlemen, on the other hand, are very civil, but do not give themselves time to consider the drift of the inquiries. For instance, the question is asked, "Will you be so obliging as to furnish the board with a list of the books used in your school?" to which one gentleman most obligingly answers, "yes!" The most frequent omission is with regard to the numbers educated at dissenters schools;—the clergy feeling a delicacy about making inquiries from them.

Now, if a true Church-spirit existed amongst us, a clergyman would say;—"these questions will take some time to answer, and some of them do not seem, at first sight, very important. But here is the Bishop's name, which would not be there without his authority. I have no doubt it is important they should be answered." So he will first read them over carefully to see what is their drift; and then set out through the parish, paper in hand, and put down the answers first in pencil, and if his own hand is not a plain one, he will get one of the school boys to transcribe the answers neatly. And I can assure my fellow-clergymen, by the way, that there is no reason to expect incivility from the masters of schools, if the inquiries are made in a courteous manner. I have myself been round to twenty or

thirty schools, and met with perfect readiness, from all connected with them, to furnish the necessary information.

I have dwelt on this point rather at length, because it is manifest, that on these returns the future operation of the board must be based. Besides, in those quarters where the returns are not properly made out, it is a sure proof that the objects of the Diocesan scheme are not known, or appreciated.

And now having briefly set forth the Diocesan plan, and the progress which has been made in this Diocese, and the point at which we are stopped,—I come to the practical steps, which I would venture to suggest for the consideration of those who may be induced to take an interest in the success of the plan.

It was recommended by the Diocesan board, that local boards should be formed in the Archdeaconries, for promoting the objects of the institution. This has already been done in some places;—and whatever good has been effected, or whatever information has been obtained, has been through the means of these boards, or through the personal exertions of the Archdeacons.

But it is evident that if the scheme is to be thoroughly worked out, a much more minute subdivision of labour must be adopted; and persons must be enlisted in the scheme, who are personally acquainted with the circumstances of the different localities. I cannot but hope that, at the request of the board, the Rural Deans might be induced to aid the scheme, and form local boards which shall undertake to do what is requisite in the parishes included in their respective deaneries. It would greatly forward the plan also, if Rural Deans would become corresponding secretaries with the central board. At present, a circular sent by the secretary of the central board, who is not personally acquainted with the clergy to whom he writes, naturally fails of obtaining the attention which it demands. But if the inquiries were sent, in the first instance, to the Rural Dean, and he were to forward them to the clergy in his neighbourhood, endorsed perhaps with a few friendly lines from himself,—a hint which I take from observing how completely this plan has answered in the case of the Archdeaconry of Derby—if this were done generally, I have no doubt that the clergy would take more interest

than they do at present in the subject. Then if the papers were sent back to the Rural Dean incorrectly answered, or if, owing to the illness or absence of any incumbent, no answer were returned, the Rural Dean might easily take measures to obtain the requisite information, by personal inquiries, so that the return might be sent in to the board in such a state that they might be acted on. After obtaining this preliminary information, the Rural Dean, and the local board acting with him, might be of infinite use in spreading information,—explaining the object of the board,—removing prejudices,—collecting contributions,—looking out for the fittest boys to be sent up to the central school to be trained as masters,—bringing schools into union,—extending the usefulness of existing schools,—especially by enlarging the sphere of instruction in the national schools, and adapting them to the education of the sons of the farmers; and in places where it was thought desirable to establish a new school, the Rural Dean would be the proper person to give an impulse to the undertaking.^(a)

Is this too much to ask from the Rural Deans and Clergy? If it is, let the fact be known, and some other machinery may be adopted. But I feel confident that the Rural Deans will readily undertake the office; or in the case of any one of them having so large a parish, that he is unable to give the time required for the plan, it is surely not too much to hope that in every ten or fifteen parishes there may be found clergymen or laymen, both able and willing, to render their services to the church in this her time of need.

(a) The way of establishing a new school, as already adopted in some places, is, first to obtain a proper house or room; then with a view of securing a competent master, to guarantee him a certain sum (say £100 or 150.) for three years. At the end of which time, if not sooner, the school will probably support itself. If not, the promoters of it have the satisfaction of knowing that they have conscientiously tried the scheme.

In the Diocese of Exeter, I am informed that Lord Courtenay and Mr. Kekewich have made an abstract of each return, received from the parochial clergy, on an uniform plan, entering it into a ledger, *a page to each parish*: they then copy the abstract of each parish on a separate sheet, and send back to the local board all the abstracts so made, to be verified and corrected by persons who undertake to visit each parish within the district. The ledger receives the correction, and remains as a record for the future, and all improvements will be duly entered in the page appropriated to the parish to which they belong; together with the names of the schoolmasters, the place in which they were trained, and their length of service.

I have often been struck with a fact, which may be illustrated by a game at chess. If you watch two persons playing, you shall see one, perhaps, who fights the battle with his queen and one bishop. The other brings out all his pieces, advances the pawns one by one to the attack—his knights are placed a move or two in advance, so as to cover several important points—his castles, each command a whole line on the board: and this player is sure to be the winner. The game at chess will illustrate our position with reference to the dissenters. *The dissenters have all their best men employed in the most important points.* Their ablest preachers are in the great towns; the rest disposed where their services are most useful. They are always ready for a combined attack,—wherever they see a weak point in the enemy's line, they will bring their forces all to bear on it; they will have a series of meetings, and call together their most effective speakers from the whole country round;—and, ten to one, effect a lodgement. The church, on the other hand, relying too exclusively on her establishment, and on the support of the State, has not availed herself of all the help she might,—many of her best men are buried in inconsiderable villages, while many important towns, which ought to be under the care of clergymen of influence and standing, are so poorly endowed, as scarcely to support a minister at all. Now, without recommending that the church should copy the dissenters in all their modes of proceeding; but, on the contrary, believing that many of them are highly objectionable; still I think that much might be done in order to bring the zeal and activity of her members into operation, and to render the combined influence of the church available for defence or for aggression. What a throwing away of power and influence for good is it, when each parochial clergyman confines himself to the limits of his own parish, instead of looking upon himself as a member of a divinely associated body! What an infinite number of important objects might be accomplished, if each Rural Deanery were formed into an association, acting cordially together for common purposes in their immediate neighbourhood; and united with other similar bodies throughout the Diocese, under the guidance and authority of their Bishop.

But I must not wander into this tempting subject. My

object is at present merely to offer my thoughts on the best mode of working out the Diocesan system of education, assuming, what I trust I may assume, that it is a scheme eminently conducive to the advancement of true religion, and to the honour and glory of God.

May I respectfully beg that the Archdeacons will give their consideration to the remarks which I have ventured to offer; and if they approve of my suggestions, may I hope that they will recommend them to the adoption of the parochial clergy.

Lichfield, October 15th, 1839.



The following are the terms agreed on by the National Society, on the 19th of February, 1839, and adopted by the Lichfield Board.

Terms of Union to be subscribed by Parties desirous of placing their Schools in Union with the Lichfield Diocesan Board of Education.

It is the wish of those who have the management of the School at _____ that the same should be united to the Lichfield Diocesan Board of Education. In this School,

1. The Children are to be instructed in the Holy Scriptures and in the Liturgy and Catechism of the Established Church.

2. With respect to such Instruction, the Schools are to be subject to the Superintendence of the Parochial Clergyman.

3. The Children are to be regularly assembled for the purpose of attending Divine Service in the Parish Church, or other place of worship under the Establishment, unless such reason be assigned for their non-attendance as is satisfactory to the Managers of the School.

4. The Masters and Mistresses are to be members of Church of England.

5. A Report on the State and Progress of the Schools is to be made at Christmas in every year, to the Diocesan board; and the schools are, with the consent of the

Managers, to be periodically inspected by persons appointed either by the Bishop of the Diocese or the Diocesan Board of Education.

6. In case any difference should arise between the Parochial Clergy and the Managers of the Schools, with reference to the preceding Rules, respecting the religious instruction of Scholars, or any regulation connected therewith, an appeal is to be made to the Bishop of the Diocese, whose decision is to be final.

SIGNED,

*The following Form is to be used in the case of
Infant Schools.*

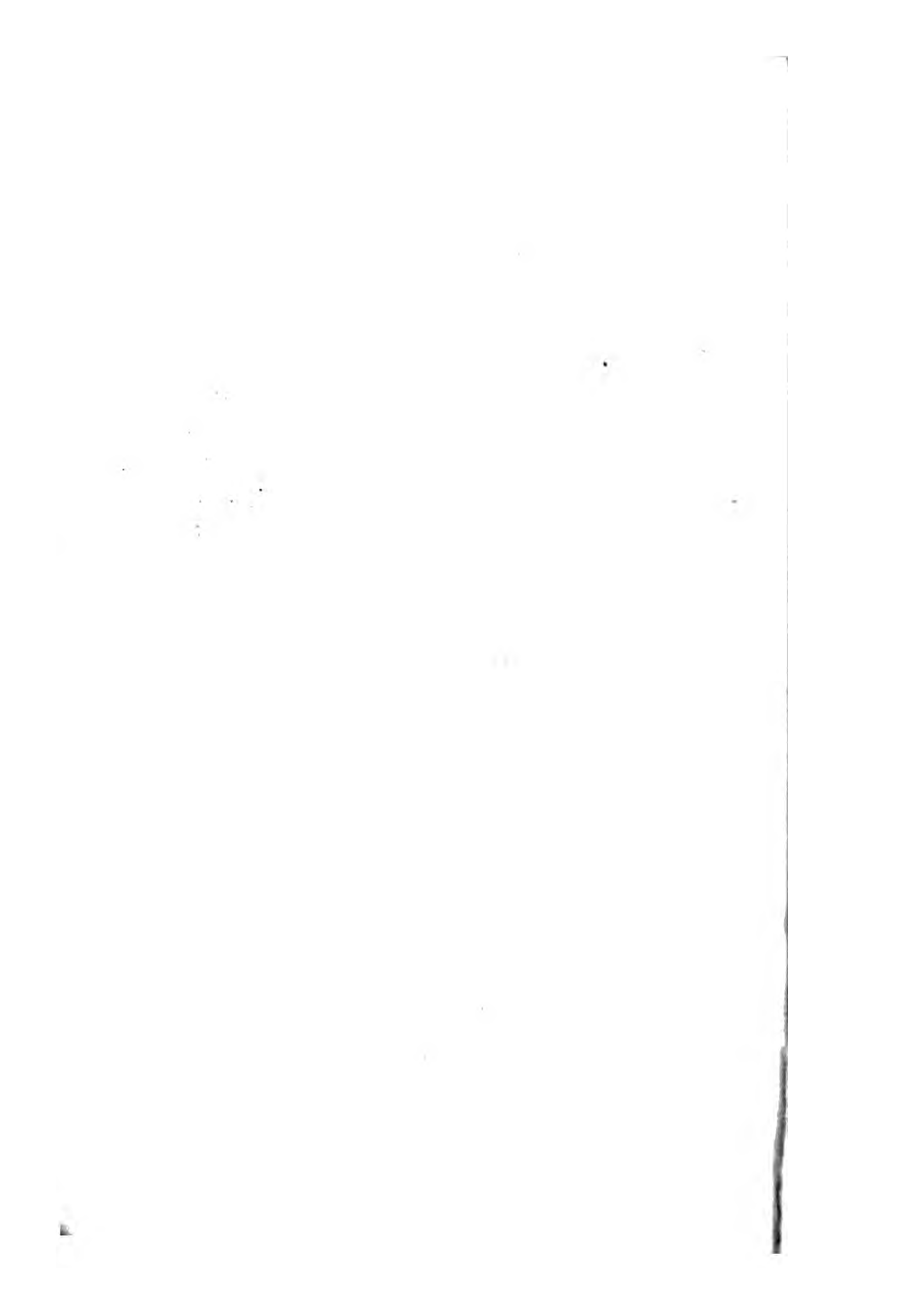
WE, the undersigned, being desirous of uniting the Infant School, in the Parish of
to the Lichfield Diocesan Board of Education,—do hereby certify, that the Education in such School is to be conducted on the Principles of the Established Church, and by the Masters and Mistresses who are members of the same:—and we further declare, that we shall be ready to report upon the states and progress of the Schools, from time to time, in the manner usually pursued by National Schools.

Signed,

*The following Form is to be signed by the Managers
of Commercial and Independent Schools, who desire
to place their Schools in Connexion with the Lich-
field Diocesan Board.*

WE, the undersigned, being desirous of connecting the Middle or Commercial School, situate at
with the Diocesan Board, declare, that religious instruction, in conformity with the doctrine and discipline of the Established Church, shall be given therein, and that the Schools will be open to the occasional visitation of the Parochial Clergy.

Signed,



THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND A BETTER TEACHER OF THE
CATHOLIC FAITH THAN THE CHURCH OF ROME ;

OR

A REPLY TO MR. O'CONNELL.

A LETTER

&c., &c.



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BY GEO. FYLER TOWNSEND,

SUB-CURATE OF ST. MARGARET'S, DURHAM.



DURHAM :

SOLD BY F. ANDREWS ; G. AND F. RIVINGTONS, LONDON.

1839.



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**F. HUMBLE, PRINTER, DURHAM.**  
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TO THE REV. GEORGE TOWNSEND,

PREBENDARY OF DURHAM,

AS A TOKEN OF GRATITUDE, RESPECT, AND AFFECTION,

THIS LETTER,

(WRITTEN IN DEFENCE OF THAT PURE BRANCH OF THE

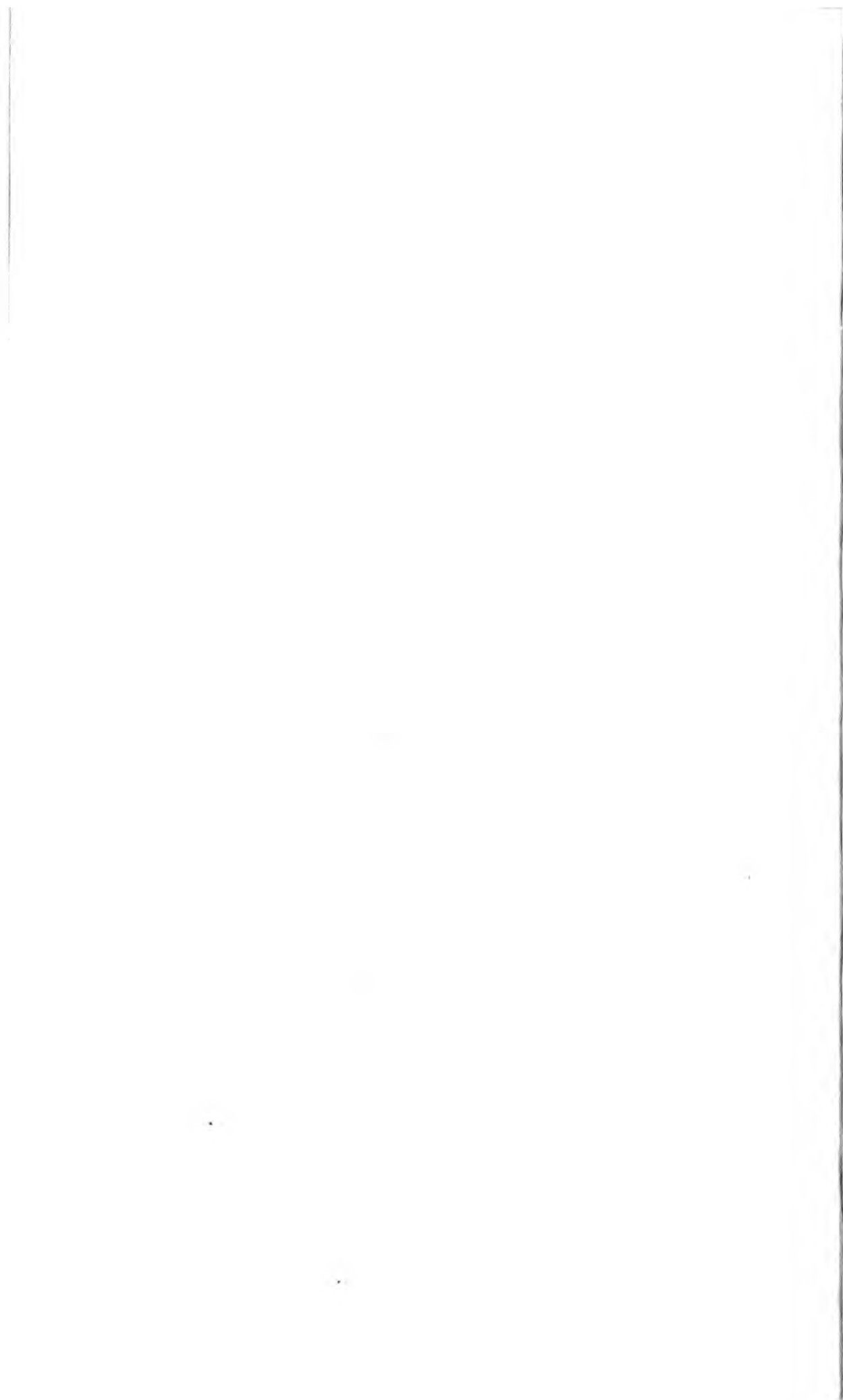
CATHOLIC CHURCH,

TO WHICH HIS LIFE HAS BEEN, AND IS DEVOTED,)

IS DEDICATED,

BY HIS SON AND CURATE,

THE AUTHOR.



TO DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq., M.P.

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A LETTER, &c.

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SIR,—I thank you for your letter. You have thrown away the mask. “The people of England” may henceforth know that the end of your career, the ultimate object of your counsels, is again to impose on them the yoke of those “*superstitious additions to the truth*,” which three centuries ago their forefathers, at the hazard of their lives, rejected and cast away. Flushed with unexpected success in the arena of political contention, you would venture, in a moment of rashness, to intrude into the precincts of the sanctuary. With unhallowed hands you would touch the ark of God. The priests, therefore, of that sanctuary must no longer trust their defence to the timid statesman, the time-serving layman, or to any of the host of worshippers at the shrine of the idol of expediency. We must no more be content to cleanse only the courts, and attend at the altar; we must mount the watchtower in Jerusalem, warn the people of their danger, prepare them for the onset of the enemy, and be ourselves the standard-bearers in the battle.

With no further apology, I shall proceed to the consideration of your letter. Allowing you a certain space for the guarded, cautious, and insinuating expressions with which you necessarily must introduce and interlard any communication made to an audience avowedly repugnant to the subject of discussion, your late address resolves itself into—

*First*; A complaint—which cannot be supported;

*Secondly*; An assertion—unfounded in truth;

*Thirdly*; A boast—which cannot be substantiated.

Your *complaint* is, “that Protestants, by their misrepresentations and calumnies, totally disfigure Catholic truth.”

Your *assertion* is, “that this Catholic truth is favored ‘by argument, history, unbroken succession, divine tradition, and the written word of God.’”

Your *boast* is, "that while Protestantism has lost all power of expansion, Catholicity is making on every side its converts."

Now, Sir, on all these points I am ready to meet you; and I trust I shall prove, to the satisfaction of the tribunal before whom you are pleased to plead—the "people of England!"—I trust I shall prove to the reflecting, upright, high-principled; the truth—honesty—Bible-loving people of England, that, as the history of the last ten years has manifested, no reliance can be placed on your statements, sworn to on oath, before a Committee of the House of Commons, when you desired the Relief Bill to pass into a law—so also no credence is now to be given to, because no truth is to be found in, the *complaint, assertion, and boast* of your present letter.

Before, however, I commence discussing the threefold division of your letter, permit me to point out to you an error or misrepresentation of which you are yourself guilty in your erroneous use of the term "Catholic." It has been my lot to converse with many persons of your persuasion, and with some members of your priesthood. They all universally assume to themselves this title. It is a title we the priests of the Church of England claim as our own. It is an appellation of honour, we will not, and have not, ceded to you. The whole and essential matter of controversy and difference between us and you is summed up in this one appellation. Those who teach Catholic doctrine are (you will allow) alone rightly called Catholics. What, then, is Catholic doctrine, is the question at issue. Catholic doctrine is universal doctrine; or the doctrines, opinions, articles of faith, which were at first universally and unanimously adopted in the churches founded in the various countries of the world during the first four centuries. That church which teaches other than these doctrines ceases to be Catholic. That, the Church of Rome has done. The far distant church to which you owe allegiance, has added the twelve articles of the Creed of Pope Pius IV. to the twelve articles of the Nicene Creed. The Church of Rome has added to the Primitive faith twelve new doctrines, not received and not taught in the canons, creeds, and œcumenical councils of the first four centuries. The Church of Rome, in enforcing as matter of faith these *new* doctrines, ceases to be Catholic. As long as the Church of Rome teaches only what is rightly Catholic doctrine, or doctrine

taught in all the churches of the first four centuries, the Church of England unites with her; for that church still teaches her members the doctrines, as fenced in by the creeds, sanctioned by the canons, and witnessed to by the fathers and bishops assembled at Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon. You sometimes complain of the term Papist, as applied to those who think their allegiance is due to a foreign hierarch. We complain of the term Protestant, as applied to the Church of England. Nothing in our acts of convocation, in our acknowledged formularies, in the authorized writings of the chief movers in our rejection of Popish errors, can be found affixing to us this term. *We continued Catholic*—and therefore, one strong proof of our Catholicity, (for the Catholic Church is and always has been a church protesting against error), we are protesters against error. With Christ and his holy apostles—with the ancient Catholic bishops and fathers, alike of the Eastern and Western churches, we protest against the errors of a priesthood who would corrupt the truth by superstitious additions; and of sectarians, who would mar its purity by their self-authorized curtailments. *The Church of England continued Catholic.* The Church of England retained the creeds, the collects, the liturgies, the episcopacy, the sacraments, as they were sanctioned by the long use of the Universal Church in those ages anterior to the invention of Romish novelties. The Church of England never departed from the unity of the faith. Her divinely appointed rulers—her bishops, priests, and deacons united with the King, parliament, and people, in casting away the dross of human additions, and in denouncing the dominion of a grasping and ambitious foreigner. The bishops, consecrated to their sees when the church was overgrown with errors, retained the same sees (and the same right of governing and ordaining therefore) when those errors were discarded and overthrown. *The nation, too, continued Catholic.* It is a fact which admits not of denial, that for eleven years the purified liturgy was joined in,—the two sacraments were partaken of,—the parish churches were frequented by, all the inhabitants of the land; when, in an evil hour, a bull, which, like distant thunder, had long hovered in the atmosphere of Rome, was issued from the Vatican. Those who still acknowledged the foreigner, returned to the external observances and superstitious ad-

ditions now rejected from the creed of their country, as unauthorized by scripture, antiquity, or the practice of the early church.

With these few remarks, and with this protest against the legitimacy of the term Catholic, as applied in your letter, I will proceed to the tripartite division it presents, and consider—

*First*—The complaint—“that Protestants, by their misrepresentations and calumnies, totally disfigure Catholic truth.” This cannot be supported.

There are some, I allow with you, calling themselves Protestants, who disfigure and disbelieve all truth. When you, however, under that epithet erroneously speak of the Church of England, I must remind you, the statements of your opinions, as brought before the attention of the public by the priests of the English Church, have been drawn from your own canons, decretals, and authorized documents, which none of your priesthood, and none of your laity, though taunted and challenged to do so, have dared to repudiate, palliate, or deny. Dens' Theology—the text-book of the Roman Catholic bishops in Ireland; the re-published decretals of Pope Benedict XIV.; the canons of the Councils of Lateran, Constance, and Trent; the catechism and creed of Pope Pius IV., are the sources, the unrepudiated sources, whence the views of the truths held by the members of your church, as set before the British people, have been extracted. The most fair mode of meeting *the complaint* in your letter is to make some statement of what you will allow to be the opinions and tenets of the church to whom you pay allegiance; and—

*Secondly*—To proceed to enquire whether the second portion of your address—whether your *assertion*, is not rightly declared to be unfounded in truth, which unblushingly maintains these statements to be favoured by *argument, history, unbroken succession, divine tradition*, and the *written word* of God. We will take from your authorized documents the three chief peculiarities of your new creed, the supremacy of the Pope—transubstantiation—the forbidding the Holy Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, and see whether these tenets are favoured by the five tests you mention.

I. You believe, concerning the supremacy of the Pope,

as follows :—“ The Roman bishop is the vicar of God and Christ—the successor of St Peter, and hath the supreme pastorship over the universal church.”—*Conc. Trid. Sess. 6, can. 1 ; also Sess. 14, c. 7.* By this authority, the Pope commands Sovereign Princes. “ We do peremptorily command Princes, Kings,” &c.—4 *Gen. Con. Lat., c. 67, 68.*

Such is your belief. *Argument* says, the safety of the governor, the welfare of the people, the existence of the state require the allegiance of each subject to the Sovereign should be unsuspected, irreproachable, and supreme. Let an obedience to a foreign potentate, civil or ecclesiastical, once supersede the attachment of the people to their own ruler, and the land becomes a prey to internal suspicions and national dissensions, and foreign cabals. *Argument* points out an antecedent improbability, that any one individual of a race so weak and peccable as ours is, should be entrusted with the privilege and power of declaring, what opinions are truly or falsely held by men as wise, and learned, and truth-judging as himself.

*History* says, on this point, Anacletus, bishop of Rome, and Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, treated each other as equals. The presumption of Victor, bishop of Rome, was totally disregarded alike by the bishops of Europe and the East, who made no scruple to resist him to the utmost. At the First General Council there is to be found no recognition of the superiority of the bishop of Rome ; but by its sixth canon, the bishop of Rome is placed on an equality with the bishops of Alexandria and Nice. In the fifth century, the four patriarchs of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch were declared to be all equal. In the sixth century, Gregory I., bishop of Rome, anathematizing John, patriarch of Constantinople, for assuming the style of universal bishop, declares that title to be “ a presumptuous, profane, sacrilegious, unchristian name.” *History* tells us, it was from Phocas, the murderer of his Sovereign, and successor to his throne, that Boniface III., bishop of Rome (606 A.D.) obtained, as his own privilege, that title condemned as unchristian by his infallible predecessor.

*Unbroken succession* tells us of the quarrels of Damasus and Ursinus—of the exhuming of the bones of Formosus, bishop of Rome, and of his condemnation as an heretic by Stephen VI., almost the next occupant of the seat of infallibility. *Unbroken succession* tells us of a



Pope at Avignon, as well as of a Pope at the Vatican—of an Urban VI., (succeeded by three Pontiffs)—and a Clement VII.—nay more—unbroken succession tells us of Christendom convulsed by the struggles and shaken by the thunder of a Benedict XIII., Gregory XII., and Alexander V. (1409)—all three equally infallible; all three equally exerting, at the same time, the proud prerogative St. Peter never exercised—anathematizing, defying, excommunicating each other.

*Divine tradition* tells us St. Jerome said, “He would follow no chief but Christ”—St. Ambrose speaks of supreme bishops in Gaul—St. Cyprian says, all bishops are equal in their episcopate—Nazianzen the elder says, “Cæsarea was and now is accounted the mother of almost all Churches on which all the Christian world casts its eye.”—(Baron Annal. 369, 372, 392,) and Chrysostom on Gal. c. II, says, St. Peter is not to be called universal bishop, and in many places calls St. Paul *τον τῆς οἴκουμένης διδασκαλον*, the Universal Apostle.

*The written word* declares that St. Paul withstood St. Peter to his face, because he was to be blamed—Gal. ii. 2. I trust, Sir, this doctrine of your creed will not be considered as sanctioned by the five tests of credibility you have yourself selected.

II. You believe concerning transubstantiation, that under the Sacrament of the Eucharist, “is contained truly, really, and substantially the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.”—*Conc. Trid. can. 8, can. 1. sess. 13.*

*Argument* says, the doctrine that maintains under the outward figure of the wafer, that the body of Christ which was born of the Virgin Mary, which suffered on the cross, which was raised from the dead, (Conc. Trid. Sess. xiii., Oct. xi. 1551) is really and substantially and locally present in the Eucharist after consecration, is wholly at variance with every human means of discovering truth. A belief which makes the same flesh and the same blood to be present at the same time in many Churches of the same nation, when the Holy Sacrament is simultaneously solemnized, is not a belief much favoured by argument. Most deeply, Sir, do I lament bringing before the public the discussion of such sacred subjects. I know full well the infidel may sneer, the profane may scorn, the weak man be offended as he reads; but, Sir, the only mode

of refuting your assertion is the method I have selected—the best answer to your letter is the manifesting that the five tests you yourself propose compel us to reject the peculiar dogmas of your creed.

*History* says most plainly, in the ancient Liturgies of the Western and Eastern Churches—the bread and the wine, the patten and the chalice were alike administered to the people. The Council of Lateran Can. (1215) for the first time, forbade the cup to the people; Pope Honorius IV. (Greg. Decret. Lib. iii., Tit. iii., c. 10,) for the first time, appointed that adoration of the wafer, in which act your communicating now principally consists.

*Unbroken succession* says, Paschase Radbert, Abbot of Corby, according to your own Bellarmine, was the first who very plainly asserts the corporeal presence in the Eucharist. He was immediately protested against by a host of writers in the Catholic Church—Rabanus Maurus, Bertram, John Scot Erigena, and Heribald. We admit and rejoice in the presence of our Lord in the Eucharist. We hold with the Old Fathers a spiritual, not a corporeal presence—not a carnal pressure with the teeth of the transubstantiated body of our Lord, but the strengthening and refreshing of our souls by the body and blood of Christ.

*Divine Tradition* informs us, that Clemens, Barnabas, Ignatius, Polycarp, in their Catholic epistles, taught the elements of the bread and wine remained the same after as before consecration, and are only in a spiritual sense the body and blood of Christ. So also taught Justin Martyr and Irenæus. Tertullian says, (cont. Marcion lib. 1) “This is my body, *i.e.*, the figure of my body.” Cyprian, “that was wine which our Lord called his blood.” *Vinum fuit quod sanguinem suum dixit.* St. Ambrose, (c. 9,) post consecrationem Corpus Christi significatur. So also Origen and Augustin. The homilies of Ælfric, used in our own Anglo-Saxon Church, mention not the corporeal presence in the Eucharist.

*The Written Word* says, “Drink ye all of this”—“the cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ.” (Luke xxiii. c., 1 Cor. x.) Whosoever shall eat this bread and *drink this cup* of the Lord (1 Cor. xi. c.) I trust, Sir, this doctrine of your creed will not be considered as consistent either, with the five tests of Catholicity you have yourself selected.

III. You believe on this point as follows,—A decree

of the Council of Toulouse (1229) says, " We forbid also that the laity should be permitted to have the books of the Old and New Testament ;" and the Council of Trent (Index Prohib. Libr.) says, " If any one shall have the presumption to read or possess it"—the Bible—" without *such written permission*," that is of the Bishops and Inquisitors, " he shall not receive absolution until he have first delivered up such bible to the ordinary." Present practice in Ireland is the best commentary on the validity of these injunctions.

*Argument* says, if the Holy Scriptures be a Revelation of God's will to his creature, to teach man his duty, and to instruct him in the mode by which he may find acceptance with his Maker—the very purpose for which those Scriptures are given, is defeated, when man is prevented reading them.

*History* says, that in Ægypt, Alexandria, Chaldea, Æthiopia, Persia, there were versions of Scripture translated into the language, and in the early centuries read openly to the people in the churches of the respective countries. When Augustin introduced the Christianity of Rome into this country he found a great portion of the Scripture translated into the Vernacular, or the Anglo-Saxon tongue. The Eastern church still gives the Scriptures to her people in their own dialect—whether it be Moldavian, Slavonic, or Armenian, &c.

*Unbroken succession* on this, as on the other points brought before you, protests against the tenet of your church.

*Divine tradition* tells us, St. Augustin (de doct. Chr., lib. 11., c. 5.,) rejoiced that the Sacred Scriptures had been far and wide (longe lateque diffusa) dispersed among the people. St. Chrysostom (in Ioan. Hom. 1.) that the Syrians, Ægyptians, Indians, Æthiopians, and innumerable other nations, translating them into their tongue (in suam transferentes linguam) learnt wisdom. St. Jerome says (in Ps. 86.) the Holy Scriptures are read of all nations, that all may understand. (Cum multis aliis exemplis.)

*The Written Word* abounds with exhortations to search the Scriptures (John v. 39., Acts xvii. 11), and thus, Sir, this portion of your creed is demonstrated to be unsupported by your five tests of Catholicity.

So all the other *peculiarities* of the Romish creed could be proved to be equally unsupported by the tests you mention. The five additional sacraments, solitary

masses, prayers for the departed, the pains of purgatory, the claims of priestly judicial absolution, auricular confession, the extermination of heretics—(Con. Cons. xix., sess. 10)—invocation of saints, the idolatrous worship of the Virgin, with its lights and frankincense, its prostrations, penances, and *prayers*, are all unsupported by the five testimonies by which you are willing your claims to Catholicity should be tried. Bishop Jewell, at St Paul's Cross, challenged your whole hierarchy to bring forward any Catholic doctor, bishop, father, or council of the first six centuries sanctioning these novelties of your creed. That challenge was unaccepted. The question to be decided by the people of England then, as now, was this—The people had a church, giving them the creeds of the Apostles, and of the first centuries—The Apostles must have known, and knowing must have declared, all truth—The people of England in that pure and reformed branch of the Catholic Church, established among them, are taught those truths declared by Christ himself, preached by the Apostles, and contained in the early creeds, fathers, and councils. Will they reject these pure sources of truth, and receive again the new doctrines you wish to reinforce upon them? Will they put darkness for light—the legends of the saints and the “hours of Mary,” for the glorious riches of an open and preached gospel? Will they prefer man to God—the priest the mass-house—confessional, and penance, to the zealous ministry, scriptural liturgy, the primitive prayers, the godly discipline, now, by God's blessing, secured to them? I have made no disfigurement of Catholic truth—I have spoken from your authorized formularies; and I would ask you again, whether your assertion is not rightly said to be unfounded in truth, when you declare these peculiar tenets of your church—the (Roman) Catholic faith—to be favored by *argument, history, unbroken succession, divine tradition, and the written Scripture*? Goliath as you are in political contests, you have but lately entered the lists of theological discussion. You may know but little of four of these high-sounding words. As a statesman, you *should* know that history accuses you—the history of Christendom accuses you—of fomenting rebellion against Princes; of plotting against the happiness of states; of a crusade against the witnesses for the truth in Piedmont—the cruelties of an inquisition—the massacre of St Bartholomew—and of a banded confedera-

cy by the disciples of Loyola, against truth, liberty, and law. I, as a theologian, can assure you, antiquity, universality, and the consent of divine traditions, and of written Scriptures, are alike adverse to the pretensions of your priesthood, the decisions of your last papal council, and to all the novel peculiarities of your creed.

*Thirdly*—Only one word, Sir, as to the *boast* in your letter “that, in all and every of its multitudinous shapes and forms, Protestantism has lost all expansive power,” “while Catholicity is making on every side its converts.”

This cannot be substantiated of the Church of England. Little more than a century after the Reformation so great was its expansive power that the exertions of its Bishops were the principal cause of expelling a Papist King from the throne of England. A few years later 50 new churches were erected in the heart of the metropolis alone. Nor in more recent days has the Church of England lost all its expansive power, when in the diocese of Chester alone during the last 11 years upwards of 112 new churches, and in the diocese of London upwards of 105 in the same period have been consecrated according to the rites of our apostolic and pure Church. True it is, the State neglects its duty in providing, according to the purest form of truth, for the spiritual wants of its people. Yet let the Bishoprics of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay—let the Bishoprics in our various colonies, all established during the last 24 years—let the worshippers of God according to our scriptural form in every corner of the globe afforded with religious instruction by the great Church Societies, bear witness to the Church of England not having lost all its expansive power.

There are, Sir, always two sides of a question; and while you boast of your converts in England, France, Germany, America, &c., to the religion of the Romish Church, other writers and travellers in those countries will tell you, there is a great under-current setting in against you; that men are discussing, awakening, and enquiring—that large numbers of the Scriptures and tracts, and religious books, are distributed in, and greedily sought for, by the various nations; and that light is springing up in men’s minds which will cause other people, like ourselves, to burst the fetters of a priesthood and a church which would enslave, debase, and rule them. I confess, Sir, to be one of those who look with alarm

and dread on your increasing numbers in this country. The man once bitten dreads the hissing of the viper. I recollect the past, and tremble for the present. I grieve at the lukewarmness, indifference, and false security prevailing in the noble and the peasant at this day. *I see tokens of the coming onset.* I perceive the marshalling of the distant armies. Your church may again lift up its head and offer to our people the cup of its abominations. Your Priests may again persecute, and the successor of St. Peter, lifting himself in his pride, shew himself to be as God. The powers of darkness and the "man of sin," may prevail for a time, but it will only be to receive a greater humiliation,—“whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming.”

My courtesy almost fails me in replying to this the second portion of your letter. I was willing, as long as I could reasonably do so, to find an excuse for your mis-statements and errors, by attributing the one to an ignorance pardonable in a layman; and the other to a bondage which forms part of the system of that foreign church of which you are the champion. I have attentively considered the statements you submit as “facts” to the English people. I have reflected, that, as a lawyer, you must necessarily be acquainted with the recorded Acts of our Parliament; as a senator, you must have studied the pages of our history; and I am led to infer you wilfully, knowingly, and purposely deceive. I believe with your eyes open, against your better knowledge, you put falsehood for truth, and call what you know to be mis-statements “facts.” Once convinced of this, courtesy in me becomes hypocrisy. With the belief, that you are either grossly and shamefully ignorant of, or else a knowing and wilful deceiver in, these statements, the language of lofty rebuke and honest indignation is more congenial than indulgence in courtesy, or expressions of respect. I again appeal to the people of England, and trust I shall prove to the satisfaction of that impartial and truth-loving tribunal, either gross ignorance or wilful and conscious perversion of truth could alone move you to assert as “historical facts,” the mis-statements which you force on their attention. I pur-

pose in this letter to shew the falsehood, ignorance, or wilful perversion of truth, contained in these propositions, misnamed "facts," and to submit in my turn, "a few historical facts to the calm good sense of English Protestants," and English (Roman) Catholics:—

*Fact I.* divides itself into two heads. The first asserts, that Augustin introduced Christianity into England. The second, that the faith and doctrine taught by Augustin was the same now taught by the (Roman) Catholic Church. Each requires a refutation.

St. Austin did NOT first introduce Christianity into England. Englishmen were NOT converted by him to that divine religion. Christianity flourished in Britain before and after the time of Constantine, A.D. 330. Christian Churches were built, Christian clergy established, Christian congregations instructed, marked, by the civilization of the people, the triumphs of the cross. Tertullian, Origen, Chrysostom, among the ancient fathers; Gildas, Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth, nay, all our own historians mention the preaching of the gospel in Britain long prior to the sixth century. St. Alban suffered in Britain during the Dioclesian persecution. British bishops were at the councils of Arles, and Sardica. The churches in Britain, in the days of Pelagius, sent for Germanus and Lupus—Gallican bishops—to help them to withstand that dangerous heresy. When Augustin landed on this island, the British church had scarcely recovered itself from the desolating invasion of the Saxons: yet it did exist—and the object of Gregory in the mission of Augustin was twofold. The Bishop of Rome was as anxious to persuade the ancient British church to adopt the customs of the West, as to induce the Saxons to forego their ancestral superstition of Thor and Woden. His object failed of success. The British bishops rejected his proposals, and told him they could neither assent to any of his offers, nor receive him for their archbishop, while they were under an oath of obedience to another. They protested, in fact, against this contemplated invasion of the liberties of their early church. They retained the customs probably derived from the Eastern founders of their church. They refused to supplant their own system of worship, by receiving, at the hands of a foreigner, that same Christian faith, which they already possessed in a more scriptural and pure form. If you were ignorant of these facts recorded by Monkish

historians, you merit censure only—if you wilfully overlook them, you deserve a far heavier condemnation.

2. The faith which Augustin wished to plant in England, was not that which the (Roman) Catholics profess this day. The three peculiar opinions of your church, (alluded to in my last letter) broached, for the first time, in a far more recent age, could not possibly form a portion of the creed of Augustin. St. Austin was the disciple of Gregory! It is probable the creed of the master would be the creed of the disciple; and so it is, that the written opinions of both these two great fathers in the early Roman church, condemn the novelties and additions which now peculiarise the Church of Rome, and which now cause her to have departed from a consistency with her antient faith.

You are now taught to believe in the supremacy of the Popish Bishop of Rome—that he has a claim to the pastorship of the universal church. Gregory I. declares the assumption of the title of Universal Bishop to be a token of Antichrist, lib. vi., c. 30. Augustin de Unit. Eccles., c. 3, denies the privilege of infallibility to the then successor of St Peter.

You are forbid to read the Scriptures. Gregory I. (epistle xi., lib. iv), appealing to laymen, commands a daily study of them. “Stude ergo, quæso, et quotidie tui creatoris verba meditare.” Augustin (de doct. xii., lib. 2, c. 5) rejoices that the Scriptures are known not in three but many languages.

You forbid the cup to the laity, and declare there is a corporeal and carnal presence in the sacrament; while Gregory (dial. lib. 1, c. 4) speaks expressly of the act of “eating and drinking”; and Augustin tells us “qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente” is a faithful recipient of that holy rite.

Thus, Sir, you will see there is an utter impossibility that these three peculiar tenets of your present creed should have been included in the doctrines offered to the British churches by Gregory and Augustin. They did not in these points teach us as you do now. The articles of our own branch of the Catholic Church could be fully proved to be true, by extracts from the writings of these two learned and illustrious men. You are deceived yourself, or you are the wilful deceiver of others, in asserting Augustin “to be a (Roman) Catholic, just as you are at present.” Augustin did *not* celebrate mass—if by mass



is meant a belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation—is already proved. Augustin did not invcke saints, or bow down before their shrines, or he would have disobeyed his master, Gregory, who commands (lib. ix., c. 9) the worshipping of images by all means to be avoided. Augustin did not pray for the dead—if by prayers for the dead a belief in purgatory is included—for he himself (Hypognost. lib. v.) declares he knows only a heaven or a hell, and of no third place. Augustin did not administer the seven sacraments, as (de doct. Christ, lib. iii., c. 9) he says of baptism and the holy Eucharist, “*Hæc sunt ecclesiæ gemina sacramenta.*” And thus, Sir, Augustin himself has declared to you that he was not in all points a Roman Catholic, as you are at the present day.

*Fact II.*—The records of the life of Augustin are brief and scanty. If his character be such as your letter describes, I can only say his *meeckness* is ably disguised in his proud desire to impose on the British Bishops the customs and perverted discipline of the Romish Church; and his *sanctity* is not apparent, at least in one instance, when to those Bishops, on their refusing his demands, he replied in words more suited to a half savage warrior than to a Christian priest—“If they would not receive peace from brethren, they should receive war from enemies.”

*Fact III.*—No argument can be found more powerfully and plainly to condemn the corruptions and additions to the truth by the Church of Rome, than an appeal to the Prayer-book of the Church of England. The Anglican Prayer-book, and the Romish Breviary, are both derived from the same origin—a service book called the Sacramentary of Gregory. Which most retains its likeness to the original? In the Sacramentary of Gregory (as with us now), the prayers, collects, and litanies, are exclusively addressed to the holy and ever blessed Trinity; in the Roman Breviary are added the litanies of the Virgin—blessed only among (not above) women—and prayers to the Saints, and even to the Cross itself,—

“O crux ave spes unica,  
Hoc passionis tempore;  
Auge piis justitiam,  
Reisque dona veniam.”

*Brev. Rom. Sab. in p. Hebd. 4 Quod.*

In the one, God is entreated through the sole mediation of Jesus; in the other, his favour is sought by the merits of the Saints, and the intercession of Blessed Mary. In the

one, lessons from Scripture alone are read to the people; in the other, are introduced legends of holy men, and narrations of pretended miracles. The service-book of which Church, then, retains greater likeness to its common origin? That of the English Church, in which are found almost the same collects, prayers, and lessons, contained in the Sacramentary of Gregory, or that of the Roman Church, interpolated, added to, and deformed? And how can a Church be said to retain a faith unaltered and unalterable, when the book containing the expression of that faith is so different and so transformed from what it once was? Pardon me detaining you here, to point out, that the present conformity of our Prayer-book with its great prototype—the service-book of Gregory, proves *not* the unchanged nature of the English faith for upwards of 800 years. A man may leave his friend in perfect health, and after some years return and find him still with his health undiminished, and his constitution unimpaired, but does that preclude his friend, in the intermediate time, having been a victim to the gout, or ague, rheumatism, or headache? Our Prayer-book (thanks be to God for his unspeakable gift), is the same now as it was 1200 years ago. While it has been purified of the errors contained in the missals and primers once used in our land, while it has renounced the invocation of saints, and prayers to the Virgin, it has still retained all that is sanctioned by Scripture, and all that was endeared by antiquity. In our service-book is displayed the faith, the prayers, collects, and litanies, sanctioned by the Church of Rome in the sixth century. According to the rites of this book, for eleven years the whole Catholic Church of this kingdom once worshipped—and in the use of it the Church of England offers up the same prayers in which all the Churches of Christendom for many preceding centuries have made known their wants and imperfections to the throne of Heaven. Oh, Sir, be you persuaded to cast away the errors, and blots, and excrescencies, the saint invocation and idol worship which, if not among the educated, certainly among the simple peasantry, make your faith so abhorrent to a Christian—and worship God according to that pure form of faith once drawn up by a bishop of the Church of Rome, and now preserved in its purity by the services of the Church of England.

*Fact IV.*—England never ceased to be Catholic. Those who were the means of restoring her true Catho-

licity were pious, virtuous, and learned men. Those were wise master-builders who, amid the frowns of a court, the prejudices of a portion of the people, the active opposition of some of the members of the same priesthood, cleansed the sanctuary, removed the defects, repaired the breaches in the walls of the Church of England. They daubed with no untempered mortar. The work of their hands, unscathed amid the contests, collisions, and enmities of three centuries—the Church of England, still triumphant over the Infidel, Sectarian, and Romanist, bandied in unholy coalition against her, bears witness to the piety, virtue, and learning of those who cleansed her altar and removed impurity from her courts. Their *piety* is attested by the pure and scriptural services they re-established by the spirituality of heart and holiness of life they universally laboured to enforce. Their *virtue* is evident in the total absence of all trace of pride, selfishness, or aggrandizement in their proceedings. Their *learning* is witnessed by their knowledge of antiquity, and their earnest desire to be found consistent with its customs. The very abuse with which they are favoured by their enemies is a tribute of the highest commendation.

*Fact V.*—Henry VIII. was the character you describe. We resign him to you. To the end of his life he was more Papist than Protestant. His being placed in the circumstances by which his divorce became desirable, may be not unfairly attributed to the system of your Church. To the Church of Rome he was indebted for his title of Defender of the Faith. You, Sir, must be well aware, the rejection of the errors from our creed was *not* the work of Henry. The whole nation—the clergy and laity; the convocation and parliament, were united in repelling the secular exactions, and casting off the religious errors of the Church of Rome. The yoke of the foreigner was too heavy to bear. Henry rather restrained than furthered the Reformation. The nation were more willing and anxious than their King to renounce the supremacy, the distant hierach, and to return to the pure faith, for the adoption of which they had long been ripening. Henry and Somerset had as little to do with the desire of the people of England for the rejecting the thralldrom of Rome as the unwillingness of Pilate to deliver up his blessed and holy prisoner, had to do with the madness, rage, and hatred of the populace who clamoured for his death.

*Fact VI.*—Upon Cranmer's devoted head you pour forth all the vials of your wrath. You make against him three accusations. 1. The first is a slander, mooted by Cardinal Pole, and repeated by Dr Lingard and Mr Butler. We reply to it thus,—Cranmer denied the Pope had any ecclesiastical authority in this realm; being consecrated to his see, he made, therefore, not a “private oath,”—but at the *very moment* of his taking the oath of office, twice at the altar of the church in the presence of a very numerous congregation, (*Cf Todd's Cranmer, p. 67, vol. I.*)—before authorized and competent witnesses, he entered a “formal protest” against his obliging himself to anything contrary to the law of God, or contrary to the most illustrious King, &c., &c., by his acceptance of the Bull for his consecration. Cranmer desired his opinions to be known—a private oath would have defeated the very object he most desired to effect.

2. Cranmer, it is well known, was the only courtier bold enough to write to Henry in behalf of the unhappy Queen, Anne Boleyn. Deserted by all her friends, he alone espoused her cause, asserted her innocence, and entreated Henry on her behalf. Cranmer expressed not the wish of his own heart, or the dictate of his own judgment, but the deliberative sentence of a judicial court, when he was officially compelled to pronounce against the victim of Popish treachery the sentence of an unmerited condemnation.

3. The Church of Rome has marked its sovereignty over the nations of the Earth by its hecatombs of victims, and still retains the will, but not the power, to shed the blood of those who differ from it. This complaint against Cranmer ill suits the mouth of a son of that Church—but even here the accusation may be palliated. Joan of Kent was kindly reprieved a year in hope of her recantation. Cranmer was (perhaps purposely) absent at her final condemnation, and was only induced at the earnest request of the Privy Council to petition Edward to sign the warrant for her punishment. The established usage of the corrupted Church, the opinions of that, and even of a later age (as witness the wholesale murder of St. Bartholomew, which caused public rejoicings in the conclave at Rome), may be pleaded as an apology for this act of Cranmer's. George Van Paris also suffered under Edward; of any especial interference by Cranmer in re-

gard to him, there is no contemporary statement or evidence.

*Fact VII*—The contrast between Augustin and Cranmer is wide, distinct, and striking. Augustin came to an ignorant and unlettered court, most probably on the invitation of Bertha, the Queen of the kingdom. Favourably received by Ethelred, lodged in a palace, attended by a splendid retinue, he was regarded rather as the ambassador of a prince, than the introducer of a new religion. Cranmer, raised from among his equals to greatness, often frowned upon by his own court, opposed by many of his own priesthood, uncertain for an hour of the favour of his Sovereign, surrounded by bitter personal enemies, avowed himself from the beginning of his career the reformer of the abuses in the state and religion of his country. Augustin requested but a nominal conformity to certain outward customs, and allowed almost the very continuance of their ancient observances (Bede Eccles. His., lib. 1, c. 30; Greg. Ep. lib. 9, Ep. 71.) Cranmer demanded a total renunciation of certain favoured and cherished superstitions. The one claimed to convert by miracles; argument and truth were the weapons of the other. The reward offered to the convert by the one, was the favour of the monarch; the reward proposed by the other was a chance of persecution and reproach. The one threatened death to those opposed to him; the other lived in a constant fear of being himself the next victim of the scaffold. The fame of the one is blazoned by the legend, the adulation, and the praise of a long string of credulous and admiring encomiasts; while the character of the other is blackened and defamed by bigoted libellers of his motives, and partial misinterpreters of his acts. The pride of Augustin in intruding on the seven British Bishops an obedience to the customs of his Church, may not unfitly be contrasted with the meekness of Cranmer in listening to the suggestions, and being willing to consider the advice of those whose opinions differed from his own. While the cruelty of Augustin in wishing to wield the sword against those who refused to receive his mandates, may be contrasted with those many occasions in his life, in which Cranmer interposed his prayers and interest with Henry to save Fisher and More, and others, who not only differed with him in religious opinions, but were the personal enemies of his policy and council. Such, Sir, is the contrast between

Augustin and Cranmer. I am proud to be the apologist of the latter. If any man was ever placed in trying and difficult circumstances, Cranmer was that man. If ever the destiny of the English Church and nation was dependant on the decision of one man, Cranmer was that man. If ever it were truly said of any one, it may be truly said of Cranmer—that “his vices were the vices of his age, while his virtues were peculiarly and pre-eminently his own.” The name of Cranmer will ever be revered by the English people. His life and his death were alike instrumental in restoring to them a Scriptural Prayer-book, an open Bible, a preached Gospel, and apostolic Church. The nation and the Church of England are indignant at the insult which would invite them to renounce the Creed, and depart from the faith restored to them by that same Cranmer; whose memory they delight to honour, and to whose just merits they are purposing to erect a monument worthy of his learning, sufferings, and virtue.

Thus, Sir, I have considered as briefly as I could do so, the statements you submit as “historical facts” to the English people. I have, I trust, thoroughly proved their fallacy, perversion, and untruth; and I only appeal to any candid student of history if I make use of language too strong when I declare you must be either grossly ignorant, or else a most wilful perverter of the truth, in calling such mis-statements as these “historical facts.” Whether ignorance or wilful misrepresentation be your excuse, the calm good sense of the English people will ultimately reject your invitation, and spurn your advice.

You may, Sir, perhaps send out another theological manifesto. It may be even now on its road from Maynooth to Derrynane. You may address another lay epistle to the people of England. You may again endeavour to seduce them from their allegiance to that Church which teaches them to worship the God of their fathers in spirit and in truth. If such be the case, I shall for one be always ready to meet you. As long as my pulse throbs, or my heart beats, I shall lift up the brazen trumpet of warning, and tell my fellow-countrymen of their danger, if they are found longing after the idols of the nations round about them. I see with fear and alarm the old superstition is reviving. The favour of the Court, and the indifference alike of priest and people, strengthen

it. I believe the nation has betrayed the great trust reposed in it—the high privilege of being the defenders of the ark and truth of God. “Whether they will bear or whether they will forbear,” prophet after prophet, and warning after warning, will be sent to them. As one of the sworn defenders of the sanctuary, whether condemned as a bigot, or branded as illiberal, I will, as long as life is spared to me, be foremost in opposing the errors, counteracting the efforts, and guarding the people against the sorceries of her who in days gone by bewitched the nations.

II. I conclude with offering, on my part, to the English nation, a “few historical facts.”

*Fact I.*—The bishop of Rome, by the Council of Constance, and the general Council of Lateran, claims the power to depose kings and absolve subjects from their allegiance. Pope Innocent III. deprived John, King of England, of his crown; and Pius V. absolved the subjects of Elizabeth from their allegiance. The Pope still claims this power.

*Fact II.*—The bishop of Rome claims, by Council of Constance, by the fourth Council of Lateran, and by the Decretals of Benedict XIV., re-published in Ireland, the power to deliver up to the civil government to be put to death, as heretics, all who refuse to join the communion of the Romish Church.

*Fact III.*—The Roman breviary or prayer-book is now commanded to be used in all nations universally, and prayers by the Council of Trent are alone allowed to be said in the *Latin tongue*.

*Fact IV.*—The Council of Trent, which every member of the Romish Church is bound to believe and obey, declares that the priest can, by his own power, pardon sins. The pardon of those sins can be purchased by money.

*Fact V.*—The Index of the Council of Trent, of equal authority with the Council itself, declares, that no one should read the Scriptures, save with a permission in writing, which permission is seldom or ever granted. Now, Sir, I have extracted these statements from your own authorized and acknowledged documents.

Such are the tenets of your church—such the belief of those whom you would call true Catholics—and now, by your favour, I would ask alike, the whole English and Irish nation, whether they are willing to allow again a foreign bishop to stand between them and their Queen,

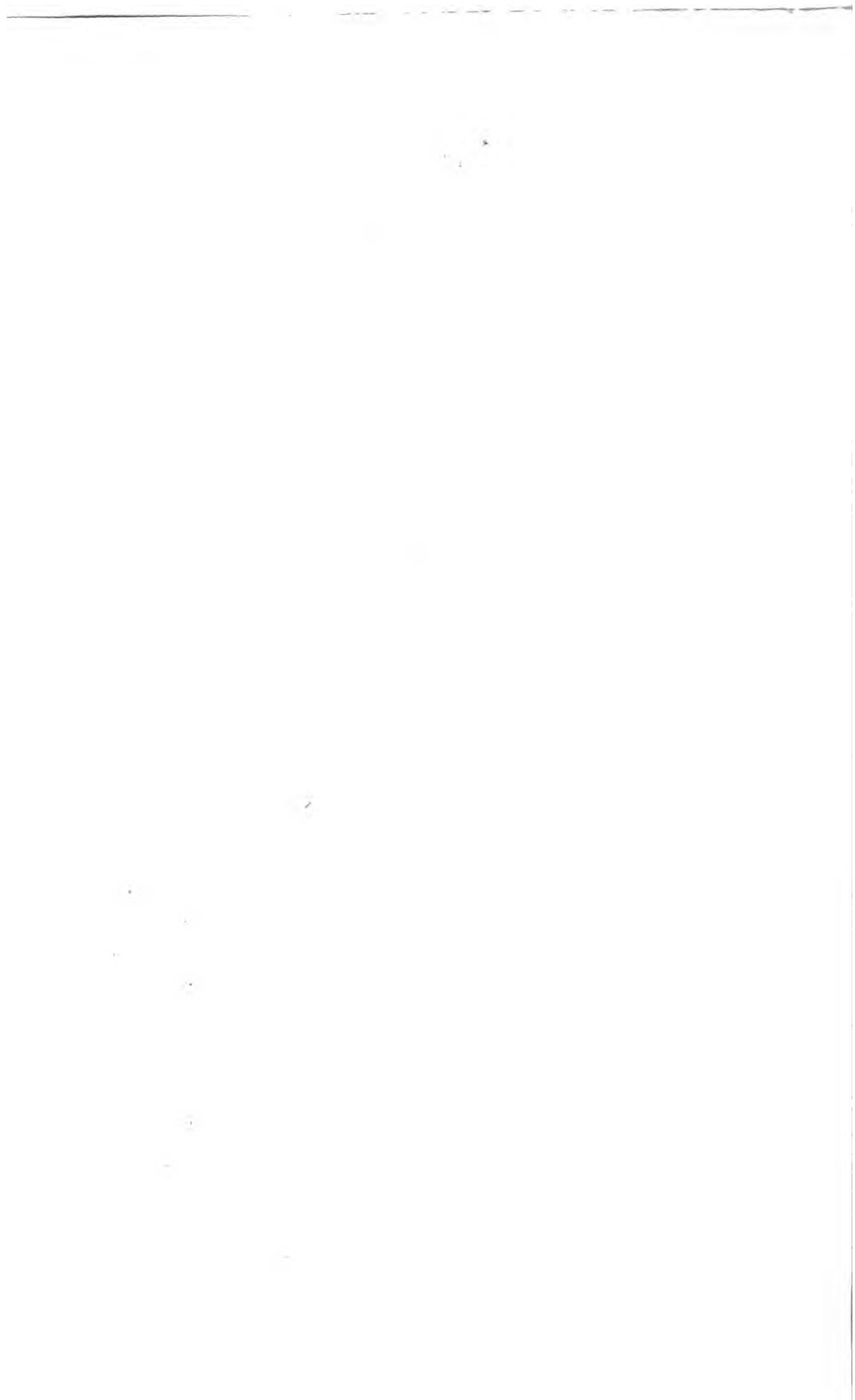
and lay down and take up their loyalty and obedience at the bidding of another? Are they willing again to see the fires of Smithfield and Oxford rekindled through the land, and their countrymen perish as heretics in the flame? Are they willing to close their scriptures, to change their scriptural prayer book for the service of an unknown tongue—to bend the knee in the confessional, and receive pardon from the lips of a priest, ere they dare to hope for acceptance and favour with God? If they are prepared to do this, let them yield to your invitation—if they are not thus prepared—let them again expel from their senate, the enemies of their faith and nation!

I am, Sir, yours, &c., &c., &c.,

GEO. FYLER TOWNSEND.

Durham, September 26, 1839.





REASONS,  
WHY  
EVERY MEMBER OF THE  
CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

WHETHER RICH OR POOR,

SHOULD JOIN THE

**SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE  
GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.**

—  
BY  
A MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY



—  
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“For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.” Isaiah xi. 9.

“And He said unto them, Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned.” St. Mark xvi. 15, 16.

“For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, though He was rich, yet for your sakes He became poor, that ye through His poverty might be rich.” 2 Corinthians viii. 9.

## REASONS, &c.

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THE Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts has, for 140 years past, laboured to extend to our fellow creatures in foreign lands the blessings which we ourselves enjoy through the knowledge of the Gospel of our blessed Saviour. I am invited to assist in this charitable work; why ought I to accept the invitation?

1. Because all mankind are by nature “dead in trespasses and sins,” and “there is none other name under heaven, given among men whereby we must be saved, but only the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.” (See Eph. ii. 1. Acts iv. 12.)

2. Because our merciful Saviour, before He returned to Heaven, commanded that His Gospel should be preached throughout the world “TO EVERY CREATURE.” (St. Mark. xvi. 15.)

3. Because by that command our Lord made known His will, that every human being should be made acquainted with what He has done and suffered for their salvation.

4. Because, notwithstanding that command, many millions of my fellow-creatures, yea, even the larger part of mankind are still ignorant of His blessed name.

5. Because our Lord intended that His own disciples (and I am one of them) should in every age be the propagators of His Gospel.

This is proved, both by the words of Jesus Christ and His Apostles, and by the conduct of the first Christians ; for the Apostles, in obedience to their holy Master's command, not only went forth themselves, to preach the gospel throughout the world, but they taught the whole Church, that it was their duty to assist them in this merciful work,—*some*, who had been ordained to the ministry, going abroad to tell far and wide, that the Son of God had died and risen again for sinners ; *the rest*, staying at home and helping them both by their prayers to God and by the money, which they contributed and sent out for their support in strange countries. Thus, St. Paul and Barnabas and Silas and Titus and Timothy, and many others (mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles) joined them in their endeavour to propagate the Gospel in foreign lands ; *they* planted and watered, and God gave the increase. Thus too, when far away, they exhorted those who staid at home, to help them by their prayers, saying, “ Brethren, pray for us, that the word of God may have free course and be glorified.” (2 Thess. iii. 1. Eph. vi. 18-20.) And thus, these helped them not by their *prayers* only, but also by their *money*. For St. Paul, when ministering at Thessalonica, at Rome, and at Corinth, was in great part supported by the money collected and sent to him by distant Churches. “ Even in Thessalonica (he says) ye sent once and again unto my necessity.” “ I have all and abound, having received of Epaphroditus, the things, which were sent from you.” (Phil. ii. 25, iv. 10-18, 2 Cor. ix. 9.)

Thus I learn, that *all* the first members of Christ's Church,—not the Apostles only, nor the Bishops, Priests and Deacons only, but *all* were propagators of the Holy Gospel.

I must imitate them in this ; and if I cannot go abroad myself to preach the Gospel, I can

at any rate give my money and my prayers to help them that do go.

6. Because our Saviour plainly taught us all this duty, when He instructed us to pray, "THY KINGDOM COME:" for how can our Heavenly Father's kingdom be established on earth, except through the knowledge of the Gospel of His dear Son? So that by making this our *prayer*, He has made the performance of it our *duty*.

7. Because we confess this duty in our *public*, as well as in our *private* prayers, beseeching God that "His saving health," that is, the Gospel, which alone can save and heal,—“may be made known unto all nations.” (See Prayer “for all sorts and conditions of men,” and also the 3rd Collect for Good Friday.) And vain are all my prayers for others, unless I *act* towards them *in the spirit of my prayers*.

8. Because England was once a land of idolaters, utterly ignorant of the true God, and if God had not put it into the hearts of Christians,—or if those Christians had not listened to the stirrings of His Spirit,—to come and preach the Gospel to our forefathers, *we* perhaps had been to this very day, sunk in gross idolatry, and ignorant of our only Saviour.

9. Because my Saviour has taught me to do to others as I myself would be done by.

These are reasons, why I should join *some* Society of Christians, who send Ministers of Christ to preach the Gospel in foreign lands.

My reasons for joining *this* Society are,

10. It was the first Missionary Society ever formed by the Church of England. All the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church and nearly all the Clergy belong to it, and it has never done any thing to forfeit the confidence of the Church.

11. The Bishops and chief Ministers of the Church being at the head of it, is my best security that its affairs will be properly administered.

12. Although its object is, to bring the WHOLE WORLD to the knowledge of Christ, it makes it its' duty to *begin* with those nations, who through the Providence of God, are my fellow-subjects. And I believe, that when God joined these many nations to the crown of England, His purpose was that through the Charity of English Christians, they might be brought to the knowledge of their Saviour.

13. To some of these countries many thousands of my fellow countrymen have gone to settle, driven thither by their poverty at home ; the greater part of these are as Sheep without a Shepherd, having no Christian Minister to instruct and confirm them in the faith, into which they were once baptized : These are members of the Church of Christ ; and so a portion of God's chosen people ; and many of them are now earnestly crying to us, " come over and help us," but if we refuse, there is danger, lest they lose this heavenly desire, and " perish for lack of knowledge." Can I refuse to help them, and be blameless, when God has commanded me to " do good unto all men, but *especially* unto them which are of the household of faith ?" (Gal. vi. 10.)

For instance : In Upper Canada there are more than 600 thousand souls, nearly all of whom have gone out from Great Britain ; there is little more than one Christian Minister for every ten thousand souls, and these ten thousand scattered over the space of an English County. Many there and elsewhere never see a Christian Minister for years together. A Clergyman, who lately travelled round the Island of Newfoundland, met with families, who once worshipped God in England, but who since they settled

there, had not even seen a Christian Minister, some for ten, others for twenty years. "Ah Sir," said these poor people, as they thought of the blessings they once enjoyed in England, "when we are sick or sad, no one comes to visit us; no one cares for our souls." And the Bishop of Nova Scotia states, that as he passed along the sea coast of his large Diocese, preaching the Gospel and administering the holy Sacraments, many persons followed him in boats from place to place, eager to make the most of an opportunity, which, alas! came so seldom.

In New South Wales there are many thousands of my fellow-countrymen, who for their crimes and for our peace and safety have been sent thither from this Christian country, and who with their families will live on and die in their sins, unless we send them Christ's Ministers to call them to repentance. Sad indeed is the case of those poor unhappy convicts! During the time they passed in an English prison, they were daily visited by a Christian Minister, who told them of the mercy, which for Jesus Christ's sake God has promised to every penitent sinner; but *now* many of them *never* hear those happy tidings, and are never warned of the yet greater misery, which awaits them, "except they repent:" and thousands of them have in consequence grown worse and worse, from the day they left our shores. Their country has thus inflicted on them *a double punishment*: for it has not only sent them far away from their homes and their friends, but, by not sending with them Christian Pastors, it has, as far as man can see, *put it out of their power* to attain that blessed home and that never ending happiness, which through the unbounded grace of their God and Saviour, they *might* have hereafter attained in Heaven. Thus has our country taken to itself a right, which belongs to God alone; it has punished those unhappy men and women,

not in time only, but in eternity, not in this world only, but also in that which is to come ! Surely our Country has greatly sinned in this ; and *we* are every one of us partakers of that sin, if we do not all that in us lies to bring back those lost and long neglected Sheep to “the Bishop and Shepherd of their Souls.” (1 Peter. ii. 25.)

But this is not all :

In the West Indies there are nearly a million of people, who *were* slaves ; we have lately given them liberty ; they are no longer slaves, but free men ; we still owe them “the liberty, with which Christ has made *us* free.” (Gal. v. 1.)

And in the East Indies, there are nearly 100 millions of souls, who lie “in darkness and the shadow of death,” given up to gross idolatry, and knowing nothing of the precious blood shed for them by their Redeemer.

In these and the other foreign countries, which are a part of the British Empire, and are thus *especially committed to the care of the Christian people of England*, this society has long laboured and is still labouring zealously and faithfully “in the Lord,” to spread the knowledge of the Gospel. It employs 268 Missionaries ; of whom 159 are in British North America ; in New South Wales, 32 ; in the East Indies, 27 ; in the West Indies, 48 ; at the Cape of Good Hope, 2. Besides 178 Catechists and Schoolmasters, paid entirely or in part by the Society. But what are these among more than 100 Millions of souls, inhabiting countries 30 times as large as England ? Truly “the harvest is plenteous but the labourers are few !”

How then can I call myself a CHRISTIAN, but especially AN ENGLISH CHRISTIAN, and refuse to help this Society ? If I am rich, then I am without excuse ; and if I am poor, neither may poverty hinder me from joining in this



work of mercy ; for all that my God requires of me is, that I “ be merciful *after my power*,” saying, “ if thou hast much, give plenteously ; and if thou hast little, do thy diligence, gladly to give of that little ;” and for the comfort of those that have little, it is written, “ if there be first a *willing* mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not.” (2 Cor. viii. 12, St. Mark xii. 41-44.)

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Christian Reader, you are earnestly prayed seriously to consider these reasons, why you should assist in the holy labours of this Society. All that is asked of you is, that you DO YOUR BEST : but this is asked, nay more, is required of you in the name of your God and Saviour. Do it then freely and cheerfully, and then, though it be little, God will graciously accept your offering, and bless it to the benefit of your own soul, and the souls of many others, for whom, as well as for you “ Christ died.”

By *regularly subscribing* something *weekly, monthly, or yearly*, you will be rendering the Society real help ; because they will thus know what they may every year expect from their supporters, and how far they may increase their valuable exertions ; and, to show you how much is in the power of *even the poorest Christian*, it has been reckoned that, if *every family* in our Church would give *one half penny* a week the whole sum would amount to £200,000 a year. This would at once enable the Society to send nearly TWO THOUSAND instead of two hundred Missionaries TO PROPAGATE THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.  
 “FREELY YE HAVE RECEIVED ; FREELY GIVE.”  
 (St. Matt. x. 8.)

THE END.

JACOBUS VERITAS'S  
LEGACY  
TO THE  
FRANCHISED PORTION  
OF THE  
BRITISH EMPIRE.

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"VERITATIS SIMPLEX ORATIO EST."

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*SECOND EDITION.*

LONDON:  
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Stamford Street.

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1839.

## ADDRESS.

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### “THE LANGUAGE OF TRUTH IS SIMPLE.”

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The contents of the following Papers, Nos. 1, 2, 3, and 4, are especially addressed to the Franchised portion of the British Empire. They are written purposely for their information upon points and events not altogether easy of access. There is nothing in them intended as a personal reflection upon the creed or conscience of any individual whatever; the intention is only to rouse them, and point out their errors in judgment, as regards the Economy of the British Legislation,—whether Conservative, or Destructive Principles, are the *better Policy* in the Government of the British Empire.—Viewing this vast Empire under all its peculiar circumstances; viz. The *Constitution* is the admiration of the whole World; Its *Naval Powers* have no parallel; Its *Military Prowess* is second to none; Its *Liberties* are *Unbounded*. Yet, at this moment, the Empire is distracted by Faction, showing a ferocious spirit;—like unto the factions in Jerusalem, as recorded by Josephus,—and bordering upon the fate attending the Revolution in France, as depicted by Burke. We have these warnings before us, notwithstanding which, we have our Johns of Gischala, Simons and Eleazers of Jerusalem, our Dantons, Robespierres, Marats, &c., of France, ready to plunge us into the same distracted state as either Jerusalem or France, or perhaps both. Our greatest safeguard, therefore, lies in the power of the Elective Body, to save the Country from a similar fate attending it—

No. 5 is a necessary Confutation,

No. 6 is a necessary Confirmation,

No. 7 is a necessary Explanation—

let them attentively read the warnings given in these papers, and follow the simple language of Truth by

JACOBUS VERITAS.



No. I.

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BRITANNIA'S IMPASSIONED CALL TO  
THE ELECTORS OF THE BRITISH  
EMPIRE.

*IN FOUR NUMBERS.*

Hereditary Freemen, if you would still be free, yourselves must hurl the Infidel and Tyrant Monsters from off the soil of British liberty ; or trample under foot, to lick the dust, the Necks of Barbarous Traitors !

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THE ADDRESS OF A BROTHER VOTER OF LONG STAND-  
ING TO THE FRANCHISED PORTION OF THE BRITISH  
EMPIRE.

THE fate of the British Empire is now most decidedly placed in the hands of the franchised portion of the People ; and at the same time, the fate of their own franchised honors will stand or fall by the result of their future votes. It is of no consequence by whom these honors are held in perpetuity, whether Church Protestant, Dissenting Protestant, Roman Catholic, or Jew. If they mean to claim their equal share of the blessings of the inimitable British Constitution, they must all join in one bond, to support its admirable even-handed justice, (the envy of the world,) against all agitating Levellers and Destructives.

This new franchised qualification, so lately acquired by the Reform Bill, must be considered in the light of a new freehold property to nine-tenths of the present voters. To be franchised, was considered by our ancestors, and it is so recorded by all historians, as the greatest honour that could be conferred upon citizens, for it establishes in the franchised a birth-right inheritance, as shareholders in common in the governing department of the state : they are avowedly, as it were, the first germ in the economy of the British Legislation ; they are, in fact, the primitive organ which conveys the political nucleus of the Nation to the Parliamentary functions. Burke and others therefore hold it petty treason, to obstruct or refuse a franchised citizen, burgess, or freeholder, the honor of recording his vote. Solon made it compulsory for a citizen to record his vote. Yet, my Brother Electors, notwithstanding all this, Death has been lately inflicted upon some of the freeholders, citizens, and burgesses, at the late contested Elections ; also personal insults, abuse, and threats have been offered to a shameful extent, by a desperate host of Radical Levellers and Popish Agitators, even in the face of day, in several parts of the Empire. Disfranchisement has also been threatened, ere the Reform Bill has attained its seventh year, by some of the very Members who were seated in the last Parliament BY YOU, and by some also who have been returned to the new Parliament BY

YOU; because, forsooth, you have not returned their friends and companions in anarchy, which prevents them from going the whole *Hog*, in the destruction and spoliation of all that is most sacred to the interest and feelings of a true Briton: viz., the Church and State, King, Lords, and Commons, and finally our glorious Constitution. These, I say, are all to be swamped by this horde of Radical Levellers and Popish Agitators, or all your franchised honors are to be violated and annulled to make way for franchised Ruffians of the worst character.

#### REFLECTIONS FOR THE COUNTY VOTERS.

O'Connell says, the cursed £50 Chandos Voters must be done away!—Clay says, the cursed Corn Laws must be done away!—in which curses they are most strenuously joined by Hume, and numbers of the present and late discarded Members. *These two objects gained*, then the £50, and all other freehold County Voters would soon be annihilated:—therefore, in this case, every freeholder, yeoman, leaseholder, &c., must put their Veto against every Whig Radical Candidate that offers, or they will most assuredly seal their own, and the whole Country's destruction: their property of every description, and their new franchised rights, will soon be entirely swamped. Their only security to save themselves, is, by returning to Parlia-

ment in every County, upon all opportunities, well-known true Conservative Members, stanch supporters of the Protestant Ascendency, and unflinching protectors of all our National and Constitutional rights, as handed down to us by our illustrious ancestors.

### REFLECTIONS FOR THE FREEMEN AND HOUSEHOLD VOTERS.

Leader, Molesworth, and others, are particularly bent upon swamping all the respectable voters in every City and Borough in the Empire, by threatening to increase the household suffrage, by franchising every occupier of hut or hovel,—and if that won't do, to establish universal suffrage,—because you refuse to become slaves to the beck and call of a horde of Infidels, Radicals, and Popish Agitators, even before you have enjoyed the honor of the blessed Reform Act seven years!—you are all to be swamped. Now, Brother Freemen and Franchised Householders, every one of you *must* have some property at stake,—your franchised rights, as they now stand limited, give you the *power* to protect that property in defiance of them; but this extension of the franchised suffrage would most assuredly destroy all that power which the Reform Bill has given you. See with what pride your ancestors speak of their franchised rights, which they bled to establish, although they have

been long mouldered into dust. The bleeding charters obtained by their deeds of glory are now before you, and why should you think so little of what they thought so valuable, and why think less of your property and franchised honors than they did? No, rather exceed their ancestral English spirit, and maintain those rights which you now possess. Spurn the Infidel and Radical Intruders from your doors,—go fearlessly and boldly to the Poll, and vote for the man of your choice; that Candidate which is in common the best Friend to the Poor, will make the best Legislator in common for the People's rights,—and without strong Conservative principles in the Members of Parliament, no Government can stand long; for when you lose your franchised rights again, you will lose all that is worth inheriting.

I am now come to a point, which will require some pithy Historical remarks; the truth of which must shake both the Electors and Members, supporting the present Ministers, to the heart's core: it is, the exposing of a scene of striking ingratitude by the franchised Dissenters and Jews. I ask these voters, whether there can be a greater paradox, than the fact, that they are supporting by their votes the returning to power of their ancient and bitter enemies, and the counter effect of such vote is in direct opposition to their long-tried friends, and benefactors in religious liberty? I ask, was



there any Dissenting Meeting-House known, until after the glorious Revolution? Has not the British Empire been governed by the liberal principles of the Reformed Protestant Church ever since? Has not a part of that liberty been free toleration for every one to worship in their own way? Even the then intolerant Papists were not refused a place for their church, nor were the Jews refused British ground for their place of worship to stand upon. Was not the property of the Jews immediately made secure, which before was frequently seized by force by the intolerant Papist government? How many various creeds now receive full licence to worship God according to their own conscience, without fear and molestation! Now, how long have these friends and benefactors of the Protestant Church supported free toleration? Ever since the year 1688, a course of 150 years. Who was it for centuries before denied this free toleration? The See of Rome and its English adherents. Who is it now, that is attacking the Protestant Church, and seeking its destruction? The Irish Roman Catholic, assisted by these very Jews, and Dissenters, who have received protection from the cruel persecution of the See of Rome, for 150 years,—which these joint infidels are now doing all in their power to *pull down*, by the most sacrilegious words, and actions of demons,—Pharisaically saying, her ministers have become corrupt. Would it not be more in

truth to say, the Dissenting Ministers began corruptly? I maintain it, they did, save and except the immortal John Wesley. The charge against the Church of England Ministers being corrupt is an infamous perversion of Christian truth: the promoters of this charge will no doubt meet their desert, which springs from the most inveterate of these Dissenters. I am sorry to see the Society of Friends stand foremost in opposing Conservative principles, which it is their duty to support. Of all the Dissenting body, they are the weakest, and the least able to protect themselves; yet they are hand and glove with the Roman Catholics, and support them with all their civil rights, who would, in return, dissolve their very Society. The privileges which this body of Dissenters have received from the Protestant Government deserves a better return of gratitude, than to be in unison with Catholics and Jews to destroy it. If they should succeed, they will find an early destruction. - With all the keenness of the Jews, they don't seem to know which way their best interest leads them in the political hemisphere: it must be more to their advantage to support Conservative Protestant principles than to oppose them; in pounds, shillings, and pence argument, they must lose, by joining Levellers. What is to become of their diamonds, &c. if they assist in breaking down the boundary that secures all their property? Their trade must cease, when they

assist in giving the wealth over to Papist plunderers. I advise the Jews to look who, and where, their best customers are to be found; and I venture to say, they will find them amongst the very people whom they oppose, with all their civil rights; by whose means they have enjoyed 150 years of solid security, in their property, and religious liberty. Perhaps this is too long a peaceful state for Jews, and they prefer persecution: if so, they are going the very way to have it returned ten-fold, and they may depend upon it, the moment the Protestant Church is destroyed, that moment will their fate be sealed in Britain, as fatally as it was in Jerusalem: their interest will be shaken all over the world, and they will have to sit down and weep another 2000 years.

To conclude, I say there is not a Dissenter of whatsoever creed he may be, but will bitterly rue the day that enables any Ministry to grant to the Roman Catholics all the power they want, in the Civil and Religious Government of this Country.—Then indeed will Rachel mourn again without being comforted, because her children are not.

JACOBUS VERITAS.

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## No. II.

HAVING in my last paper made an especial appeal to the franchised portion of the Empire, I now appeal to the respectable and influential non-franchised portion of it, to join in one civil and religious compact body: for one and all must see the time is arrived when all parties must open their eyes to the passing events in the political hemisphere, or in a more quaint saying, we must all un-kennel and show our front. In fact, all parties will find it necessary to look steadfastly towards their own individual interest, so as to secure and hold fast that property which by birth or personal acquirement they may be possessed of, or be entitled to: they must also be prepared to defend their possessions against all levellers and rebellious renegadoes, and against all hypocrisy and false premises. There are but few that cannot plainly see the fate of all our national rights at the present crisis, as most likely to be destroyed, unless the hand of Providence should kindly ward off the blow, I mean the destruction of our glorious Constitution, by a horde of miscreants, calling themselves Liberals, Radicals, Dissenters, and Roman Catholics, who are bolstering up an imbecile Ministry, gasping in their last struggle, and with uplifted hands battering down the Protestant Church of the British Empire, to please a few of the agitating Dissenters and Catholics, (for, to the

credit of very many of both these creeds, they are ashamed of their agitating brethren.) It is of no matter of what politics a man of property, in the middle sphere of life is, unless he stands forward to defend that property, he will soon lose it, by the violent agitation even of some of his own party; the agitators will pay no more regard to their own party's property, than they will to their adversary's. The leading agitators' great object will be to rob the State Coffers, not the private purse; they will send their low emissaries to do that, and *they* will be sure to make an indiscriminate plunder. It has been publicly declared by the heads of the agitating Catholics and Dissenters, that they will never rest or be satisfied, until the Church and State are separated; now how is this to be effected?—viz. the Irish Church was to be destroyed, by an Appropriation Clause in favor of Roman Catholics; the Irish Municipal Corporation Funds are to be put into the Catholic hands also, according to the dictation of Dan O'Connell and his tail. The Abolition of the English Church Rates are to be first effected, by the spoliation of the Church Property, by the rack-renting of that Property to the lessees or tenants. Now, were the first two bills to be carried according to the dictation of the Ministers' *Master, Dan O'Connell!* and the latter according to the dictation of Messrs. Divett, Baines, Hume, and Co.—then, I say, no property in England or

Ireland would be worth five years' purchase. For if the inheritance of property so sacred as the property here described, and which has been entailed upon the Church from time immemorial, is now to be violated, and become a prey to infidel spoliators, then we may say good bye to all the inheritance of the British Empire. And what is the most extraordinary thing, is, it is not within the chance of possibility that any one person in the middle sphere of life can be one farthing the better, even providing the three bills did no mischief in their working; but on the contrary, the carrying of them would be certain destruction to the Empire, without the chance of one penny benefit to any individual.

The stand that must be made against these national levellers, is, for every person of the least property, and who are enfranchised or not, to be up and stirring, and join in the struggle to return such Members to Parliament, as will do their utmost to protect and secure all the property of every class in society, hereditary or personal: no doubt but very soon the very supporters of the present levelling Ministry will be glad to come over to the Conservative party for the protection of their property, but how much better is it for every individual in the British Empire to defend his own property while it is in his power, by legal means to do so. Look at the downfall of all the ancient cities and powerful states: what would the Jews now

give to reinstate *Jerusalem*? The like with Rome, Greece, Carthage, Macedon, &c. &c. They all fell by the treachery and imposture of their citizens, often by the craft of a few, and sometimes by the craft of one individual; witness Jerusalem, by John of Gischala.

If the Jews had been aware of the treachery of John of Gischala, in all probability the Temple, if not the City, would have been saved by Titus. The true character of John will be a great lesson for the franchised of this country, and shall be given in the next paper: his hypocrisy and vague promises to the Jews were like unto many of the present agitators here; it spoke of liberty, riches, and honors. Now, where are the liberty, riches, and honors of the Jews in Jerusalem, or in any of the above-named cities? Why, mostly under the plough-share, or covered with the sand of the desert, never to rise more. Such will be the case in Great Britain if the franchised portion of its inhabitants does not purge from the Senate-house all levellers. What can be more dreadful than the apathy of franchised persons, to allow a few crafty and vicious agitators to sap the very foundation of the finest Constitution in the world?

Brother Voters of all classes, follow my example. I have been enfranchised for nearly forty years; I never allowed myself to be canvassed, I never accepted of one farthing, or bit or drop of refreshment; but

when within due reach of the hustings, I followed Solon's law, I always appeared as a volunteer. I made my own choice of those I intended to vote for, and as nearly as I possibly could I chose the good old English Gentleman,—the kind-hearted friend to all around him; the liberal lord of his own vineyard, who pays the best wages to his labourers, and governs his household by the wisest and mildest laws; who dispenses to every man equal justice, and helps him to maintain his birth-right inheritance; a strong supporter of Church and State; of unbounded loyalty to his King; and one who approaches his Church with christian-like reverence, as an example to all around him. This character I always consider will make the best Legislator in the British Senate. I always shun an infidel; for he that has no fear of God, has no love for man.

It is highly necessary to remind the Conservative Voters the danger it is to the Conservative cause, to remain neuter at this awful crisis: the apathy of a few will often lose the Election of a good Conservative Candidate. No such fault can be attributed to the Whig Radical party; on the contrary, many defunct Radicals, at the late Elections, have actually risen from the dead and recorded their votes,—which nothing but a Committee of the House, and the Speaker's warrant, can send these *shroud-walking voters*,\* and their votes, back to

\* Many dead men's votes were polled at many of the last elections.



the grave again. No doubt his Satanic Majesty had some concern in this job. The apathy of voters was well guarded against by Solon:—see extract.

JACOBUS VERITAS.

*An Extract of the Law of Solon, applicable to the Law of Elections in the British Empire.*

By the law of Solon, those persons that in public differences and dissensions did not declare themselves of one party or the other, but waited to see how things would go before they determined, were declared *infamous, condemned to perpetual banishment, and to have all their estates confiscated*, Solon had learned, from long experience and deep reflection, that the rich and powerful, and even the wise and virtuous, were usually the most backward in exposing themselves to the inconveniences which public dissensions and troubles produce in society, and that their ZEAL for the public good does not render them so active and vigilant as they should be in the defence of it: *so that the just party* being thus abandoned by those that are capable of giving more weight to it by their *union* and concurrence, become more unable to grapple with the audacious and violent enterprises of a few daring innovators.

To prevent this misfortune (which may be attended with the most fatal consequences to a state)

Solon judged it proper to force the well-affected, by the fear of greater inconveniences to themselves, to declare for the just party at the very beginning of seditions, and to animate the courage of the best citizens by engaging with them in common dangers.

By this method of accustoming the minds of the people to look upon that man as a *traitor* that should appear indifferent to, and unconcerned at, the misfortunes of the public, he provided the state with a quick and sure resource against the sudden enterprises of wicked and profligate citizens. So much for Solon.—Vide *Rollin's Ancient History*, Vol. II., Book 5, page 270.

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### No. III.

I NOW proceed to give a short sketch of that impious character, John of Gischala; also of Simon and Eleazer, as portrayed by Josephus, in the Fall of Jerusalem, to be seen in his 4th Book, chap. 4th, which happened in the first century of the Christian Era. These three horrid characters were the heads of three factions; John was by far the most desperate wretch: but it is a sad thing to say, that in the nineteenth century we have far more than three such desperate characters to contend with, who are endeavouring with all their might to commit the same desolation in this country. I beg leave to

draw the attention of every Briton, whether franchised, or not franchised, to the very authentic writings of Josephus on this subject: if the 4th, 5th, and 6th books could be read, they would draw many tears from the stoutest hearts. *The Extracts are given in the language of L'Estrange.*

Josephus introduces John of Gischala just at the time Titus was before Gischala, when John ran away from that city into Jerusalem, which he entered early one morning; when, in answer to questions put to him by the citizens, how things were going on in the country, he answered them with gross and infamous *lies*; that he had not run away, but that he and his party were come to help them to save the city, when in fact they had run away in the night. John soon places himself at the head of a desperate set of Thieves and Murderers, of which Jerusalem was then full, and after proving himself a great traitor to Ananus, the High Priest, who was heading the popular and Conservative party, collected to attack a faction, called Zelotes. Josephus in his 4th book and at the end of the 5th chapter, gives John the following character.

“The popular party at this time carried all before them; but *John of Gischala*, the fugitive before spoken of, spoiled all again. He was a false, crafty wretch; ambitious beyond measure; an enemy and a traitor to the public of a long standing. In

order to his ends, he began by making himself popular, by setting up for a Patriot. No man so assiduous at Council with Ananus, in the day-time, as himself; nor any man so careful of the guards and watches at night. And he was at the same time so necessary a spy for the Zelotes, that there was scarce a thing escaped his knowledge; and what *he* knew, *they* knew so soon as he could tell it them. And for the better disguise of his pretended zeal for Ananus and the people, he was most officiously nice and forward in all his respects to the High Priest, and the great men he had to do withal. But it so fell out, that the very over-doing of his part laid him under a jealous eye; for it was too much to be *true*, and too much laboured to be *natural*: beside, that the flatteries were too gross. Another thing that increased the suspicions was this,—he thrust himself into their Councils still without being called.—Ananus found all his secrets were betrayed, and none so likely as John to do it. But this wretch had played his game so artificially, and was so rooted in the good opinion of several great men, that there was no thought or possibility of removing him from his post: so that they could think of no better expedient of putting him to the test, than to give him an *Oath of Faith and Secresy*, to keep all the people's counsels, and to serve them against all *Rebels*, to the utmost of his *power*. *John made no difficulty of swallowing this*

*Oath*;\* and Ananus and his people, as little of believing him without any further *scruple*; and thereupon, *they did not only take him immediately into their Counsels, but sent him soon after upon a Commission to the Zelotes, with proposals of Peace,* (for the Zelotes had profanely taken possession of the Temple.) The thing Ananus feared was, lest the Temple should come to be defiled with the blood of the Jews, and the blame laid at his door." "*This perfidious Impostor, John,* went his way to the Zelotes with quite another story; and told them, that the Oath he had taken was so far from being against them, that, on the contrary, it was much in their favour. I have, says he, run all manner of hazards for your sakes, in the care I have taken to inform you of all the designs and practices of Ananus and his party against you. But I am now to tell you, that neither you, nor I, were ever in so great danger as at this present time, if God in his providence does not avert it. For *Ananus hath prevailed* with the people to send deputies to Vespasian, to desire him to come away forthwith, and to take possession of the city; Ananus having ordered the people to purify themselves the next day, to the end that, under a pretext of Religion, they might, either by fair means, or by foul, get into the Town. But I do not find, says

\* Look at these few lines, and see how closely they have been imitated by the Beggar-man.

John, under all their circumstances, how they should be able to hold out long against such a prodigious number of men. But however, as God hath been pleased to order it, I am deputed at present to bring you a project of Peace ; which in truth is no other than a trick of Ananus's, to hold you in hand with amusements of a treaty, and then to fall upon you by surprise, when you think yourselves most secure. But as to what you are to do now, you have no other chance before you, that I can see, than either to cast yourselves at the besieger's feet, or to call in a Foreign force to your rescue. For, says John, if you are taken, the very memory and conscience of what you have done, (appear as penitent as you please,) put you out of all hope of mercy ; beside, that criminals prove the worse many times for repentance, over and above that the thirst after Revenge increases with the power of taking it with security. Consider again, what are you to expect from the friends and relations of those you have slain, and for the dissolution of their laws and customs. Not but here and there a single man perhaps may have some sense of humanity and tenderness ; but what will that avail against the impetuous violence of a brutal multitude ? This discourse of John's startled the people, which was a thing he aimed at. He then took some of the heads of the Zelotes apart, and gave them some false touches of Ananus's cruelties,

and made a false statement, representing the implacable malice of Ananus's heart towards the Zealotes, when, in fact, Ananus's heart was really bent upon Peace to save the Temple."

The blood that was spilt in this civil slaughter amongst the Jews was dreadful, through this perfidious monster John. The spectacle, in fine, was so dreadful, that it made the living envy the dead—but the wretch was aiming at Sovereign power.

In book 5th, chap. 3rd, Josephus says, "The ambitious head of John of Gischala was grown now too big to conduct itself with any thing less than Sovereign power (a freak he had had a long time in his head). He then left the Zelotes, and went over to a new party, called Anti-Zelotes. But the people, upon deliberation, came at last to a resolution, rather to stand the worst, of a war with the Romans, than to perish under the infamy of making themselves voluntary slaves, under the yoke of John of Gischala."\*

Book 6th, chap. 1st, has the following heading: "Three factions in Jerusalem.—Eleazer began the breach, by setting up the Zelotes against the People.—John of Gischala put in for himself.—A fight betwixt John and Eleazer.—An encounter betwixt John and Simon.—The deplorable state of Jeru-

\* Had this treacherous wretch been slain on his entry, Jerusalem might have been saved: for he was, like most leading traitors, an elegant Speaker and dreadful *Liar*.

salem, that has neither humanity left in it, nor conscience.—The march and order of Titus's army.”

Then again book 6th, chap. 16th, has this heading: “John advances from pillage to sacrilege.—The very race of the Jews rooted out.—Six hundred thousand dead bodies carried out of the city.”

This number died by the sword, pestilence and famine.

It is not for the horror, but the length of the 8th chap. 7th book, which prevents my giving it in full: the heading may in some measure suffice to create exertion enough to prevent a civil war in this country.—It is thus worded:

“A mother dresses and eats the flesh of her own son.—Cæsar innocent upon the whole matter.

“Her name was Mary; she came from beyond Jordan; she was of the House of Hysop; she was rich and well born; she fled with others, and took Sanctuary in Jerusalem, before it was besieged.”—This horrid act was the consequence of a severe famine.

The 17th chap. 7th book, states the number of the prisoners taken by Titus, at the fall of Jerusalem, to be 97,000.—“The number of the dead was 1,100,000: the greatest part of them Jews by nation, but not natives of Judea; many having come to celebrate the Feast of the Passover.—John and Simon prisoners, and with 700 all proper handsome men, were transported into Italy, for the grace and



glory of the triumph.—Simon was led in a rope, and slain on the day of triumph, according to the custom of the Romans; and John was kept a prisoner for life.”

At the end of the 18th chap. are these words, by Josephus: “The Ruins of the City were laid so flat, that the place looked as if it had never been inhabited. This was the end of the Jerusalem faction; a mad and seditious People: and this was also the end of the most glorious City of the Universe.”

It is necessary not only to state, but to show from Josephus’s own pen, that Titus did all he could, both to save the City, and more particularly the Temple. In the 9th chap. 7th book, “Titus advises with his officers about the Temple; some for one thing, and some for another. But Titus for saving it.” In the 13th chap. same book, Titus, in an harangue to the Jews, says, “And is not your country miserable enough yet,—do you think, good people? (says he.) Will you never be brought to a sense either of your own weakness, or of the Roman power; but like so many beasts and mad men ruin your people, city, and temple, all in one: and yourselves too?”

Here is enough to make every true Briton shudder; and if the fact was not on record, no one would believe that three such wretches could, by any possibility, have accomplished so much destruction, which Josephus has so clearly authenticated:—of which these extracts are not 1000th

part. The subject of the next paper will be to prove that we are soon very likely to be in something like the same situation, unless we unite to check *the desperate acts of the factious of the present age.*

JACOBUS VERITAS.

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No. IV.

IN the last paper you have, as recorded by Josephus, the Horrid and Destructive Fall of Jerusalem, with the true characters of the Factious Leaders, whose main object, it is plain to be seen, was Plunder and Sovereign Power, and whose main success was owing to the apathy of the Executive, as well as the People in general, notwithstanding so many divine warnings, the last by the Great Redeemer himself.

I now appeal, in this fourth paper, to the General Body of the British Electors, in the shape of a warning voice collected from the writings of Solon, Josephus, Junius, Burke, and Fisher Ames,—five of the most able advocates for Conservative Governments that can possibly be brought before you. Their invariable advice is to shake off all apathy, and to make a good choice of all Public Functionaries, who are the best inclined to Public good, who are the most stedfast supporters

of all National rights, who despise Innovation, and, above all, those who detest Faction. Burke and Fisher Ames both say, "There is nothing really excellent in any Government, which Faction does not represent as old in abuse."

Junius on the Constitution says, "But the Laws and Constitution are the general property of the subjects. Not to Defend is to Relinquish; and who is there so senseless as to renounce his share in a common benefit, unless he hopes to profit by a new division of the spoil?" To the House of Peers he says, "As Lords of Parliament you are repeatedly called upon to condemn or defend the New Law declared by the House of Commons."

The following Extracts on Reform, by Burke, should be engraven on the mind of every Franchised Briton.

"Our oldest Reformation is that of Magna Charta. You will see that Sir Ed. Coke, that great oracle of the Law, and indeed all the great Men, to Blackstone, are industrious to prove the pedigree of our Liberties. They endeavour to prove, that the ancient Charter of King John was connected with another positive Charter from Henry the First, and that both the one and the other were nothing more than a re-affirmance of the still more ancient Laws of the Kingdom." "In the famous Law of the 3rd of Charles the First, called the Petition of Right, the Parliament says to the King, Your sub-

jects have inherited this 'Freedom,' claiming their Franchises, not on abstract principles, 'as the Rights of Men,' but as the Rights of Englishmen, and as a Patrimony derived from their Forefathers." —Pp. 45 and 46.

" You will observe, that from Magna Charta to the declaration of Right, it has been the uniform Policy of our Constitution to claim and assert our Liberties, as an entailed inheritance, derived to us from our Forefathers, and to be transmitted to our Posterity; as an Estate especially belonging to the People of this Kingdom, without any reference whatever to any other more general or prior right. By this means our Constitution preserves an *Unity* in so great a diversity of its parts. We have an Inheritable Crown; an Inheritable Peerage; and a House of Commons; and a People inheriting privileges, franchises, and liberties, from a long line of Ancestors."

" A spirit of Innovation is generally the result of a selfish temper and confined views. People will not look forward to Posterity, who never look backward to their Ancestors. Besides, the People of England well know, that the idea of Inheritance is a sure principle of Conservation, and a sure principle of Transmission, without at all excluding a principle of Improvement. It leaves acquisition free; but it secures what it acquires. Whatever advantages are obtained by a State proceeding on these

Maxims are locked fast as in a sort of Family Settlement, grasped as in a kind of Mortmain for ever.”  
 “By a Constitutional Policy, working after the pattern of Nature, we receive, we hold, we transmit our Government and our privileges, in the same manner in which we enjoy and transmit our property and our lives.”—BURKE,—pp. 47 and 48.

The following Extracts are from Fisher Ames\*. Fisher Ames says, “By removing or changing the relation of any one of the Pillars that support the British Constitution, its identity and excellence would be lost,—a Revolution would ensue. When the House of Commons (in Cromwell’s time) voted the House of Peers useless, then a Tyranny of the Committees of the Commons’ House sprang up.” He says, “The English Nation have had the good sense, or more correctly the good fortune, to alter nothing, till time and circumstances enforced the alteration, and then to abstain from speculative innovations.” Look, my Countrymen, at the innovations which are constantly attempted to be enforced by every Tom Fool that can get a seat in the House. Fisher Ames again, on Faction:—“As Property is the object of the great mass of every Faction, the rules that keep all property sacred will be annulled, or so far shaken, as to bring enough of it

\* Fisher Ames on Democracy, edited by Ewbank, published by Parker. This book is worthy of a place in every Public or Private Library and Reading-room.

within the grasp of the dominant Party, to reward their partisans with booty. But the chieftains thirsting only for dominion, will search for the means of extending or establishing it. They will, of course, innovate, till the vestiges of private right, and of restraints on public authority, are effaced; until the real people are stripped of all privilege and influence, and become even more abject and spiritless than weak." "*The People, it will be thought, will see their error, and return. But there is no return to Liberty.* What the fire of the Faction does not destroy, it will debase." "Every Faction that may happen to rule will pursue but two objects:—its Vengeance on the fallen party, and the security of its own power against any one that may rise to contest it."

Let our Democratic Faction read what Fisher Ames says upon Democracy, viz.—

"A Democracy cannot last. Its nature ordains that the next change shall be into a Military Despotism—of all known Governments, the most prone to shift its Head, and the slowest to mend its Vices. The reason is, that the tyranny of what is called the People, and that of the Sword, both operate alike to debase and corrupt, till there are neither Men left with the Spirit to desire Liberty, nor morals with power to sustain Justice. Like the burning pestilence that destroys the human body, nothing can subsist by its dissolution but vermin." "The

truth is, and let it humble our *pride*, the most ferocious of all animals, when his passions are raised to a fury, and uncontrolled, is *Man*; and of all the Governments, the worst is that which never fails to excite, but was never found to restrain those passions; *that is Democracy*. It is an illuminated Hell, that in the midst of remorse, horror, and torture, rings with festivity; for experience shows, that one joy remains to this most malignant description of the damned, the power to make others wretched."—*A Voice of Warning*. Chap. xi. page 181, by FISHER AMES.

“Accident may give rise and extent to States, but the fixed Laws that govern human actions and passions will decide their progress and fate. By looking into History, and seeing what has been, we know what will be. It is thus that dumb experience speaks audibly; it is thus that witnesses come from the dead and testify.—Are you warned? No. Are you roused? No. We lie in a more death-like sleep than those witnesses. The chief hazard that attends the liberty of any great People, lies in their blindness to the danger. A weak people may descry ruin before it overwhelms them, without any power to retard or repel its advance; but a powerful Nation, like our own, can be ruined only by its blindness, that will not see destruction as it comes; or by its apathy and selfishness, that will not stir

though it sees it. Our fate is not foretold by signs and wonders; the meteors do not indeed glare in the form of types, and print it legibly in the sky; but our warning is as distinct, and almost as awful, as if it were announced in thunder by the concussions of all the elements."—FISHER AMES.

Well, Brother Electors, what do you say to all this? Will not the truths here stated in these four papers awaken you? Are not the warnings here marked down, clearly shown to be of Divine origin? And is not the finger of Providence plainly to be seen in the destruction of Jerusalem, as much for a warning to posterity as a punishment for the iniquities of the Jewish people, and for the destruction of nearly the whole of the Jews then living within its walls,—when 1,100,000 fell by the sword and famine, and 97,000 were taken prisoners? We are equally warned now, as they were then: it only requires for us to be as blind for the same fate to befall us. Our greatest warnings now are in the League at Lichfield House, and the Dinner at Freemasons' Tavern on the 28th March, 1835, led by a scion of the House of Russell, to overturn the Protestant Church and State; which, as Lord Morpeth said, as Chairman of the Dinner, in his address to Lord John Russell, his ancestor, Lord William, had spilt his precious blood upon the scaffold for the establishment of the Protestant Religion. These two events ought to



serve as warnings to us, and salutary warnings they indeed are.—Look at the Babel crew that were assembled at these Meetings, viz.: High Church Whigs,—Low Church Dissenters,—Infidels,—and Roman Catholics, of the most ferocious spirit.—I say, shall we allow a degraded Russell of the present age, for the sake of a few quarters' salary, to level with the ground the Protestant Altars, which the blood of a virtuous Russell, and also of a Sydney, established? I think I can respond, No, No. I shall just call to your memory the many Infidel expressions made within the walls of the British Senate House, by a number of its Members of the late Parliament; and inform you, that some of the same are returned again to the next Parliament. Therefore, British Electors, everything that is dear and respectful to the honoured memory of your departed ancestors, and also for the prosperity and interest of your posterity, as regards the Protestant Church, is centred in your efforts to purge the Senate House of Commons from Infidels, and levelling, factious Members; the great necessity of which is so ably laid down in the Extracts from Solon, Josephus, Junius, Burke, and Fisher Ames. Let no future Elections pass by without bringing to your mind the advice of

JACOBUS VERITAS.

No. V.

TO THE PROTESTANTS

OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE.

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A PLAIN and simple confutation of the fallacious charge, in which the Protestants are accused of robbing the Roman Catholics of the English Churches and Cathedrals, and the Revenue belonging thereto: this confutation is founded on Historical facts; and it is high time that such an unfounded charge should be rebutted, when, in fact, the English Christian Church is here proved to be anterior to any Roman priest visiting the British Isle: for the Gospel was preached in Britain nearly as soon as it was in Rome.

The Antiquity of the English Christian Church may be dated 1800 years back.

In less than 200 years from the birth of Christ, there were in Britain 28 Bishoprics,—viz., 3 Archbishops, and 25 Bishops.

To begin with the earliest writers.—St. Gildas says, the Gospel was preached in Britain before the defeat of Boadicea, the Queen of Iceni; and Euse-

bians says, the apostles preached in Britain. It is also proved that St. Paul preached the Gospel in the furthest corner of the West, (from Rome,) which is Britain. In the year 170 of the Christian Era, Theanus was Bishop of London, and St. Peter's, Cornhill, was his first Church. At the same time, Sampson was Bishop of York, and there was also a Bishop of Chester. In about the year 300 of the Christian Era, St. Alban and others suffered martyrdom in the defence of Christianity, on the spot where now St. Alban's stands, and St. Alban was buried upon the top of a hill. In the year 314, a Council of Christian divines was held at Arles, in France, when three of the English Bishops were delegated to the Council, which took place nearly 300 years before St. Augustine, the first Romish Priest or Monk, set his foot in England: for it was about the year 600 that Augustine came into Britain, which is the first appearance of Romish interference: he found a Christian Church in Canterbury, called St. Martin's, and Augustine preached in it. There was also another Christian Church at that time in Canterbury, called Christ Church. This Augustine was sent into Britain, by Gregory, Bishop of Rome, to induce the English Bishops and Clergy to put themselves under the especial care of the Romish Church of which Gregory was Bishop; but they refused to do so, which enraged Augustine, and in the true spirit of the Romish

Church, Augustine applied to Ethelfred, the Saxon King of Kent, to assist him with his army, to compel the English Bishops and Clergy to submit to the see of Rome, which Ethelfred did, and a battle was fought at Chester, when 4200 British Clergy were barbarously massacred in that encounter. Still the British Clergy did not submit then ; nor was the British Church brought under the ascendancy of the Church of Rome until the 12th century, when, from that time to the 15th century, the British Church was in Popish bondage, and under the ascendancy of the Pope of Rome.\* Still the Cathedrals and Churches of England, with all the revenues belonging thereto, have always been in the possession of the English people, although that unnatural claim for the appointment of the ministers and preachers of the churches, &c. was allowed for a time to belong to the see of Rome. The severity of the Popish Bulls became so intolerant, that the King, and his English subjects, were often under an interdict from Rome, and the churches were often shut up, for the least possible offence given to any one of the papal clergy, which offence was generally no other than the refusal to pay their arbitrary demands for money. This severity was not only practised in this country, but in all parts of the Catholic world. At last, up starts Luther and others, whose writings and doctrines made a grand

\* From the Churchman.

stir in all parts against this barbarous crew of the Romish episcopacy ; and with the assistance of the 8th Henry, and the general voice of the English people, this tyranny of the popish creed, and also of its plundering acts, became disputed in England ; and at last the Crown succeeded in displacing all the popish preachers, in all the cathedrals and churches throughout England. This was done in the reign of the 6th Edward. In the reign of Mary the Roman Catholic preachers were again placed in their old situations ; but in the reign of Elizabeth the change from Catholic to Protestant preachers was again effected, and has remained so fixed to this day. During these changes, the cathedrals and churches have ever continued the public property of the English people, and the revenues, whether tithes or endowments, were drawn from English property ; the congregations were English subjects, both before and after all these changes of preachers ; the communicants and hearers were in both cases the very same people after the Reformation as before it. Then where did the robbers spring from ? If the people only changed their creed and preachers, they still held fast their birth-right inheritance in their church freeholds, and they still paid the same tithes under the English law. They only shook off the power of the Romish episcopacy from interfering any longer with the religious worship of England as then Reformed. The cathedrals and

churches still remained the public property of the same people; the freehold never changed hands, the people only changed their creed. Even the remnant of those who adhered to the Catholic creed were never refused admittance into their old places of worship, though not under popish priests; but they were allowed to follow their own creed, under their own pastors, in places of worship founded by themselves, which liberty the Catholics refused to persons of the Reformed Religion while they held the supremacy from the see of Rome.

#### A CASE IN POINT.

Supposing a chapel belonging to an individual, or by the subscription of many, was built for a congregation of Socinians, and after a time they simultaneously protested against that creed, and changed their preacher, and their choice fell upon an Independent preacher, and they all espoused that faith; could it be said that the Independents had robbed the Socinians of their property, when they were the self-same congregation, praying in the same chapel, of which they were the owners, now as before?

Therefore, by the same rule, because priests and monks came from Rome, and preached Christianity in Britain, in the British places of Christian worship, that did not make the freehold of the churches, &c. the property of those priests or monks, nor make them the property of the see of

Rome; and when, in the course of time, the people got tired of popish superstition and plunder, they chose a reformed religion, they still held fast the possession of their sacred edifices, which freeholds they had been in possession of from time immemorial. Now, this must be an *Irish* way of committing a robbery : viz. to be said to rob *yourselves* of that property, which has been handed down to you by a long train of ancestors, and actually become the birth-right inheritance of the English people for 1800 years, 600 years of which was prior to the first Romish monk, St. Augustine, setting foot in the British Isle, and 1200 years before the Romish church actually gained the ascendancy; which ascendancy was never supported by one farthing from the see of Rome, the whole revenue being drawn from British subjects, and British wealth; the Romish church not forgetting to draw her Peter's pence, &c. so long as she had the ascendancy and control of the revenues. *For heaven's sake, never let an Englishman repeat, "that the Protestants have robbed the Roman Catholics of the Churches, &c."*

JACOBUS VERITAS.

No. VI.

THE SCRIPTURAL ORIGIN  
OF  
TITHES.

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ACCORDING to the inspired writings of Moses, Tithes are as clearly established by Divine authority as the Ten Commandments: the latter were delivered by the Lord himself into the hands of Moses, from Mount Sinai, engraven upon tablets of hewn stone, to be placed by Moses in the Temple of the Tabernacle. And when all things were ready, the Lord ordered Moses to raise the Tabernacle, that it might be furnished with the holy things necessary for the service of prayer, as fitting the House of God. Then Moses and Aaron received further commands from the Lord to appoint the Priests and Levites, and to give them full charge of all the holy things belonging to the Tabernacle; and also to charge them to perform the services of the Tabernacle according to the ordinances of the Lord. The Children of Israel were ordered by the Lord to offer a tenth of the produce of the land, as an heave-offering unto the Lord, which was to be reckoned as the corn from the threshing-floor, and as the fullness of the winepress. And the Children of Israel offered a tenth



of the produce of the land as an heave-offering, as the Lord had commanded them. And the Lord gave it unto the Levites as an inheritance to them for ever. Therefore, to dispute the Divine authority of tithes would be just as impious as to dispute the Divine authority of the Ten Commandments.

The Divine authority of the Ten Commandments is to be found in the 20th chapter of Exodus, which is well understood, and has never been disputed by either Jew or Christian.

The Divine authority of Tithes is to be found in the 18th chapter of Numbers, which neither Jews nor Christians dare, or can, dispute; for the whole chapter is full of Divine covenants upon Tithes, which, of course, is open to the inspection of all who are willing to read. A few extracts from this chapter may suffice for the present paper.

The Lord said unto Aaron, in the 19th verse, "All the heave-offerings of the holy things, which the Children of Israel offer unto the Lord, have I given thee, and thy sons and thy daughters with thee, by a statute for ever: it is a covenant of salt for ever before the Lord, unto thee and thy seed with thee." In the 24th verse, "But the Tithes of the Children of Israel, which they offer as an heave-offering unto the Lord, I have given to the Levites to inherit: therefore I have said unto them, Among the Children of Israel they have no inheritance." 25th, 26th, 27th, and 28th verses:—"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying," 26th verse, "Thus

speak unto the Levites, and say unto them, When ye take of the Children of Israel the Tithes which I have given you from them, for your inheritance, then ye shall offer up an heave-offering of it for the Lord, even a tenth part of the tithes." 27th verse, "And this your heave-offering shall be reckoned unto you as though it was the corn of the threshing-floor, and as the fullness of the wine-press." 28th verse, "Thus ye shall offer an heave-offering unto the Lord, of all your Tithes which ye receive of the Children of Israel, and ye shall give thereof the Lord's heave-offering unto Aaron the priest."

It is therefore evident, that the 18th chapter of Numbers fixes the Tithes as firmly in the Law, as the 20th chapter of Exodus fixes the Ten Commandments, viz. by Divine prescription from God to man, as a covenant of salt for ever. And which still continues in effect at this present time, as an inheritance, by natural right for all officiating priests holding a benefice for the cure of souls.

The first mention of Tithes in Scripture is long before the Law; Abraham paid tithes to Melchizedec, the High Priest of the most *High God*. See 14th chapter of Genesis and the 7th chapter of Hebrews. Jacob also paid Tithes. The heathens submitted to Tithes; the merchant, and even the soldiers, paid a tenth of all their profits.—*See the Old History and Old Monuments of Tyre*. The following is a quotation from an Author well

deserving of notice : “ That some constant tribute is due from man to God, for his bountiful blessings on man’s labour and industry in the fruits of the land, as a quit-rent to the great Lord of the World.”  
—See *Athenian Oracle*, vol. i. p. 530.

When the Lord commanded the Children of Israel to offer an heave-offering to the Lord of a tenth of the produce of the land, in return he blessed their labours. And the Lord gave his heave-offering unto the Levites for an inheritance for ever. And the Levites were ordered to perform certain duties, according to the ordinances of the Lord, in the tabernacle. And the Lord ordered the Levites to offer a tenth of the produce, which they had received from the Children of Israel, as an heave-offering unto the Lord, and which the Lord ordered the Levites to give unto Aaron the priest.

It is therefore certain, that all these sacred orders of the Lord have conveyed and invested a natural right in the property of the Tithes to the Priest and Levites, as a covenant of salt for ever, which has so firmly fixed them in the law, that it clearly proves that tithes are now the natural right of the clergy to this day, and must remain so, as long as man has faith in the word of God. The following quotation, from the same author, is well worthy of notice, upon natural right :—

“ And that some part is of natural right cannot be disputed ; and, who should fix or determine that

right more equally than the Lord himself?" "This he has done in the case of the Israelites,—a nation whom he chose out for an example to all the world, nor can we foresee any valuable objection to be made against this, in behalf of the Christian Clergy, unless Christians are dealing with their Clergy worse than the Jews."—See *Athenian Oracle*, vol. i. p. 531.

In certain cases, the Lord hath ordered that Tithes may be sold.—See 14th chapter Deuteronomy, in the following verses:—22d, "Thou shalt truly Tithe all the increase of thy seed that the field bringeth forth year by year." 24th, "And if the way be too long for thee, so that thou art not able to carry it, and if the place be too far from thee which the Lord thy God shall choose to set his name there, when the Lord thy God hath blessed thee:" 25th, "Then shalt thou turn it into money, and bind up the money in thine hand, and shall go into the place which the Lord thy God shall choose:" 26th, "And thou shalt bestow that money upon whatever thy soul lusteth after, in oxen, sheep," &c. &c.

Can any man, after reading this paper and referring to the chapters herein stated, take upon himself to advocate the appropriation of Tithes to any other purposes than for the inheritance of Priests, having the cure of souls, according to the orders of the Lord under these divine prescriptions, which in-

dubitably fixes Tithes as an inheritance for Priests officiating in the holy orders of God's religion. Can it be less than blasphemy to stand up in the face of God and advocate a contrary principle, in defiance of his Divine authority?

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No. VII.

THE PRESSURE OF TAXATION  
SIMPLIFIED.

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A STATISTICAL Arrangement of the Bearings or Pressure of Taxation upon the Public in general, with a proportionate Scale or Grade of Payers, and Non-payers, taking the amount of the Population of the Empire at 25 Millions.

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|                                                                                                                                                            |               |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| The small sum of 1 <i>s.</i> per head per week, or 52 <i>s.</i> per head per annum, on the population of 25 millions, will give the gross sum of . . . . . | } £65,000,000 |
| The whole expenditure of the country is stated at rather less than                                                                                         |               |
|                                                                                                                                                            | } 50,000,00   |
| Overplus for collecting, &c. . . . .                                                                                                                       | £15,000,000   |

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*The Proportion or Scale of Payments may be rated as under :—*

|                                                                   |               |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| 1 Million of the highest grade of payers, averaging £30 per annum | } £30,000,000 |
| 1 Million of the 2nd, averaging 15 <i>l.</i> per annum . . . . .  |               |
| 2 Millions of the third „ 5 <i>l.</i> „                           | 10,000,000    |
| 4 Millions of the 4th „ 50 <i>s.</i> „                            | 10,000,000    |

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|                                                                                                 |               |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------|
| 8 { Millions of payers, being less than $\frac{1}{3}$ of the population, will produce . . . . . | } £65,000,000 |
|                                                                                                 |               |

17 Millions of non-payers, being more than  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the population, are exempt.

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25 Millions, gross population of the Empire.

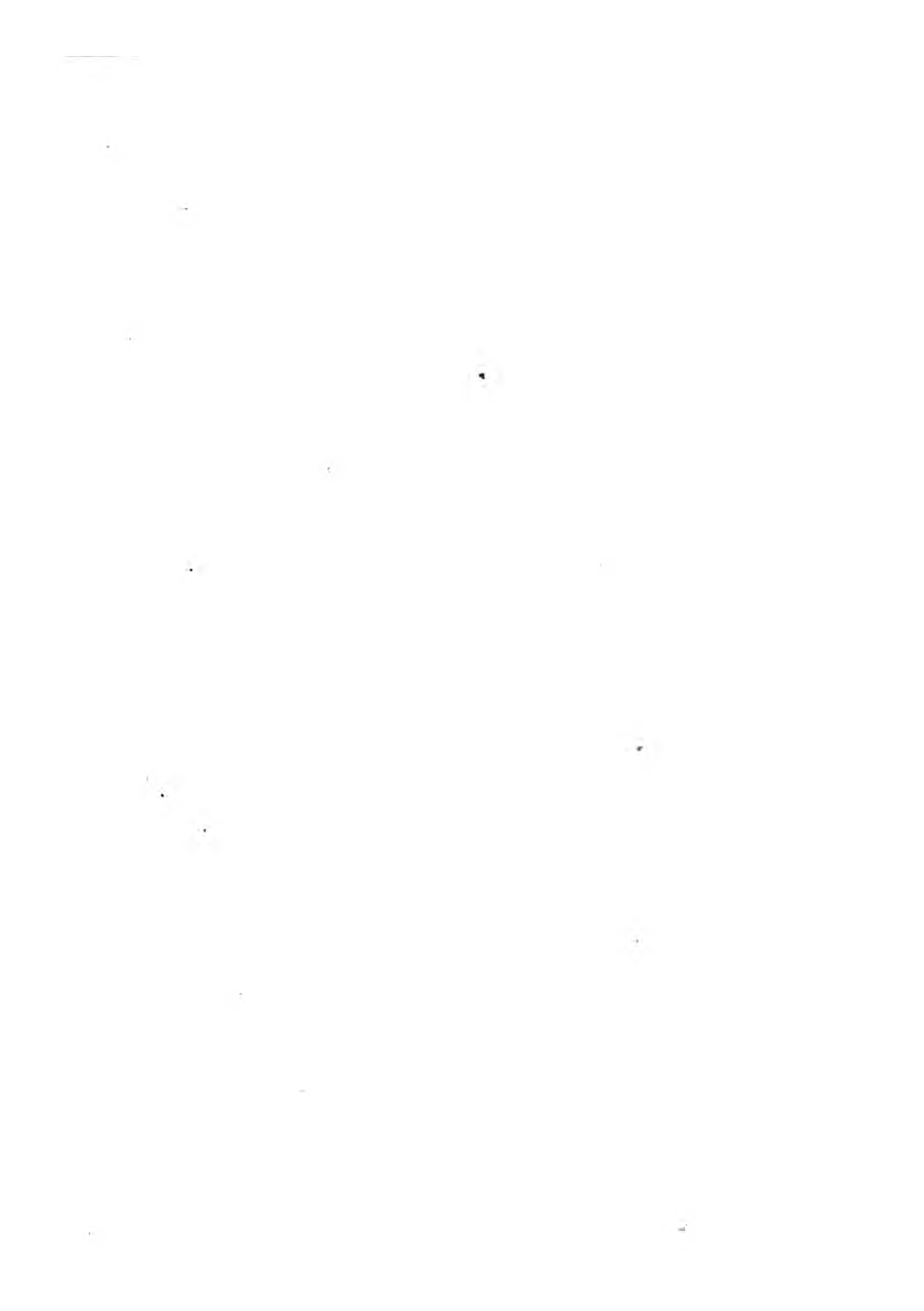
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The eight millions of payers producing the 65 millions of money required may be differently divided in the gradations of payment : for instance, in the highest grade many will pay £200 per annum, or even much more ; consequently, many will pay less than £30 per annum, and so on in like proportion through all the other grades. Now, with a due consideration of the vast wealth of this country, and upon examining the above arrangement of the scale of payers, the supposed great pressure of tax-

ation must vanish, when it requires only eight millions of the richest subjects (being less than one-third of the population) to pay the annual expenditure of this vast Empire, upon so light a call. What can warrant the vulgar expression so often made use of, “That the whole population of this Empire are ground down by the vast pressure of taxation,”—when, in fact, by the showing in the above statement, 17 millions, being more than  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the population, are actually exempt from the payment of one farthing. It cannot be denied that many persons tax themselves more than equal to their proportion, viz. the Drunkard—the Man of Pleasure—the Shew of Fashion, cause many to pay more than their share of individual taxation, viz. in the duty upon wines, spirits, beer, horses, carriages, servants, dogs, tobacco, snuff, &c. &c. However, it is no matter what the taxes are imposed upon, whether upon knowledge or upon gin, for no one can dispute the correctness of the above arrangement, as showing the true pressure of taxation upon the population of this vast Empire bearing upon the most wealthy and extravagant.

JACOBUS VERITAS.

“THE LANGUAGE OF TRUTH IS SIMPLE.”









1870

1870

