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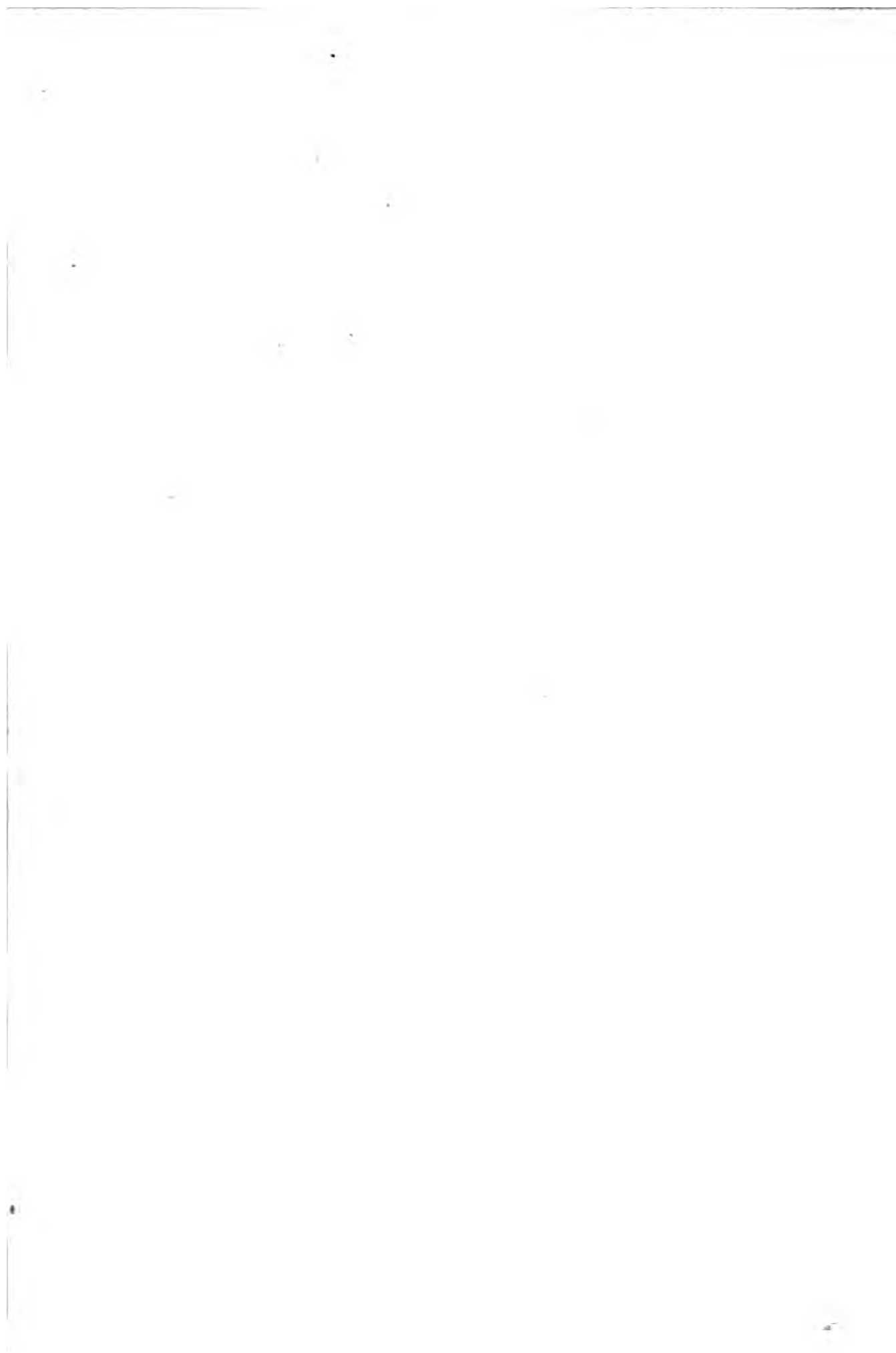


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S P E E C H

OF

THE EARL OF POWIS,

IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS,

ON

TUESDAY, MAY 23, 1843,

ON

MOVING THE SECOND READING OF A BILL FOR
PREVENTING THE UNION OF THE SEES OF
ST. ASAPH AND BANGOR.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1843.

LONDON:
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Stamford Street.



S P E E C H,

&c. &c.

AFTER presenting petitions from the rural deanery of Frome, in Herefordshire; the archdeaconry of Clare, in Suffolk; the clergy in the neighbourhood of Baldock, in Hertfordshire, in the diocese of Lincoln; and also one from the laity of the parish of Marylebone and its neighbourhood, in the county of Middlesex, to which was attached 468 signatures, with their respective places of residence, which, owing to the absence of a noble lord, had this day been entrusted to Lord Powis for presentation, LORD POWIS addressed the House as follows:—

I shall now, my Lords, proceed to move the second reading of “An Act for preventing the Union of the Sees of St. Asaph and Bangor.” As I have the misfortune to be under the necessity of introducing this Bill, one of the greatest ecclesiastical importance to the principality of Wales and to the Established Church, under the avowed opposition of the Most Reverend Prelate who so worthily presides over the English Church, and his Right Reverend Brethren the original members of the Ecclesiastical Commission, I feel it a duty which I owe to your Lordships to endeavour to vindicate myself from the charge of presumption. It will not be sufficient for me, my Lords, to endeavour to

extenuate or apologize for the step that I am taking upon this important church question. I do not wish to diminish or underrate my own responsibility. I ought to justify my course; I trust and believe I shall be able to do so. Nothing, I can assure your Lordships, but a sense of public duty, of the duty which I owe to my countrymen and to the church in Wales, would have induced me to undertake the task of submitting to your Lordships' notice the details of this very important and interesting case.

The first point which I shall take the liberty of urging in vindication of the course which I am pursuing, is, that the inhabitants of the principality, although they have the misfortune to know that their prayers and petitions are objected to by the Most Reverend Prelate and by some of his Right Reverend Brethren, the original members of the Ecclesiastical Commission, know also, and that fact should also be borne in mind by your Lordships, that in preparing this Bill I have had the advantage of the advice, and experience, and countenance of both the respected prelates of St. Asaph and of Bangor, and their full approbation of the course I am about to pursue. Your Lordships will be pleased to bear in mind, throughout the whole of this important discussion, that the great complaint in the Principality is that there is a general non-acquaintance with the facts of this important case on the part of those with whom the final decision in respect of the interests of the church in North Wales has rested. My countrymen reside in a distant district; they have not the same facilities of communication which exist in other parts of the country; their country is an impracticable one, and consequently an acquaintance with the local and parochial difficulties of the church in North Wales, and the steps necessary to maintain its interests, is limited,

may almost confined, to those who are immediately concerned in its administration. On the present occasion it is a satisfaction to me to know that the two Right Reverend Prelates who preside so worthily over the dioceses of North Wales are united in their testimony against the union of the sees of St. Asaph and Bangor. They are the best and most unexceptionable witnesses who can be produced; they are perfectly acquainted with what is due to the interests of the church in the Principality, and their evidence is disinterested, the union of the two sees being deferred until both these reverend men shall have been removed from this sphere of their labours. If they had merely consulted their own ease, they might have left to posterity to deal with the anticipated evils when they should arise. They have pursued a very different line of conduct; they feel the duty they owe to the country which has been placed under their spiritual guidance; they feel the duty which they owe to the church, of which they are distinguished members; and they have endeavoured to avert the consummation of those evils against which I am now contending. In addition to the evidence of these two Right Reverend Prelates, I must avail myself of the indirect testimony of unwilling witnesses—for so, I fear, notwithstanding their exalted station, I must describe the highly respected individuals I am about to name, as regards the Act I have charge of,—I mean the Most Reverend Prelate and his brethren, members of the Ecclesiastical Commission, who are also members of the Convocation. Your Lordships are aware that the assembly of the church expresses its sentiments on some occasions in Convocation. The Convocation is composed of two houses, the upper and the lower, and the last time the Convocation met was in the year 1841.

The church is reported to have then declared in her public synod, and in a most unequivocal way, her objection to the proceedings of the Commission with reference to the union of the two sees, which is now under the consideration of your Lordships. I will read an extract from a letter addressed to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury by a gentleman who signs himself R. W. Huntley, who was proctor from the diocese to which he belongs, to the Convocation, and present during the occurrences which he relates. He says:—

“ On the last meeting of Convocation, early in the autumn of 1841, it seemed good to the upper house to send down to the representatives of the clergy an address to the Queen, to be passed by them, and to be presented to Her Majesty. It was understood that this would be the only business proposed to their notice. The address, however, was found to contain a clause recognizing and assenting to the Commission and its acts, and making them express matter of congratulation. Now this clause, without any attempt either at modification or abatement of terms, was absolutely and entirely thrown out. The curtailed address was accepted by the upper house, and so was laid before the Queen, and by Her Majesty was graciously received. Now this short history proves, beyond gainsaying, that the church, on the sole occasion on which she has been permitted to speak, and then as far as power of speech was given to her, has, in a manner that cannot be misunderstood, and which ought to be known, declared her want of sympathy with the Commission. She has declined to acknowledge it, and in her lawful assembly of bishops and representative priests she caused the mention of it to be erased; and yet, my lord, it is in the face of this disclaimer—I say it with the most real respect, for I am well aware that the point

has been overlooked—still in the face of this disclaimer it is that the Ecclesiastical Commission are as yet maintaining the proposition that a bishopric shall be abolished. This being the case, I beg to submit to your Grace and their lordships the bishops, and the church at large, that the Ecclesiastical Commission, and consequently the resolves and acts also grounded on its report, do really become subjects of grave uneasiness, after such an expression of our ecclesiastical synod; that we have reason to fear a spirit of Erastianism, when the acts of the state continue to be promoted notwithstanding the church disapproves thereof, and declines to recognize the same; and, to come close to my present subject, when it appears that even a bishopric is to be suppressed, notwithstanding the public protests delivered against it, through the voice of the two bishops whose sees are concerned, through the voice of many other of her bishops, through her priests in Convocation, and through her clergy and laity expressing their sentiments in petitions.”

In addition to this evidence, and in further justification of the course I am taking, I beg to state that I have been entrusted with petitions from Jesus College, Oxford; from different bodies of the clergy of the counties of Hereford, Hertford, Derby, Bedford, Suffolk, Salop, Gloucester, and Hants; as well as the petition which I have this day presented, signed by 468 lay inhabitants of the important metropolitan parish of Marylebone and its vicinity, with the residences of the petitioners attached to their signatures. I have also had the honour of presenting petitions in favour of the proposition I am about to make to your Lordships, from the counties of Flint, Denbigh, Merioneth, Caernarvon, and Montgomery in North Wales; and from Cardigan and Carmarthen in South Wales. Both the Universities have also petitioned Par-

liament on behalf of North Wales ; one petition only has, I believe, been presented to this House. There is another petition to which I beg to call the particular attention of your Lordships ;—first, on account of the power and ability with which it has been penned, and next, from the recollection of the success which followed the exertions of my noble friend behind me (the Earl of Ripon), when he undertook, on the part of the clergy and inhabitants of the Isle of Man, to obtain the repeal of the clause which went to annex the see of Sodor and Man to that of Carlisle, and by that repeal to continue the see of Sodor and Man as a separate diocese.

The petition states : “ That your petitioners will ever most gratefully remember the powerful co-operation and the generous support which, in that arduous struggle, they received from the Universities, the various chapters, archdeaconries, and numerous bodies of the clergy and laity of England and Wales, in advocating their cause with your right honourable House ; and still more do your petitioners feel impressed with gratitude to the Parliament of the United Kingdom for their gracious compliance with the earnest prayers of the Manx people. That your petitioners feel in a peculiar manner the affinity between the sees of Sodor and Man, of St. Asaph and of Bangor —(I entreat your Lordships’ particular attention to the following sentences)—all Bishopricks of Independent States for many centuries previously to the Isle of Man and the principality of Wales being incorporated in the British dominions—all in the earliest time endowed with funds for the maintenance of their several churches within their respective dioceses ; all amid the revolutions of succeeding ages, the change of dynasties, and the reformation in the Anglican church, preserved unimpaired by the storms of time or the sacrilegious hand of arbitrary power ;—and all having poor, scattered populations, re-

quiring the entire care and attention of the most zealous bishop. With these recollections your petitioners feel themselves called upon as fellow-Christians to return good for good, sympathy for sympathy, and most respectfully to express their earnest hope to your honourable House that these two most interesting remains of the episcopacy of former days, which ages of barbarism, of war, and of revolution have spared, may not, in these enlightened times be sacrificed to the expediency of measures which, however otherwise important, they beg leave most respectfully to express their hope may by other means be attained. That the ancient revenues of these sees may not be diverted from their legitimate object to assist in founding another see in a district unconnected with their own, and which is one of the most wealthy in the kingdom, but that the inhabitants of North Wales, by the blessing of Divine Providence, and through the wisdom and the justice of Parliament, for all time yet to come may be permitted to retain unchanged the incalculable advantages of their present episcopal establishment; and each see to continue to possess a separate resident bishop to preside over their churches, and personally to superintend and promote the spiritual and the temporal welfare of the people; and that at a time when it has been deemed expedient by the Government and sanctioned by the Crown, to consecrate prelates to all the widely-extended colonies of the empire in the four quarters of the globe, and even to the more-recently discovered shores of Australia; and whilst the rapidly-augmenting population of the British isles would appear likewise to demand an augmentation of episcopal superintendence, your petitioners would willingly hope that the next step in this great work will not be connected with the extinction of one of the very ancient bishoprics of the most ancient people of Britain.”

I am also happy to be able to quote in favour of this measure the kind and fatherly reception with which the Most Reverend Prelate at the head of the church has been pleased to honour an address which was presented to him by the clergy of the diocese to which I have the happiness to belong—I mean the diocese of St. Asaph. From the address itself I will first take the liberty of reading the concluding sentences. They are as follows:—

“ But all representations, however forcible, must, of necessity, fail in conveying to your Grace that knowledge of our peculiar position which nothing but an actual residence in Wales can afford; and we feel persuaded, that had the Ecclesiastical Commissioners been perfectly conversant with the almost overwhelming difficulties we have to contend with, from the fearful prevalence of dissent, the difference of language, the poverty and inaccessible nature of the country,—the question would rather have been how to strengthen the arm of the church by an additional bishopric, than to annihilate one of those sees which have existed for so many centuries amongst us.

“ We entreat your Grace to believe that we are actuated by no interested motives in making this solemn appeal, but by a warm and filial attachment to the episcopal constitution, a jealous regard for the dignity and efficiency of the church, and an ardent zeal for the spiritual welfare of those who are ‘ committed to our charge.’

“ We now most respectfully commend our petition to your Grace’s serious consideration, earnestly trusting that the high powers with which it has pleased Providence to invest your Grace, may be exerted in rescuing from spoliation the sacred heritage of our fathers; and humbly praying Almighty God long to spare your Grace to edify and adorn the church, which is the common Mother of us all.”

The following is the reply of his Grace :—

“ MY DEAR LORD, *Lambeth, May 1, 1843.*

I HAVE to acknowledge an address on the subject of the union of the dioceses of St. Asaph and Bangor, recommended by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, which is signed by so many clergymen, both incumbents and curates, that it must be regarded as speaking the collective sense of the diocese of St. Asaph. I cannot but feel that such a declaration, proceeding from a body of clergy so strongly attached to the Church, and so zealous for its honour and its interests, is entitled to great attention; and I beg your Lordship to assure the petitioners, that I have received their address with the respect which is due to the importance of the subject, to the motives and character of those whose names are attached to it, and to the venerated Bishop by whom it has been placed in my hands.

“ I remain, my dear Lord,

“ Your Lordship’s faithful servant and friend,

“ W. CANTUAR.

“ *To the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.*”

I trust I may be allowed to express a hope that the Most Reverend Prelate will at some future, if not upon the present occasion, grant to the prayers of the petitioners the countenance and support which this letter indicates.

I have now, I think, established sufficient grounds of justification of the course which I am taking in submitting this proceeding to your Lordships’ consideration. I will next proceed shortly to detail the state in which the Principality stands with respect to this great change; and, in doing so, I must take the liberty of assuming as an historical fact, hardly to be doubted now, that the union of the sees of St. Asaph and Bangor, and the creation of the

bishopric of Manchester, are part of the same scheme of alteration, and were intended to be co-existent and dependent on each other. No person will believe that so wild a proposition would have been submitted to Parliament as the extinction of one of the Welch sees, if it had not been accompanied by a proposition for establishing a bishopric of Manchester.

It would be my duty and my desire to obviate objections to any measure which I have to submit to your Lordships' consideration. Upon the present occasion I am bound to conciliate those who have supported the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commission, or may for other reasons be opposed to my motion, since I feel that having taken no active steps in opposition to the 6th and 7th of William IV., originally, when passing through Parliament, I shall undoubtedly add to the labour of Commissioners and of Parliament. A respectful consideration of other persons' opinions is therefore due from me. I shall, however, ask no concession which Parliament and the Commissioners ought not to concede, and may not concede, if they have the disposition to consider the case fairly and reasonably, and certainly none which will not benefit the church at large. Two principal difficulties present themselves in the creation of a see at Manchester. First, the addition of a spiritual member of your Lordships' House; secondly, the want of means to provide an income for the bishop. Both objects were, however, attainable, *by destroying an ancient Welch bishopric*, and North Wales was doomed to be the sufferer, notwithstanding the protests of her bishops. The interests of North Wales were to be sacrificed to the expediency of creating a Bishop of Manchester. I have heard, in the course of my political life, many objections to the doctrine of political expediency. If that doctrine is objectionable in politics, surely it is undeniably more

so in ecclesiastical and religious affairs; yet expediency is the only defence of this act of spoliation. Of the expediency, nay, necessity of creating a bishopric of Manchester no one can doubt, but who will venture to affirm the expediency of depriving North Wales of a bishop, or deny that it must be an injury to the church establishment there?

With regard, then, to the first of the two difficulties which I have mentioned, I, for one, see no objection to an additional prelate sitting in this house. On the contrary, I should readily concur in such a measure, and rejoice in at once securing to the great and wealthy population of the town of Manchester the benefits of an immediate episcopal superintendence. But, in order to meet the opinions of those who object to the introduction of an additional bishop into this house, a course may be taken which I think may obviate all reasonable ground of opposition. Your Lordships are aware that whenever a reverend individual is first placed upon the episcopal bench, he becomes, as a matter of course, the chaplain of your Lordships' House, and continues to discharge the duties of chaplain until another vacancy occurs on the bench. In the discharge of these duties reverend prelates have been engaged one, two, and in one living instance three years, accordingly as vacancies on the bench are delayed; and during this period unremitting attendance on your Lordships' House during the assembling of Parliament is required of the newly-appointed bishop.

I beg to suggest that when a vacancy occurs on the episcopal bench, the individual nominated to succeed to the vacancy as junior or 27th Bishop, should not become either chaplain of your Lordships' House, or a Peer of Parliament, until a second vacancy should occur.

To me it appears that many ecclesiastical advantages would arise from such delay. The individual thus ap-

pointed would be able immediately to proceed to learn the duties of his high station, and to acquire a local knowledge of his diocese, and would be enabled thereby more effectually to fulfil the duties appertaining to his office when absent in attendance upon Parliament.

Upon the next vacancy occurring the junior bishop would at once succeed to the chaplaincy of your Lordships' House, and to his seat upon the episcopal bench.

One reserve should be made in respect of this routine, in the event of a reverend gentleman being elected in the first instance to either of the sees of London, Durham, or Winchester, a contingency which, inasmuch as it has occasionally occurred, (as in the case of the Most Reverend Prelate,) your Lordships will perceive ought to be provided for.

The next topic I shall advert to is the income of the see of Manchester. In so doing let me first inquire, why, if it is right to create an episcopal see at Manchester, and you are in earnest as to the creation of it, why should it be delayed until both the diocesans of North Wales shall have been removed? Is it not conclusive, my Lords, that the spiritual interests of Manchester are made subservient to the acquirement of the tithes of North Wales, and the establishment of the bishopric is thus indefinitely postponed? From information] which has reached me, I cannot doubt that the revenues which will eventually be placed at the disposal of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners will be abundantly sufficient for endowing the bishopric of Manchester without any abstraction of the revenues of the Bishops of Bangor and St. Asaph. If a full income is not immediately to be had, let the Most Reverend Prelate at the head of the Church solicit the Right Honourable Baronet at the head of the Government to supply the wants of the see of Manchester by a temporary loan out of the funds

known as Queen Anne's Bounty, which funds it has been proposed to mortgage for another important church object. These funds are fully equal to the purpose. The aid required would be only temporary, since the surplus income of the archbishopric of York will amply supply an income for Manchester whenever a vacancy shall occur in the archiepiscopal see.

I have stated at the commencement of my observations, that due consideration has not, according to my judgment, been given to the interests of the Principality, I now proceed to substantiate that opinion. The Principality, it should not be forgotten, contributes very largely to the ecclesiastical endowments of England. The establishments of Christ Church and of Jesus College, Oxford, derive a material income from the tithes of North Wales; and the dioceses of Lichfield and of Chester also receive a considerable income from the same source; while the sees of St. Asaph and Bangor have no revenues which do not accrue from the Principality itself. With these properties I do not wish to interfere. But I object to the further abstraction of any portion of our mountain tithes for the benefit of wealthy England, and their transfer from an individual holder, a kind and venerable inhabitant of our Principality, to any corporate body; the one anxiously alive to the wants of those around him, the other necessarily unacquainted with and indifferent to them. The Commissioners, in their first Report, state, that "one advantage which will result from the union of these two sees will be, the opportunity afforded of applying a part of impropriations, which constitute nearly the whole property of the bishoprics, to the augmentation of poor and populous vicarages in the united dioceses." This recommendation of the Commissioners, instead of being followed up, has since been forgotten and laid aside; for it is now proposed that a

considerable income should be taken from the Welch bishoprics, and placed at the disposal of the Commissioners. The Order in Council issued under the provisions of the Act of the 6th and 7th William IV. chap. 77, directs that the bishop of the united dioceses of St. Asaph and Bangor shall pay annually into the hands of the Commissioners the sum of 4,750*l.** During the last Session of Parliament a continuation Act (5th and 6th Victoria, chap. 112,) was passed with the additional object of securing certain property to the said sees, *i. e.*, the sees of St. Asaph and Bangor. Clause 2 of this Act is as follows: "And be it enacted, that all lands, tithes, tenements, and other hereditaments and endow-

* As regards revenue it seems doubtful whether the Bishop of the united see of St. Asaph and Bangor would *actually* enjoy the income of £5200, adjudged to him by the Second Report of the Commissioners.

The Commissioners, in their Second Report, recommend that he should *pay over* to the episcopal fund £3,800 per annum, whereas the Order in Council enacting the union of the sees requires him to pay to that fund £4,750. The Commissioners, in their First Report, estimated the future net revenue of the see of St. Asaph at £5,280; the income having fallen gradually from 1827 to 1834, and add "there seems to be no prospect of improvement."

They estimate the future net revenue of the see of Bangor at £3,814; stating that "the tithes have fallen in value in 1833 and 1834 below the average of the three years ending 1831 £650, and there is no prospect of increase."

	£.
Future net income of St. Asaph	5,280
Future net income of Bangor	3,814
	<hr/>
Total future net income of united diocese . . .	9,094
	<hr/>
Deduct payment to Episcopal Fund by Order in Council	4,750
	<hr/>
Income remaining to Bishop after fixed payment	4,344
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Income allotted to Bishop by Second Report . .	5,200
Income actually remaining after fixed payment .	4,344
	<hr/>
Deficiency!	856
	<hr/>

ments whatsoever, held, possessed, or received by the Right Reverend William Carey, Bishop of Saint Asaph, and the Right Reverend Christopher Bethell, Bishop of Bangor, respectively, as such bishops, not being so held, possessed, or received in respect of any benefice with cure of souls, shall be, and be deemed to be to all intents and purposes part and parcel of the lands, tithes, tenements, and other hereditaments and endowments of the respective sees of Saint Asaph and Bangor, or of the united see of Saint Asaph and Bangor, as the case may be, and shall continue to be held, possessed, and received by the bishops of the same sees for the time being; subject nevertheless to any Order in Council issued under the provisions of an Act passed in the seventh year of the reign of His late Majesty, intituled ‘An Act for carrying into effect the Reports of the Commissioners appointed to consider the state of the Established Church in England and Wales, with reference to ecclesiastical duties and revenues, so far as they relate to episcopal dioceses, revenues, and patronage,’ or of any other Act of Parliament.”

My Lords, I have some difficulty in explaining this part of my case. I should certainly not have understood the object of this Act had I not seen a Bill which had been previously introduced into the House of Commons last year by Sir James Graham and Dr. Nicholl; the fourth section of which is as follows: “And be it enacted, that from and after the commencement of this Act, the dignity and office of Archdeacon of Saint Asaph shall no longer be holden by the Bishop of Saint Asaph; and the dignities and offices of Archdeacon of Bangor and Archdeacon of Anglesey shall be dissevered from the bishopric of Bangor, and be no longer holden by the Bishop of Bangor; and the then Bishops of Saint Asaph and Bangor respectively, or the Bishops of the united see

of Saint Asaph and Bangor, and their successors Bishops of Saint Asaph and Bangor, shall forthwith and from time to time collate fit persons to the said archdeaconries respectively; provided that all lands, tithes, tenements, and other hereditaments and endowments formerly belonging to such dignities and offices, but now forming part of the respective sees of Saint Asaph and Bangor, shall continue to be possessed and enjoyed by the Bishops of Saint Asaph and Bangor respectively, and their successors Bishops of Saint Asaph and Bangor." This Bill was withdrawn in consequence of objections raised against its being introduced when most of the Welch Members had left London to attend the summer assizes. It is remarkable, my Lords, that no previous notice of the archdeaconry of Anglesey occurs in the Reports. It is not named except in the map attached to the Third Report. It is not noticed in the list as an old or a new archdeaconry. No mention is made of it until the introduction of the withdrawn Bill of last Session which had for one of its objects to separate the office and duties of the archdeaconry of Anglesey from the bishopric of Bangor, whilst the endowments of the archdeaconry were to continue annexed to the bishopric, not, as heretofore, in order to provide for the bishop of the diocese, but to enable the bishop of the united sees to contribute 4,750*l.* per annum to the Episcopal Fund.

This remarkable omission tends to confirm my opinion of the want of knowledge of North Wales, upon the part of those who had the charge of these proceedings. The Act 5th and 6th Victoria, chap. 112, before referred to, has this remarkable difference,—it enacts the continuance of the property as therein described to the united bishopric, but omits all notice, by name, of the archdeaconries. Why is the mention omitted? Is the omission accidental or intentional? Another feature in this

case is, that in its result it will practically continue one of those evils of church preferment which it was a principal object of your Lordships to do away with—I mean that of commendam. The archdeaconries of Anglesea and St. Asaph are both held by the bishops in commendam; the archdeaconry of Anglesea by Act of Parliament, that of St. Asaph by deed of commendam. It is, my Lords, objected to me that my proposition goes to repeal what is the law of the land. Here, my Lords, are two laws of the land, at variance with each other; one, the 6th and 7th William IV., cap. 77, sec. 18, which enacts “that after the passing of this Act, no ecclesiastical dignity, office, or benefice shall be held in commendam by any bishop, unless he shall so hold the same at the time of passing thereof; and that every commendam thereafter granted, whether to retain or to receive, and whether temporary or perpetual, shall be absolutely void to all intents and purposes;” the other, the Act of last year, which continues property so held as the property of the Episcopal Fund. The duties of the archdeaconries are separated from the bishopric; the income of the archdeaconries is to be applied to the Episcopal Fund; the Act despoils the archdeaconries of their own proper endowments, and leaves them totally without income; a proceeding directly at variance with the promises held out by the Commissioners, in their Fourth Report, in which they state,—“We desire to make a proper provision for the archdeaconries in Wales, which we are of opinion ought to be, as well as those of England, efficient and useful offices.”

Again, while the First Report professes an anxiety to give aid to the poorer livings in North Wales, the sinecure rectories in North Wales will, it is apprehended, be taken away to the general fund. The value of the sinecure rectories to be suppressed in England and Wales is

somewhat above 9,000*l.*, of which those in St. Asaph alone amount to near 4,000*l.* (Vide Second Report, p. 29, and note.) Under this head, therefore, the single diocese of St. Asaph will contribute to the general fund almost as much as England and South Wales together. Your Lordships would naturally suppose that arrangements would be made, with reference to this sum of money, to secure to St. Asaph a proper share. Far otherwise. Payments by the Commissioners are made according to a scale which is regulated by the population of the parish to be assisted. As regards North Wales (a thinly-peopled but extensive country, where extent of surface, not population alone, must be the criterion, if justice is to be done), the result will be that the income will be taken away in a mass, and returned to the Principality, if at all, in dribbles; but the probability is, that no part of this income would again find its way into the Principality. If these sinecures, as they became vacant, were applied (as they ought to be) to the increase of our poorer Welch livings, a most beneficial result must ensue.

Another instance of the want of acquaintance with North Wales occurs in the transfer of the rural deanery of Montgomery from the diocese of Hereford to the proposed united diocese; and that of Marchia, which includes the hundred of Oswestry, in Shropshire, from the diocese of St. Asaph to that of Chester. This change makes the intercommunication between the bishop and the clergy of the deanery of Montgomery more inconvenient than at present. Montgomery is about 50 miles from Hereford; it is between 60 and 70 from St. Asaph; between 80 and 90 from Bangor. From St. Asaph, the only road to Montgomery lies through Oswestry, in the deanery of Marchia, which is taken from St. Asaph and added to Chester. From Bangor to Montgomery the bishop and

clergy must equally pass through Oswestry, or cross the Berwyn mountain range. This difficulty was such that Mr. Telford, in laying out the Irish road from London, *viâ* Shrewsbury to Holyhead, felt himself obliged to adopt the circuitous route by Llangollen, instead of ascending that boundary of the counties of Denbigh and Montgomery. Mr. Telford says,—“ I made three attempts to cross the Berwyn Ridge, which separates them (the valleys of the Severn and the Dee), but found the lowest pass 1,000 feet above Corwen bridge, and that the two others were respectively 1,100 and 1,200 above the same place. It therefore became necessary to proceed from the English plains, where the river Dee leaves the mountains at the bottom of the valley of Llangollen,” &c. &c.—*Telford's Life*, p. 207.

The deanery of Montgomery has a population exclusively English. I do not believe a single native family in that deanery speaks the Welch language as their native language. In the hundred of Oswestry, on the other hand, there is a considerable Welch population. To satisfy your Lordships that this is no idle view of the case, I have only to name that, a few years since, a chapel was built and endowed for the purpose of enabling the Welch population of the parish of Oswestry to have the benefit of our church service, in the Welch language. Thus, the English population is transferred to a Welch diocese, the Welch population to an English diocese. The change may not be productive of any very material inconvenience, but it appears to be a change for the sake of change; no practical good is to be expected from it. It might and would have been avoided if the Commissioners had studied the locality otherwise than by map; and the valley of the Severn might have been permitted to continue, as it has hitherto been, the natural boundary of the dioceses, and the division between those of my

countrymen who speak the English and those who speak the Welch language.

Another subject of great importance is the difficulty which the bishop in North Wales must encounter in the discharge of his duties. The united diocese consists of 3,250 square miles; the average dimension of English dioceses is not more than 2,196 square miles. Thus, where the roads are worse, the means of communication between the different parts of the diocese far more difficult than in England, it is proposed to make the Welch diocese half as large again as the average of English dioceses. The bishop of the united diocese will have double duties to perform, and half the income of the diocese is to be taken away. In those districts of the country where there are so few persons resident, your Lordships are hardly aware of the value of the constant residence of right reverend prelates. To remove one is to do a serious *fiscal* injury to the Principality. To satisfy your Lordships of the *spiritual* injury my countrymen will have inflicted on them by the removal of one of their bishops, I will read to your Lordships the sentiments of a Right Reverend and eloquent Prelate (the Bishop of London) at a meeting of the clergy and laity, for the purpose of raising a fund towards the endowment of additional Colonial bishops. The Right Reverend Prelate said,—“I am not about, my lord, to prove to this meeting that the episcopal regimen is essential to the perfectness of the church. I hope, I believe, I am addressing those who have imbibed that truth with their mother’s milk; who have avouched it in their own persons; who are living in the enjoyment of its realities. For episcopal government is a reality; it is not a mere phrase; it is not a mere theoretical quality of the church. The very name indicates its practical nature. The title of ‘bishop’ or ‘overseer’ implies an actual oversight of the household of

Christ, members and ministers; and when that oversight is no longer possible, the church, in so far as it ceases to be under that oversight, ceases, as your Grace has before observed, to be an episcopal church, at least as to the practical advantages of episcopacy; except, indeed, that it may still have the word preached, and the holy sacraments administered, by those who have been duly commissioned for the work. I have elsewhere remarked, that an episcopal church without a bishop is neither more nor less than a contradiction in terms; and the church ceases effectively to have a bishop when it is removed beyond his possible superintendence or ministrations. This ought not to be the case with any portion of Christ's church—with any department of his vineyard." I intreat your Lordships to apply these beautiful sentiments to the presence of bishops in Wales. Another evil to the Principality will arise from the whole patronage of the diocese being vested in one individual. Out of 250 livings, upwards of four-fifths will be in the gift of the bishop, while the patronage of the Crown, or of individuals, does not amount to one-fifth of the whole number. It will be impossible for the bishop, taking the difficulties of language into consideration, however conscientiously he may labour to discharge his duty, to make himself adequately acquainted with the qualifications of his clergy. The dioceses are, like the parishes, divided into localities, and to pass from one to the other is generally difficult, and sometimes impossible. My objections to these proceedings are, that they, under the protection of an Act for church reform, in almost every case make that which relates to Wales more inconvenient than formerly. The bishopric is to be doubled in size, the correspondence and communication necessarily doubled, while the means of the bishop are diminished in the same proportion that

the inconvenience is increased, or his assistance likely to be required.

The circumstances under which this unconstitutional Act of the 6th and 7th of William IV. passed through Parliament give me an additional claim to your Lordships' attention. It was introduced at a period of great political excitement. Although objected to by the venerable prelates connected with North Wales, little attention appears to have been given to it in either House of Parliament. The unfavourable feelings towards the church which were attributed to the previous Parliament, and the distant period to which the loss of one of the bishops of North Wales was apparently deferred, equally contributed to induce the laity in England and Wales to withhold expressions of objections to the measure. I think I have now satisfied your Lordships that I had good grounds for submitting this case to your Lordships' notice. I have shown that those best acquainted with the North Wales dioceses advise against their union. That the church as a body is almost unanimously opposed to it. That it is impossible to believe that those who have decided to promote the union could be aware of the extent of the evil which it will entail upon the Principality. These considerations will, I trust, induce your Lordships to receive with indulgence a proposition which, however humble the individual who proposes it may be, affects seriously the church, and the spiritual interests and welfare of a large portion of Her Majesty's dominions. I trust your Lordships will not disregard the numerous petitions upon your Lordships' table, presented by other noble Lords as well as by myself, from all parts of this kingdom, or the almost unanimous voice of the clergy, where they have been enabled to express their opinions—a unanimity greater,

I believe, than has ever before been expressed by that powerful and respected body, which indicates their apprehensions of the injury the church will sustain by the destruction of an ancient bishopric, and their sympathy for their brethren in North Wales, who are to be the more immediate sufferers by this objectionable and unconstitutional Act. I feel I should have ill discharged the duties I owe to my countrymen, had I not submitted their case to your Lordships' House. The responsibility of deciding how these petitions are to be dealt with now devolves upon your Lordships.

Before I conclude I hope I may be allowed to address myself more particularly to the Most Reverend and Right Reverend Commissioners, under whose auspices the Act of the 6th and 7th William IV. has hitherto been carried out. Individually I have no right to ask any favour from them, nor should I, as an individual, presume to do so. Honoured, as I have been, with the numerous petitions which I have laid upon your Lordships' table, and thereby invested with a representative character; I, in that character, may venture to ask of those venerable prelates whether they ought to refuse to consider the prayers of the petitioners. I hope they will allow me to remind them that they have higher duties to discharge than those conferred on them as Commissioners by this modern Act of legislation;—that they are, my Lords, the Apostolical representatives of the church in this country;—that their duties as such are far more important than any which Parliament can confer. I hope they will allow me to urge earnestly, but respectfully, with how much greater satisfaction they will return from this discussion to their private retirement if they shall be induced to reconsider the steps taken, and, by listening to the prayers of the petitioners, prove themselves no less the guardians and protectors of

the church in North Wales than the promoters of her welfare in Manchester. Let these venerable men imagine to themselves the gratitude of the people of North Wales for having continued to them a blessing which their country has enjoyed for twelve or thirteen centuries. Allow me, my Lords, in urging these considerations to that venerable bench, to add that I am asking for my countrymen nothing of which they are not in possession—I ask no favour, no fresh boon. I merely ask your Lordships to arrest this prospective Act in its course, and not by your countenance and support to aid in depriving the Principality of blessings which have been consecrated by time, and of which neither revolution, civil war, nor change of dynasty, has hitherto been enabled to despoil us.

I have, my Lords, only further to express my grateful thanks for the patient attention with which your Lordships have honoured me, and to move that the Bill for preventing the Union of the Sees of St. Asaph and Bangor be now read a second time.

Lord Powis added in explanation, in consequence of some observations of the Duke of Wellington respecting the sinecure rectories which his Grace seemed to consider Lord Powis intended to defend,—

“I beg to state in explanation that I am equally with the noble Duke opposed to the continuance of the sinecure rectories according to their present system. My objection was not to the suppression of these rectories, but to their income being abstracted from the poverty of Wales and applied to the endowment of livings of wealthy England.”

Towards the conclusion of the debate, the Bishop of Exeter having suggested to Lord Powis whether, after

that which had fallen from the Right Reverend Commissioner (Bishop of London), it might not be more advantageous to the great objects in view to withdraw the Bill for the present, and to leave the question, as it stood, in the hands of the Commissioners, than even to secure a favourable vote upon the second reading of the Bill, Lord Powis said,—“I feel considerable difficulty in deciding what course is the most advisable for me to take under the appeal made to me, unaccustomed as I am to have such responsibilities thrown upon me, and knowing that a difference of opinion prevails as to whether it is or is not well now to go to a division. Under ordinary circumstances I should prefer to follow the same straightforward course on a public question which I should in private concerns, and, as we are all prepared for it, conclude my motion by going to a division. But after the suggestions of the Right Reverend Prelate and the Noble Marquis (of Salisbury), and the universal feeling among your Lordships in favour of the early establishment of a bishopric of Manchester, I think it will be a prudent course for me, with your Lordships’ permission, to withdraw the Bill for the present, reserving to myself the power of again bringing the subject to your Lordships’ notice, if satisfactory measures are not adopted in respect of the bishopric of Manchester and the bishoprics of St. Asaph and of Bangor.”

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