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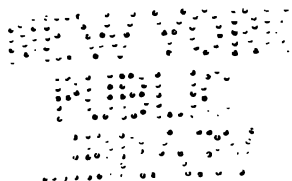




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INDEX

OF

BOOKS REVIEWED.

. For remarkable Passages in the Criticisms, Extracts, Notices, and Intelligence, see the Index at the end of the Volume.

- Achilli—Dealings with the Inquisition; or, Papal Rome, her Priests and her Jesuits; with Important Disclosures.* By the Rev. Giacinto Achilli, D.D., late Prior and Visitor of the Dominican Order, 322.
- Adult Evening Schools—A Letter to the Bishop of Norwich.* By a Country Curate, 221.
- Albertus Magnus—The Treatise of,—“Of Adhering to God.”* A translation from the Latin, 214.
- Amari—History of the War of the Sicilian Vespers.* By Michele Amari. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by the Earl of Ellesmere, 25.
- Ancient Coins and Medals—An Historical Sketch of the Origin and Progress of Coining Money in Greece and the Colonies.* By Henry Noel Humphreys, 192.
- Anderson—“The Present Crisis;” Four Sermons.* By the Rev. J. S. M. Anderson, 220.
- Angels—Lectures on the Scripture Revelations respecting Good and Evil Angels.* By a Country Pastor, 212.
- “Assertions not Proofs”—An Examination of the Rev. D. Wilson’s Appeal,* 221.
- Auricular Confession—A Sermon.* With Notes and an Appendix. By W. F. Hook, D.D., Vicar of Leeds, 249.
- Bainbridge Smith—The Church in the World; or, the Living among the Dead.* By the Rev. J. Bainbridge Smith, M.A., Vice-President of King’s College, Nova Scotia, 195.
- Baines—“Danger to the Faith;” a Sermon at Haverstock-hill.* By the Rev. J. Baines, 220.
- Baker—A Plea for “Romanizers,” so-called. A Letter to the Bishop of London.* By the Rev. Arthur Baker, 111.
- Beaven—Elements of Natural Theology.* By James Beaven, D.D., Professor of Divinity in King’s College, Toronto, 192.
- Bennett, Rev. W. J. E.—A Farewell Letter to his Parishioners,* 111.
- Berens—Twenty-three Short Lectures on the Church Catechism.* By Archdeacon Berens, 207.
- Bishop of London, Charge of the, in 1842,* 111.
- Bishop of London, Charge of the, in November, 1850,* 111.
- Borrow—Lavengro: the Scholar, the Gipsy, the Priest.* By George Borrow. Author of “The Bible in Spain,” 362.
- Bosanquet—“Substance of a Speech at a Public Meeting at Monmouth.”* By Samuel Bosanquet, Esq., 220.
- Butler—The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn, of the Convent of Friars Minors, Kilkenny; and Thady Dowling, Chancellor of Leightin.* With Introductory Remarks. By the Very Rev. Richard Butler, Dean of Clonmacnois, 282.
- Byam—Wild Life in the Interior of Central America.* By George Byam, late Forty-third Light Infantry, 443.
- Calendar of St. Augustine’s College, the,* 223.
- Calendar of the Anglican Church Illustrated, the; with brief accounts of the Saints who have Churches dedicated in their names, or whose Images are most frequently met with in England; the Early Christian and Mediæval Symbols; and an Index of Emblems,* 185.
- Canary Islands—Notes of a Residence in the,—in the South of Spain, and in Algiers; Illustrative of the State of Religion in those Countries.* By the Rev. Thomas Debary, M.A., 411.
- Carter—A Letter to the Rev. J. F. Wilkinson, Priest of the Roman Catholic Chapel at Clewer, in answer to Remarks addressed by him to the Parishioners.* By the Rev. T. T. Carter, Rector of Clewer, 436.
- Carter—The Pattern showed on the Mount; or, Thoughts of Quietness and Hope for the Church of England in her Latter Days.* By the Rev. T. T. Carter, M.A., Rector of Clewer, Berks, 442.
- “Cautions for the Times,”* 220.

- Central America—Wild Life in the Interior of.* By George Byam, late Forty-third Light Infantry, 443.
- Chronological New Testament, the,—In which the Text of the Authorized Version is only divided into paragraphs and sections, with the dates and places of transactions marked, &c.,* 211.
- Church—A Scripture Catechism upon the ; wherein the Answers are in the Words of the Bible,* 184.
- Church in the World, the ; or, the Living among the Dead.* By the Rev. J. Bainbridge Smith, M.A., Vice-President of King's College, Nova Scotia, 195.
- Classical Antiquities, the Museum of—A Quarterly Journal of Architecture and the Sister Branches of Classic Art.* No. I. 216.
- Collingwood—The Church Apostolic, Primitive, and Anglican : a Series of Sermons.* By the Rev. John Collingwood, M.A., Minister of Duke-street Episcopal Chapel, Westminster, 339.
- Cox—Biblical Commentary on St. Paul's First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians.* By Herman Olshausen, D.D. Translated by the Rev. John Edmund Cox, M.A., 202.
- Cox—Poems, Legendary and Historical.* By Edward H. Freeman, M.A., and the Rev. George W. Cox, S.C.L., 207.
- Coxe—Thoughts on Important Church Subjects: Seven Lectures.* By R. C. Coxe, M.A., Vicar of Newcastle-on-Tyne, 216.
- Cramp—A Text-Book of Popery : comprising a Brief History of the Council of Trent, and a Complete View of Roman Catholic Theology.* By J. M. Cramp, D.D., 449.
- Cultus Animæ ; or, the Arraying of the Soul : being Prayers and Meditations which may be used in Church before and after Service, adapted to the Days of the Week,* 184.
- Cyprus—Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the ; or, the Ancient British Church ; its History, Doctrine, and Rites.* By the Rev. John Williams, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Nerquis, 1.
- D. C. L.—Letters of ; Reprinted from the "Morning Chronicle,"* 111.
- Debary—Notes of a Residence in the Canary Islands, the States of Spain and Algiers ; illustrative of the State of Religion in those Countries.* By the Rev. Thomas Debary, M.A., 411.
- De Havilland—"Rome's Outworks." By the Rev. De Havilland,* 220.
- Dodsworth—A few Comments on Dr. Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of London.* By William Dodsworth, M.A., 249.
- Dodsworth—Further Comments on Dr. Pusey's Renewed Explanations.* By William Dodsworth, M.A., 249.
- Drummond—Speech of Henry Drummond, Esq., M.P., in the House of Commons, on the Second Reading of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill,* 451.
- Edwards—A Letter to the London Union on Church Matters.* By the Rev. Edward Edwards, Rector of Penegoes, 219.
- Emancipator—"The Glorious Liberty of the Children of God." By Emancipator,* 219.
- Epistle to the Romans—A Commentary on the ; with a New Translation and Explanatory Notes.* By William Withers Ewbank, M.A., 195.
- Ewbank—A Commentary on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans ; with a New Translation, and Explanatory Notes.* By W. W. Ewbank, M.A., 195.
- Faber—Papal Infallibility ; a Letter to the Dignitary of the Church of Rome, in Reply to a Communication received from him.* By G. S. Faber, B.D., Master of Sherborne Hospital, 217.
- Faith and Practice ; being Sunday Thoughts in Verse.* By a Country Curate, 194.
- Family Almanac for 1851,* 223.
- Fisher—Two Sermons on Papal Aggression.* By the Rev. Osmond Fisher, 223.
- Flower—"The Prayers to be Said or Sung." By the Rev. W. B. Flower,* 221.
- Forbes—A Commentary on the Te Deum ; chiefly from Ancient Sources.* By A. P. Forbes, D.C.L., Bishop of Brechin, 215.
- Freeman—An Essay on the Origin and Development of Window Tracery in England : with nearly Four Hundred Illustrations.* By Edward A. Freeman, M.A., 193.
- Freeman—Poems, Legendary and Historical.* By Edward H. Freeman, M.A., and the Rev. George W. Cox, S.C.L., 207.
- Gausson—"It is Written ;" or, Every Word and Expression contained in the Scriptures proved to be from God.* From the French of Professor Gausson, 191.
- Girdlestone—Scripture Politics ; a Sermon.* By the Rev. C. Girdlestone, 223.
- Gleadall—St. Paul's Prediction of the Falling-away, and the Man of Sin :*

- Four Lectures.* By the Rev. W. Gleadall, M.A., 219.
- Green—Lives of the Princesses of England from the Norman Conquest.* By Mary Ann Everett Green, Editor of the "Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies," 378.
- Gutch—"Sound an Alarm;" a Sermon.* By the Rev. C. Gutch, 219.
- Haddon—The Church Patient in her Mode of Dealing with Controversies: a Sermon Preached before the University, at St. Mary's, Oxford, on St. Stephen's Day, 1850.* By Arthur W. Haddon, B.D., 223. 449.
- Harcourt—Lectures on the Four Gospels Harmonised.* By the Rev. L. Vernon Harcourt, M.A., 209.
- Harrison—Privileges, Duties, and Perils in the English Branch of the Church of Christ at the Present Time; Six Sermons preached in Canterbury Cathedral.* By Benjamin Harrison, M.A., Archdeacon of Maidstone, 213.
- Hazlitt—The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare, from the Text of Johnson, Stevens, and Reed; with Glossarial Notes, Life, &c.* By William Hazlitt, Esq., 105.
- Hints for Happy Hours; or, Amusements for all Ages,* 211.
- Hodgson—A Plea for United Responding in the Public Worship.* By Rev. J. F. Hodgson, 221.
- Hoffman—Tales for my Cousin, translated and adapted from the German of Franz Hoffman.* By Francis M. Wilbraham, 212.
- Hook—An Ecclesiastical Biography, containing the Lives of the Ancient Fathers and Modern Divines, interspersed with Notices of Heretics and Schismatics.* By Walter Farquhar Hook, D.D., 210.
- Hook—Auricular Confession; a Sermon, with Notes, and an Appendix.* By W. F. Hook, D.D., Vicar of Leeds, 249.
- Hoskyns—A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Cuddesden, at the Ordination held by the Lord Bishop of Oxford, on Sunday, March 16, 1851.* By the Rev. H. Hoskyns, M.A., Rector of Aston Tyrrold, Berks, 449.
- Humphreys—Ancient Coins and Medals; an Historical Sketch of the Origin and Progress of Coining Money in Greece and her Colonies,* 192.
- Humphrey—The Early Progress of the Gospel; in Eight Sermons, preached before the University of Cambridge, in 1850.* By William-Gilson Humphrey, B.D., 250.
- Hussey—The Rise of the Papal Power Traced, in Three Lectures.* By Robert Hussey, B.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, 199.
- Hymnarium Sarisburiense, cum Rubricis et Notis Musicis,* 207.
- Ireland—Eleventh Report of the Church Education Society, for; being for the Year 1850,* 282.
- Irish Church Missions—Early Fruits of; a Letter from an Eye-witness after a Missionary Tour during June and July,* 1810, 282.
- Irish Church Mission Society—Rise and Progress of: the Reformation in Connemara, Dublin, &c., and the Journal of a Tour in company with the Rev. R. C. Dallas, M.A., in June, 1850,* 282.
- Ingle—"Puseyites" (so-called), no Friends to Popery.* By Rev. J. Ingle, 221.
- Jackson—A First Series of Practical Sermons.* By the Rev. Frederick Jackson, Incumbent of Parson Drove, Isle of Ely, 262.
- Jackson—Repentance: its Necessity, Nature, and Aids: A Course of Sermons preached in Lent.* By John Jackson, M.A., Rector of St. James's, Westminster, 451.
- Jarvis—The Church of the Redeemed; or, the History of the Mediatorial Kingdom. Vol. I.* By the Rev. Samuel Farmer Jarvis, D.D., 206.
- Joyce—Hymns, with Notes.* By James Joyce, A.M., Vicar of Dorking, 214.
- Kenneth; or, the Rear-Guard of the Grand Army.* By the Author of "Scenes and Characters," 189.
- King—Poems.* By Mary Ada King, 204.
- Lavengro: the Scholar, the Gipsy, the Priest.* By George Borrow, Author of "The Bible in Spain," 362.
- Lays of Palestine,* 207.
- Lectures on the Characters of our Lord's Apostles, and especially their Conduct at the time of his Apprehension and Trial.* By a Country Pastor, 199.
- Letto—A Vision of Reality; Hervor, and other Poems.* By Patrick Scott, 178.
- Letter to Lord Ashley, a.* By a Lay Member of the Church of England, 221.
- Lewis—Family Prayers, composed from the Book of Psalms, by a Layman.*

- Edited by G. W. Lewis, M.A., Vicar of Crick, 208.
- Lights on the Altar.* By a Layman, 221.
- Lindsay—Defence of the Orthodox Party in the Church of England.* By Hon. Colin Lindsay, 221.
- Lord John Russell—Speech on Papal Aggression, delivered in the House of Commons, Feb. 7, 1851, 163.*
- Lower—The Chronicle of Battle Abbey from 1066 to 1076; now first translated, with Notes, and an Abstract of the subsequent History of the Establishment.* By Mark Anthony Lower, M.A., 210.
- Lomas—The Unfruitful Vineyard. A Sermon.* By the Rev. H. Lomas, 221.
- Maberly—On the Mode of Improving Present Opportunities.* By the Rev. T. A. Maberly, 220.
- M'Corry—Was St. Peter ever at Rome?* By the Rev. J. S. M'Corry, 220.
- Maitland—Passages in the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland,* 187.
- Markland; a Story of Scottish Life.* By the Author of "Passages in the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland," 187.
- Marriott—The True Cause of Dishonour to the Church of England.* By the Rev. C. Marriott, 221.
- Martineau—No Need of a Living Infallible Guide in Matters of Faith; a series of Sermons recently preached in Whitkirk Church.* By the Rev. Arthur Martineau, M.A., 216.
- Milman—The Way through the Desert; or, the Caravan.* By the Rev. R. Milman, M.A., 214.
- Monro—Parochial Work.* By the Rev. E. Monro, M.A., Incumbent of Harrow Weald, Middlesex, 149.
- Morgan—A Vindication of the Church of England: in Reply to Viscount Fielding, on his recent Secession to the Church of Rome.* By the Rev. R. W. Morgan, 212.
- Moultrie—St. Mary the Virgin and the Wife, a Poem.* By the Rev. J. Moultrie, 219.
- Moultrie—The Black Fever, a Poem.* By the Rev. J. Moultrie, 219.
- Naturalist, the, a Monthly Magazine.* Edited by Dr. Morris, 223.
- Neale—List of all the Sees of the Eastern Church.* By the Rev. E. M. Neale, 223.
- Newland—Memorial of the Churchwardens of Westbourne.* By the Rev. H. Newland, 221.
- Newland—Whom has the Pope aggrieved?* By the Rev. H. Newland, 220.
- Old Country House, an,* 185.
- Olshausen—Biblical Commentary on St. Paul's First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians.* By Herman Olshausen, D.D. Translated by the Rev. John Edmund Cox, M.A., 202.
- Palmer—Letters on some of the Errors of Romanism, in Controversy with the Rev. Nicholas Wiseman, D.D.* By William Palmer, M.A., Prebendary of Salisbury, and Vicar of Whitchurch Canonico-rum, 437.
- Papal Aggression, Historical and Practical Remarks on the,* 220.
- Papal Aggression—Speech of the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, delivered in the House of Commons, Feb. 7, 1851, 163.*
- Papal Aggression, the Peril of.* By Anglicanus, 220.
- Papal Aggression, Two Sermons on.* By the Rev. Osmond Fisher, 223.
- Papal Aggressions; how they should be met.* By a Member of the United Church of England and Ireland, 220.
- Papal Power, the Rise of the, traced, in Three Lectures.* By Robert Hussey, B.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, 199.
- Parochial Papers on Missions,* 223.
- Parochial Work.* By the Rev. E. Monro, M.A., Incumbent of Harrow Weald, 149.
- Paul—Hand-Book of Mediæval Geography and History.* By Wilhelm Pütz, Principal Tutor at the Gymnasium of Düren. Translated by the Rev. R. B. Paul, M.A., 194.
- Pedder—The Position of our Church as to Rome.* By the Rev. Wilson Pedder, 220.
- Peile—"The Church of England, not High not Low, but Broad as the Commandment of God:" a Letter to the Prime Minister.* By T. W. Peile, D.D., 220.
- Perceval—Earl Grey's Circular.* By Dudley M. Perceval, Esq., 220.
- Pew Question, the,* 223.
- Plain Christian's Manual, a; or, Six Plain Sermons on Early Piety, the Sacraments, and Man's Latter End: Uncontroversial, but suited to the Present Time.* By John Wood Warter, B.D., 48.
- Plain Protestant's Manual, a; or, Certain Plain Sermons on the Scriptures, the Church, the Sacraments, &c.* By John Wood Warter, B.D., 434.
- Poper, a Text Book of; comprising a Brief History of the Council of Trent, and a Complete View of Roman Catholic Theology.* By J. M. Cramp, D.D., 449.
- Princesses of England from the Norman Conquest, Lives of the.* By Mary Anne

- Everett Green, Editor of "The Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies," 378.
- Pusey—A Letter to the Bishop of London, in Explanation of some Statements contained in a Letter by the Rev. W. Dodsworth.* By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., 203.
- Pusey, Rev. E. B.—Entire Absolution of the Penitent; a Sermon, preached before the University of Oxford.* By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., 249.
- Pusey, Rev. E. B.—The Church of England leaves her Children free to whom to open their Grievs: a Letter to the Rev. W. A. Richards.* By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., 249.
- Pusey, Rev. E. B.—A Letter to the Bishop of London,* 249.
- Pusey, Rev. E. B.—Renewed Explanations in consequence of Mr. Dodsworth's Comments.* By Dr. Pusey, 249.
- Pütz—Hand-Book of Mediæval Geography and History.* By Wilhelm Pütz, Principal Tutor at the Gymnasium of Düren. Translated by the Rev. R. B. Paul, 194.
- Rawnsley—Sermons, chiefly Catechetical.* By the Rev. R. Drummond Rawnsley, M.A., Vicar of Shiplake, 208.
- Readings for every Day in Lent; compiled from the Writings of Bishop Jeremy Taylor.* By the Author of "Amy Herbert," 196.
- Robins—An Argument for the Royal Supremacy.* By the Rev. Sanderson Robins, M.A., 206.
- Rogers—Jesus Christ the sole Mediator virtually denied by Roman Catholics; a Sermon.* By J. Rogers, M.A., Canon Residentiary of Exeter Cathedral, 450.
- Rogers—Roman Catholics hostile to the Free Use of the Bible; a Sermon, preached in Exeter Cathedral.* By J. Rogers, M.A., Canon Residentiary, 450.
- Roman Catholic Claims, as involved in the Recent Aggression, impartially considered, &c.* By Amicus Veritatis, 451.
- Roman Catholics hostile to the Free Use of the Bible; a Sermon, preached in Exeter Cathedral.* By J. Rogers, M.A., Canon Residentiary, 450.
- Romanism, Progress of Beguilement to; a Personal Narrative.* By Eliza Smith, Authoress of "Five Years a Catholic," 436.
- Romanizers, a Plea for, so called; a Letter to the Bishop of London.* By the Rev. Arthur Baker, 111.
- Royal Supremacy, an Argument for the.* By the Rev. Sanderson Robins, M.A., 206.
- Ruskin—Notes on the Constitution of Sheepfolds.* By J. Ruskin, 221.
- Ruskin—Seven Lamps of Architecture.* By John Ruskin, 55.
- Sandby—A Practical Address on Recent and Coming Events within the Church.* By the Rev. George Sandby, 231.
- Scoresby—Memorials of the Sea: my Father: being Records of the Adventurous Life of the late William Scoresby, Esq., of Whitby.* By his Son, the Rev. W. Scoresby, D.D., 452.
- Scott—Lello, a Vision of Reality; Herwa; and other Poems.* By Patrick Scott, 178.
- Scott—Twelve Sermons.* By Robert Scott, M.A. Prebendary of Exeter, 208.
- Seven Days, the; or, the Old and New Creation.* By the Author of "The Cathedral," 189.
- Seymour—The Talbot Case; an Authoritative and Succinct Account from 1839 to the Chancellor's Judgment: with Notes and Observations, and a Preface.* By the Rev. W. Hobart Seymour, 451.
- Shirley—Original Letters and Papers in Illustration of the History of the Church in Ireland during the Reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth.* Edited, with Notes from Autographs in the State Paper Office, by Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., 282.
- Shirley—Sermons.* By the late Walter Augustus Shirley, D.D., Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man, 205.
- Sicilian Vespers, History of the War of the.* By Michele Amari. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by the Earl of Ellesmere, 25.
- Simmons—The Working Classes; their Moral, Social, and Intellectual Condition; with practical Suggestions for their Improvement.* By G. Simmons, Civil Engineer, 149.
- Sinclair—A Series of Texts, arranged for Prayer and Praise, in the Hope of affording Guidance and Consolation in Seasons of Difficulty, Trial, and Affliction.* By a Lady. Edited by the Rev. W. Sinclair, 215.
- Smith—Progress of Beguilement to Romanism; a Personal Narrative.* By Eliza Smith, Authoress of "Five Years a Catholic," 486.
- Smith—Remarks on the Influence of Tractarianism, or Church Principles, so called, in promoting Secessions to the Church of Rome.* By the Rev. Theyre T. Smith, M.A., 219.
- Sortain—Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII.)*

- and the Excommunicated Emperor. *A Tale*. By Joseph Sortain, A.B., 203.
- Southey—The Life and Correspondence of the late Robert Southey*. In Six Volumes. Edited by his Son, the Rev. Charles Cuthbert Southey, 77.
- Speculation*, 189.
- Statement of the Clergy of St. Saviour's, Leeds*, 221.
- Stanhope—A Paraphrase and Comment upon the Epistles and Gospels appointed to be used in the Church of England on all Sundays and Holidays throughout the Year*. By George Stanhope, D.D., sometime Dean of Canterbury. A New Edition, 449.
- Stephen—A popular Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*. By Thomas Stephen, Medical Librarian of King's College, London, 211.
- Stuart—What is the Church? a Sermon*. By the Rev. Edward Stuart, 219.
- Substance of Speeches at Bridgend and Newport*, 223.
- Talbot Case, the; an Authoritative and Succinct Account from 1839 to the Chancellor's Judgment: with Notes, and Observations, and a Preface*. By the Rev. M. Hobart Seymour, 451.
- Thirty-nine Articles—A popular Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*. By Thomas Stephen, 211.
- Thorpe—A Review of the Rev. W. J. C. Bennett's Letter*. By W. Thorpe, D.D., 221.
- Thucydides, an Analysis and Summary of*. By the Author of "An Analysis and Summary of Herodotus," 192.
- Tractarian Tendencies*. By the Rev. Dr. Worthington, 221.
- Trevor—Party Spirit*. By the Rev. Canon Trevor, 221.
- Turner—The Hunting and Finding Out of the Romish Fox*. By Dr. Turner, in 1543, 220.
- Vincent—The Jurisdiction of the Crown in Matters Spiritual. A Letter to the Rev. H. E. Manning*. By the Rev. F. Vincent, 219.
- Vindiciæ Anglicanæ: England's Right against Papal Wrong; being an Attempt to suggest the Legislation by which it ought to be asserted*. By One who has sworn "faithfully and truly to advise the Queen," 163.
- Warter—A Plain Christian's Manual; or, Six Plain Sermons on Early Piety, the Sacraments, and Man's Latter End; Uncontroverted, but suited to the Present Time*. By John Wood Warter, B.D., 48.
- Warter—A Plain Protestant's Manual; or, certain Plain Sermons on the Scriptures, the Church, and the Sacraments, &c.* By John Wood Warter, B.D., Vicar of West Tarring, 434.
- Wagner—God is Love: a Sermon*. By the Rev. H. M. Wagner, 223.
- Whewell—De Obligatione Conscientiæ Prælectiones Decem Oxonii in Schola Theologica habitæ, A.D. 1647*. A Roberto Sandersono. With English Notes, including an Abridged Translation, by William Whewell, D.D., 202.
- Whitley—The Life Everlasting; or, the Holy Life, the Intermediate Life, the Eternal or Consummate Life*. By John Whitley, D.D., Chancellor of Killaloe, 208.
- Williams, Rev. Isaac—The Seven Days; or, the Old and New Creation*, 189.
- Williams—Science Simplified, and Philosophy, Natural and Experimental, made Easy*. By the Rev. David Williams, M.A., 215.
- Williams—The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry; or, the Ancient British Church; its History, Doctrines, and Rites*. By the Rev. John Williams, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Nerquis, 1.
- Wilson—A Short and Plain Instruction for the better Understanding of the Lord's Supper*. By Bishop Wilson. With Notes, by a Priest of the Church of England, 201.
- Wilson—Narrative of a Singular Escape from a Portuguese Convent; with an Introductory Address*. By the Rev. W. Carus Wilson, M.A., 196.
- Window Tracery—An Essay on the Origin and Development of, in England; with nearly Four Hundred Illustrations*. By Edward A. Freeman, 193.
- Wiseman—Letters on some of the Errors of Romanism, in Controversy with the Rev. Nicholas Wiseman, D.D.* By William Palmer, Prebendary of Salisbury, and Vicar of Whitchurch Canoncorum, 437.
- Woodward—Sermon at the Consecration of the Bishop of Meath*. By the Rev. T. Woodward, 223.
- Working Classes, the; their Moral, Social, and Intellectual Condition; with Practical Suggestions for their Improvement*. By G. Simmons, Civil Engineer.
- Wynne—Dr. Arnold and Rev. W. J. E. Bennett*. By John Wynne, 221.

CONTENTS

OF

No. XXIX.

RT.	PAGE
I.—The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry: or, the Ancient British Church; its History, Doctrines, and Rites. By the Rev. John Williams, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Nerquis, Diocese of St. Asaph	1
II.—History of the War of the Sicilian Vespers. By Michele Amari. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by the Earl of Ellesmere. 3 Vols.	25
III.—A Plain Christian's Manual; or, Six Plain Sermons on Early Piety, the Sacraments, and Man's Latter End; Uncontroversial, but suited to the Present Time. By John Wood Warter, B.D., Christ Church, Oxford, Vicar of West Tarring, Sussex, &c.	48
IV.—The Seven Lamps of Architecture. By John Ruskin	55
V.—The Life and Correspondence of the late Robert Southey. In Six Vols. Edited by his Son, the Rev. Charles Cuthbert Southey	77
VI.—1. Charge of the Bishop of London in November, 1850. 2. Charge of the Bishop of London in 1842. 3. A Farewell Letter to his Parishioners. By the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, M.A.	

CONTENTS.

ART.	PAGE
4. Letters of D. C. L., Reprinted from the "Morning Chronicle."	
5. A Plea for "Romanizers," so called. A Letter to the Bishop of London. By the Rev. Arthur Baker.	111
VII.—1. Parochial Work. By the Rev. E. Monro, M.A., Incumbent of Harrow Weald, Middlesex.	
2. The Working Classes ; their Moral, Social, and Intellectual Condition ; with practical Suggestions for their Improvement. By G. Simmons, Civil Engineer	149
VIII.—1. Papal Aggression. Speech of the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, delivered in the House of Commons, February 7, 1851.	
2. Vindiciæ Anglicanæ: England's Right against Papal Wrong ; being an Attempt to Suggest the Legislation by which it ought to be asserted. By One who has sworn "faithfully and truly to advise the Queen."	163
Notices, &c.	178
Foreign and Colonial Intelligence	224

CONTENTS

OF

No. XXX.

ART.	PAGE
I.—1. Entire Absolution of the Penitent. A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford. By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D.	
2. The Church of England leaves her Children free to whom to open their Grievs. A Letter to the Rev. W. U. Richards. By the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D.	
3. A Letter to the Bishop of London. By Dr. Pusey.	
4. A few Comments on Dr. Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of London. By William Dodsworth, M.A.	
5. Renewed Explanations, in consequence of Mr. Dodsworth's Comments. By Dr. Pusey.	
6. Further Comments on Dr. Pusey's Renewed Explanation. By William Dodsworth, M.A.	
7. Auricular Confession. A Sermon, with Notes, and an Appendix. By W. F. Hook, D.D., Vicar of Leeds.....	249
II.—1. The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn, of the Convent of Friars Minors, Kilkenny; and Thady Dowling, Chancellor of Leighlin. Together with the Annals of Ross, edited from MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with Introductory Remarks. By the Very Rev. Richard Butler, A.B., M.R.S.A., Dean of Clonmacnois.	
2. Original Letters and Papers in illustration of the History of the Church in Ireland, during the Reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. Edited, with Notes from Auto-	

CONTENTS.

ART.	PAGE
graphs in the State Paper Office. By Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., M.A.	
3. Rise and Progress of the Irish Church Mission Society: the Reformation in Connemara, Dublin, &c., and the Journal of a Tour in the County of Galway, in company with the Rev. Alexander R. C. Dallas, M.A., in June, 1850.	
4. Early Fruits of Irish Missions. A Letter from an Eye-witness after a Missionary Tour during June and July, 1850.	
5. Eleventh Report of the Church Education Society for Ireland, being for the Year 1850	232
III.—Dealings with the Inquisition, or Papal Rome, her Priests and her Jesuits: with Important Disclosures. By the Rev. Giacinto Achilli, D.D., late Prior and Visitor of the Dominican Order, Head Professor of Theology, and Vicar of the Master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace, &c.	322
IV.—The Church Apostolic, Primitive, and Anglican. A Series of Sermons. By the Rev. John Collingwood, M.A., Minister of Duke-street Episcopal Chapel, Westminster; one of the Masters of Christ's Hospital, &c.....	339
V.—Lavengro: The Scholar—The Gypsy—The Priest. By George Borrow, Author of "The Bible in Spain," and "The Gypsies in Spain"	362
VI.—Lives of the Princesses of England from the Norman Conquest. By Mary Anne Everett Green, Editor of the "Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies"	378
VII.—Notes of a Residence in the Canary Islands, the South of Spain, and Algiers; illustrative of the State of Religion in those Countries. By the Rev. Thomas Debary, M.A. ..	411
Notices, &c.	434
Foreign and Colonial Intelligence	453

THE
ENGLISH REVIEW.

MARCH, 1851.

ART. I.—*The Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cymry: or, the Ancient British Church; its History, Doctrines, and Rites.* By the Rev. JOHN WILLIAMS, M.A., *Perpetual Curate of Nerquis, Diocese of St. Asaph.* London: Cleaver.

THE History of Christianity in the West for the first three centuries presents very few certain facts for the mind to dwell upon. In the first place, it is altogether uncertain at what time or by what means the Christian faith first reached Italy, Africa, Gaul, Spain, Germany, and other western countries of the Roman empire. Without doubt there have been writers in later ages who have given us abundant details of the conversion of these countries to Christianity by the Apostles, or by missionaries appointed by them. We have had numbers of such accounts; and many Churches in the West claim to have been founded by apostolic teachers. But it is now universally admitted by learned men, that such claims, and the legends on which they are founded, are undeserving of credit; the only Church in the West which is undoubtedly of apostolical antiquity being that of the city of Rome, to which St. Paul addressed an epistle. The earliest facts respecting Christianity in France, on which any dependence can be placed, are the martyrdoms at Lyons, A.D. 177; after which, and the historical events connected with the time of Irenæus, we hear nothing further till the middle of the next century, and have then only a few meagre facts. As to Spain, we only know that Christianity existed there in the time of Irenæus and Tertullian: the Spanish martyrdoms were later than those of Gaul. Of Africa we know nothing till the time of Tertullian. The same may be said of Germany. If, therefore, we are unacquainted with the history of the first introduction of Christianity into Britain, we are nearly in the same position which every other western Church, except that of Rome, occupies; and it would be indeed a singular circumstance that Britain alone, of all the western Churches, should be able to produce the particulars of her first conversion to Christianity. So entirely were the western Churches without records of any kind, that the succession of the bishops has not been preserved in any Church; the catalogue of bishops of Rome, even, being only known, and that rather uncertainly, by the writings of Irenæus and Eusebius. There is evidence that the whole Church was, from the beginning, governed by bishops; but

there are no trustworthy records of the succession in any western Church, except that of the city of Rome, for the first three centuries.

The earliest writer who, *possibly*, refers to the existence of Christianity amongst the Celtic inhabitants of Britain, is Irenæus, who speaks of "Churches" then existing amongst "the Germans, Celts, and Iberians¹;" and as Tertullian, who wrote shortly afterwards, says that Christianity had extended even into those parts of Britain which the Romans did not possess, *i. e.* into Caledonia², it is clear that Christianity must have been of no recent introduction into Britain. There was, in fact, nothing to prevent Christianity from spreading there as it did elsewhere; for when Irenæus and Tertullian wrote, the whole of Britain, with the exception of Caledonia, had been reduced to the condition of a Roman province for more than a hundred years; the last symptoms of insurrectionary movement having been crushed, and South Britain finally subdued by Agricola in A.D. 78. Previously to that time Britain was almost continually the seat of war for thirty years—the conquest of the island having engaged the Roman legions for that time; and if Christianity was introduced during that disturbed period, it was not likely to make much progress.

But meagre as are the allusions to Christianity in Britain amongst the foreign Christian writers of the first two centuries after Christ, when we turn to our native writers and historians, a number of details on the early ecclesiastical history of England are placed before us. Venerable Bede ascribes the introduction of Christianity to Lucius, King of Britain, and to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, about A.D. 177, and subsequent writers have produced the names of the missionaries whom Eleutherius sent, at the desire of the king—the epistle which they conveyed to him, and the names of the archbishoprics and bishoprics which he founded and endowed in every city throughout Britain, in place of the flamens and archflamens of the Druids.

On the other hand, Gildas, the earliest British historian, appears never to have heard of this history; for he supposed Christianity to have been introduced here in the time of the Apostles. And the traditions of the Cymry, as carefully collected by Mr. Williams in the elaborate and interesting volume before us, coincide with this view to some extent, representing the origin of British Christianity as coeval with the Apostles.

It is our purpose, in the following pages, to offer some remarks on the historical evidence for these alleged conversions of Britain.

¹ Irenæus Adv. Hæreses, lib. i. c. 10.

² Tertul. contra Judæos, c. 7.

And, in the first instance, we shall examine the British traditions as detailed by Mr. Williams, because they not merely ascribe the greatest antiquity to Christianity in England, but because they have, at first sight, more pretensions to antiquity themselves, than the story of King Lucius, in Venerable Bede, in whose pages it appeared, for the first time, in the eighth century.

The introduction of Mr. Williams's work is occupied with details on the "Bardism" of the Cymry; a very curious and important subject, inasmuch as the traditions of ancient British history, whether correct or otherwise, appear to have been handed down *orally* by the Bards till a comparatively late period. The system of Bardism was in full operation in Britain at the period of its conquest by the Romans; and while the Druidical branch of the order, that is, the class which was immediately devoted to the religious ministrations of their superstition, became extinct under the Roman dominion, the Bards, who were the historians and poets of that rude people, continued, as amongst the Celtic populations of Ireland and of Scotland, to be a recognised and an important class in the community. It seems, however, that, in the age of Cæsar, the Druids in Gaul were acquainted with the use of *letters*, and did not scruple to employ them in all matters except those which referred to "their discipline," which they transmitted by oral tradition only (Williams, p. 31). Mr. Williams infers from this fact, that the *British* Bards and Druids, from whom those of the Continent are said to have derived their institute, must also have employed writing in aid of their tradition; but this argument does not appear very conclusive, because the Gaulish practice may have been a corruption or innovation; and we are told elsewhere by Mr. Williams that the Druidic system was only preserved pure in Britain. With reference to the Gaulish Druidism in particular, he says (p. 39),

"It is evident from these words [of Cæsar] not only that the parent institution was more perfect in matters of detail, but that the Gallic system was even destitute of fundamental and fixed principles."

The purity of Druidism, indeed, was only preserved in Britain, according to the British records produced by Mr. Williams (*ibid.*); and thus the use of writing in Gaul does not necessarily prove that there were written historical records in Britain, amongst the Druids, as Mr. Williams argues (p. 31). He quotes certain "Law Triads of Dvynwal Moelmud" to prove that it was the duty of Bards to keep a written record of "pedigrees of nobility by marriages, inheritances, and heroic actions" (p. 31); but a question will at once arise as to the antiquity and genuineness of the

works from which this quotation is made. These Laws of Dyvnwal Moelmud are *said* to be about four hundred years older than the Christian era (p. 12). - But there seems to be no evidence of their *existence* (as far as we discover from Mr. Williams's pages) until the time of Caradoc of Llancarvan, in the twelfth century *after* Christ. Mr. Williams observes (p. 37), that "it is said" that Dyvnwal's Laws were translated by Gildas (in the sixth century) into Latin, and that Asserius showed this translation to King Alfred; but no sufficient authority is cited for these statements. Mr. Williams admits that there is a reference to Christian practices in these Laws, but believes it to be an interpolation; and he considers the genuineness of the code to be established by internal evidence, because it refers to the incorporation of the Bardic College, and the influence and privileges of its members, and to Druidism as the established religion. But to us it seems that there is no demonstrative evidence of antiquity in these circumstances; for why should we not suppose that some persons, who lived in the age of Geoffry of Monmouth, and Caradoc of Llancarvan, may not have *forged* these Laws, and endeavoured to avoid the mention of Christianity (which would have exposed their fictions), and to adapt their inventions to the actual and known facts of history, so as to avoid immediate detection? Another difficulty here occurs to us with reference to documents of such vast antiquity, supposing them to be genuine. We have not observed in Mr. Williams's pages that any difference of dialect is perceptible in the various traditional documents referred to in his book. "It is remarkable," he says, "that all those which relate to the doctrine and institutes of the primitive system are invariably written in the Silurian dialect" (p. 45), *i. e.* in the Welsh of South Wales. Now if the Laws of Dyvnwal (supposed to have been written four centuries before Christ) had been con-signed to writing, or handed down in their original form, it is hardly conceivable that there should not be some material differences in dialect between them and other productions of a much later date. It seems very strange and suspicious that the dialect of all these ancient documents should be that of South Wales; —that South Wales alone should have preserved the exact dialect once used in the whole of Britain before the Roman Conquest, and preserved it unchanged in all ages. We confess this fact appears to us to throw considerable suspicion on the genuineness of all these "ancient" documents, and inclines us to apprehend that they were forged in South Wales, in or after those ages when Geoffry of Monmouth invented such marvellous tales of British history. The British language, four hundred years before Christ, could not have been identical in all respects with the British lan-

guage of six, or eight hundred, or a thousand, or fifteen hundred years after Christ.

The support and authentication of the traditions of the British Bards, by any *written* records, appears to us, therefore, very doubtful. It seems to us that both the arguments employed by Mr. Williams (p. 31), to establish the contrary, are inconclusive; yet in the absence of any evidence for the existence of written records, how very *uncertain* becomes the whole mass of traditional history and other facts conveyed in the "Triads." These Triads, or records of the Bards of Wales, profess, amongst other things, to give an account of the original peopling of Britain. They tell us what Britain was called *before* it was inhabited. They appear to carry the British history beyond the Deluge. And Mr. Williams himself, with their aid, professes to give accounts of the British history from about the time of the general dispersion at Babel. When we get down to Dyvnwal, four centuries before Christ, we feel quite at home—in modern times. We are not in a position to demonstrate that these traditions are absolutely false, inasmuch as history tells us nothing of Britain till shortly before the time of our Lord; but certainly all experience proves that traditions conveyed merely orally are liable, in time, to great corruptions and additions; and if we suspect that the Welsh Bards in later ages endeavoured to enhance the dignity of their nation by inventing an early history for Britain, and carrying it back to the remotest antiquity, their course was merely that which we find pursued by the bards and historians in many other nations, such as the Egyptians and Assyrians in ancient times, and the Scotch and Irish in more modern times. Forgeries of this kind, tending to enhance national honour and dignity, seem to have been practised at all times without scruple.

Mr. Williams in his notes, to which he refers in the Preface for the evidence as to the genuineness and antiquity of the Triads and other remains cited in his work, gives us the following information as to the "Historical Triads"—a series of records cast in the form which gives to them the name they bear, and which classes the events in groups of *threes*, which present some similarity or analogy. He quotes, in the first place, an extract from a work of Mr. Sharon Turner, which states that "the Historical Triads have been obviously put together at very different times. Some allude to circumstances about the first population and early history of the island, of which every other memorial has perished. The Triads are noticed by Camden with respect. Mr. Vaughan, the antiquary of Hengwrt, refers them to the seventh century. Some may be the records of more recent date. I think them the most curious, on the whole, of all the Welsh remains"—(p. 5).

Now, supposing Mr. Vaughan to be correct in his view, it is surely rather unlikely that records of the seventh century after Christ could be depended on for the events of nearly three thousand previous years, which they profess to give. But it appears that some of them may be records of "more recent date" than the seventh century; and it does not appear how much more recent. Mr. Owen, another writer referred to (p. 5), states that the Triads relate to persons and events from the earliest times to the beginning of the seventh century—a proof that the whole cannot be assigned to an earlier period, though it seems difficult to say why it should not be referred to a considerably *later* period. In fine, we come to the actual direct evidence for the antiquity of the historical Triads, which is merely this.

"The Triads which we insert above, are from a series in the second volume of the Welsh, or Myvyrian Archæology. To the copy from which a transcript was made for that work, the following note is annexed—'These Triads were taken from the Book of Caradoc of Nantgarvan, and from the Book of Jevan Brechva, by me, Thomas Jones, of Tregaron—and these are all I could get of the three hundred—1601.' Caradoc of Nantgarvan lived about the middle of the twelfth century. Jevan Brechva wrote a Compendium of the Welsh Annals, down to 1150."—pp. 5, 6.

Now this is, it must be confessed, a very unsatisfactory proof of the antiquity of the Triads in question. All that appears to be certain is, that Thomas Jones, of Tregaron, in 1601, *affirmed* that the Triads he transcribed were taken from the books of Caradoc and Brechva; but there is no evidence that he was correct in this statement. It depends wholly on his assertion. And even admitting that he *did* state the truth, still all it amounts to is, that these Triads were extant in the *twelfth* century; but there is no proof whatever that they existed *previously* to the twelfth century. As far as we can see, there is nothing to prevent us from supposing that Thomas Jones, of Tregaron, A.D. 1601, may have been the fabricator of the Historical Triads; or that they may have been fabricated in the twelfth century. Of course, there could not have been any difficulty in composing in the twelfth or the sixteenth century, records which contained an alleged history of Britain from the general dispersion to A.D. 700. This deficiency in external evidence of authenticity, appears to us to render the value of the Welsh historical records most questionable.

Besides the "Historical Triads" of which we have been just speaking, there is frequent reference to what are called the "Institutional Triads." Of these Mr. Williams gives the following account. He quotes them from "Poems, Lyric and Pastoral," by Edward Williams, Bard.

"These Triads (our author says) are from a manuscript collection by Llywelyn Sion, a bard of Glamorgan, about the year 1560. He was one of those appointed to collect the system of Bardism as traditionally preserved in the Gorsedd Morganwg, or Congress of Glamorgan, when the maxims of the institution were in danger of being lost, in consequence of persecution."—p. 13.

The external evidence for the antiquity of these Triads here given, is very slender. It goes back no further than the year 1560. There is no evidence that Llywelyn Sion (supposing such a person to have existed) did not adulterate, or fabricate the whole body of the Triads in question. He may have been the author of them, for any thing that we can see to the contrary; for Mr. Williams's argument for their antiquity, from their agreement with the Laws of Dvynwal, appears to us rather to throw suspicion on them; and if they suppose Bardism to be incorporated with the State, and Druidism to be flourishing, as Mr. Williams observes, in further evidence of their antiquity, it is surely quite *possible* that Sion, in 1560, may have possessed sufficient skill to introduce particulars of this kind into pieces which he wished to pass off as records of great antiquity. We find, however, at page 19, that Mr. Edward Williams, the author of the volumes whence these Institutional Triads are quoted, speaks of a manuscript Synopsis of Druidism, or Bardism, written by Llywelyn Sion, about 1560, and he adds, that the "truth and accuracy" of this Synopsis "are corroborated by innumerable notices, and allusions in our Bardic manuscripts of every age up to Taliesin, in the sixth century." It is very singular, that under these circumstances, the Triads should only be producible from the manuscript of Sion in the sixteenth century. Where are the more ancient manuscripts and notices of which this writer speaks? We lack evidence most sadly here.

But, in fact, a great mass of the Triads appear to rest on the *same* authority of a "Synopsis," or manuscript collection, of Llywelyn Sion. The author above-mentioned states, in reference to the "Theological Triads," that they are taken from the same manuscript. He adds, that this collection "was made from various manuscripts of considerable, and some say of very great antiquity—these and their authors are mentioned, and most or all of them are still extant" (p. 23). Here the writer deals in generals to such an extent, that his statements are of little value. He does not state the age of the MSS. He does not state whether he knows of their existence from personal observation or by information of others. In short, nothing can be more vague and *unsatisfactory*.

Reference is made in many parts of Mr. Williams's book to the "*Genealogy of the Saints of Britain*." From the information

given us (p. 54), on the antiquity of these catalogues of Saints, it appears that the orthography of the book from whence one of them is taken, is "ancient;" and that the second was collected by Lewis Morris "from various old MSS. in North Wales, some of which are still in existence." Here again we have no particulars stated. We do not know whether the MSS. are of the sixteenth, or of the fourteenth, or the tenth century. "Old" MSS., and "ancient" orthography, conveys no particular notion as to date, authority, &c.

We cannot conceive that the MSS. thus vaguely referred to in this and in other preceding instances, are of any great antiquity. Had they been so, the Welsh antiquarians would assuredly have endeavoured to establish their age, by sufficient evidence. They could not have failed to make use of so important a means of establishing the genuineness of these Triads and other records.

We have thus briefly examined the evidence which has been adduced in support of the authenticity of the Welsh Triads and other records, and it appears on the whole, that the external evidence is too imperfect to enable us to employ them in the establishment of historical facts. Still we would not be understood to deny that the Druidical system has been handed down in the Triads. There is much in them which appears above the faculties and learning of Bards in the later ages, and which strikes us as really ancient; but we should think that the whole has been to a considerable degree mingled with later additions; and we have no trust in the historical records, which appear to have been fabricated with a view to national pride and dignity.

But there is a far more serious difficulty than any we have yet adverted to, in reference to the historical records of the Cymry. The earliest British historian, Gildas—himself a Briton, and desirous of writing a narrative of the state of things in Britain during the dominion of the Romans, and subsequently—was unable to discover *any British records* to aid him in his work. He observes in his history, that his purpose is to narrate the evils which Britain, in the time of the Roman emperors, suffered and inflicted on people dwelling afar off, as far as he may, "not from national records, or remains of native writers, since none such appear to exist, or if there were any, they were either burnt by the enemy, or carried abroad." He concludes by informing us, that his history is based on "foreign authorities^s." Now it certainly does seem that this

^s "Illa tamen proferre conabor in medium, quæ temporibus imperatorum Romanorum et passa est et aliis intulit civibus longe positis mala; quantum tamen potuero, non tam ex Scripturis patriæ Scriptorumve monumentis,—quippe quæ, vel si qua fuerint aut ignibus hostium exusta, aut civium exsilio classe longius deportata, non compareant,—quam transmarina relatione, quæ, crebris irrupta intercapedinibus, non satis claret."—*Gildas de excidio Britannicæ*. Ed. Stephenson, pp. 13, 14.

passage in Gildas goes to subvert the authenticity of all the early historical records of the Cymry comprised in the Triads, &c. He evidently knew of no such national records or remains of native writers. If there ever were any such, he considered that they must have been burnt or lost. If he had heard of any oral traditions, he evidently did not consider them worthy of attention, or possessing any authority. We infer from this, that the Britons in the time of Gildas were unacquainted with the ancient history of their race, except in a very general way—that they knew no more of it than the broad facts which appear on the face of history—and that the historical Triads and other pieces bearing on the early history of Britain, which, as Mr. Williams himself seems to admit, bear signs of having been in part compiled as late as the seventh century, or even later, were in fact composed in that age, or some of the following ages after the time of Gildas; and, consequently, that they are of no authority whatever as regards the early British history. In point of fact, as we have seen, no evidence is before us to show that there is any documentary proof of the existence of these Triads, &c., much before the sixteenth century. No manuscript is actually produced, which can be ascribed to the twelfth or thirteenth, or even to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. No *proof* is given that Caradoc of Llan-carvan, or Brechva, in the twelfth century, wrote books containing Triads, and that the present Triads are faithful transcripts. In short, the whole thing wears a most suspicious aspect, and we know not to what age, between the seventh and the sixteenth, to ascribe the composition of the Historical Triads, and other Welsh records bearing on history.

Still we may approximate somewhat more closely to the age of these records; for not only is the Welsh traditional history more recent than the time of Gildas, but it appears to be later even than the time of Nennius—that is, later than the *ninth* century. For Nennius, who certainly was a British writer, and probably of that date, gives us a number of historical details on the early history of Britain, which are entirely different from those of the Welsh Triads, &c., and prove that this British writer of the ninth century had never heard of the stories comprised in them. Nennius states that there are different accounts of the first peopling of the island after the Deluge. According to the annals of the Romans, he says, Brutus, a descendant of Æneas, being expelled from Italy, settled in Britain with his people, as its first king, and Britain was thus peopled (Nennius, § 10, Ed. Stephenson). But, according to the British records, he says, Britto, or Brutus, was of the family of Japheth, and descended from him in the seventeenth generation, and this Britto was the

son of Hissitio, son of Alanus, who with his family first came into Europe (Nennius, § 17). Now this proves very clearly, that in the time of Nennius, the Welsh Triad history had not yet been invented. It is perfectly incredible that Nennius, a Briton, should not have been acquainted with the traditions of his own nation: he actually records what the British traditions *were* in his time: and those traditions, as stated by him, are altogether different from those of the Triads. We therefore infer that the latter are more recent than the ninth century: indeed, as Geoffry of Monmouth, appears to reproduce in an augmented form the *same* fables as those of Nennius, we should be disposed to conclude, that the Triad history is much later than the twelfth century.

But besides this, there is another most serious objection to the credibility of these British or Welsh remains; they represent a state of things in ancient Britain which is totally inconsistent with the facts of history. They suppose Britain, Siluria at least, to have been continually ruled by its own sovereigns; while we know that the whole of South Britain, including Siluria, was for centuries divided into provinces, forming a part of the Roman empire, the inhabitants of which were kept in order by a mere handful of troops. From the time of Agricola (A.D. 80), till the invasion of the Saxons, the Britons appear to have submitted very quietly to the Roman dominion; and we read of no British kings (with one exception) under the Romans. Above all, it is perfectly clear that in Siluria, more particularly, there was no such thing as an independent British sovereign, or any British sovereign at all. We fully admit that it was not unfrequently the policy of the Romans to permit sovereigns to retain their titles and a portion of their authority as tributaries, or allies, much in the same way in which England now permits several native principalities in India under her sway, and does not deem it necessary to reduce every part of the country under the direct jurisdiction of her own officials. The Romans frequently acted on this policy where they were not opposed by force of arms, but where sovereigns or states submitted without any opposition to their dominion. In Britain they did so in one instance. Cogidunus, king of the Regni, became a favourite with Claudius, in consequence of his early and willing submission to the Roman arms, and was permitted to retain the government of certain towns of his tribe. But Britain, as a whole, constituted one or more Roman provinces from the moment of its final conquest by Agricola, A.D. 80. *After* that period there is no mention of any British kings whatever.

With reference to Siluria in particular, there is historical proof that the Silures were finally conquered by Julius Frontinus, after

a long and obstinate resistance, about A.D. 75. The contemporary testimony of Tacitus on this point is indisputable. It was probably in consequence of the warlike and turbulent character of this people that one of the three legions, which constituted the Roman force in Britain, was permanently stationed in the country of the Silures, at Caerleon, or Isca Silurum. The other two legions were employed in guarding the northern barrier against the Caledonians. It is therefore clear that the country of the Silures was, of all parts of Britain, precisely that in which no native sovereign could have been permitted. It would have been contrary to all sound policy, and especially to the practice of the Romans, to permit a nation, which it was found desirable to keep in order by a garrison, to have the power of organizing itself under a sovereign of its own.

But the Welsh Triads, on the other hand, suppose that Siluria was always the seat of the British monarchy, and give us the names of a series of *Christian* princes of Britain! beginning with Bran, the father of Caractacus, and acting quite independently as sovereigns in their dominions. It supposes that Bran and Caradoc or Caractacus, were, successively, kings of Britain; that St. Cyllin succeeded to the throne (p. 63); that Owain was Cyllin's successor in his "dominions;" that Owain erected a royal palace, and endowed a choir; that Lleirwg then "ascended the throne," and established the "Archbishopric of Llandaf," &c. Mr. Williams maintains that the alleged letter of Eleutherius to King Lucius, which supposes him to be sovereign over the whole of Britain, and does not even allude to any other government whatever as having dominion in the land, is perfectly in accordance with the views which the Welsh records give of the state of things in the first and second centuries (p. 68). And yet it is perfectly clear, from undoubted history, that the whole of Britain was, during that period, in complete subjection to the dominion of the Roman emperors. The country, from one end to the other, was intersected with Roman roads, covered with Roman towns, cities, and colonies, garrisoned by Roman troops, and was furnishing its regular levies of recruits to the Roman armies, in the shape of the "British Cohorts," who were attached to so many of the legions in foreign parts. The whole machinery of Roman government was in full operation: taxes were rigidly enforced; and the natives were deprived of the use of arms⁴.

One special point of discrepancy between these Welsh documents and the facts of ancient history cannot be passed over. The Triads represent Caractacus, not merely as King of Siluria,

⁴ Ample details on these points will be found in Henry's *History of Britain*, vol. i.

but as a *native* of that country. Mr. Williams, stating the history as given in the Welsh records, says :

“ Caradog, though elective sovereign of the whole island, and ‘ ruling many nations,’ was emphatically and peculiarly Prince of Siluria, and, therefore, his patrimonial residence must have been situated in that region. A Triad justifies this natural conclusion,

‘ The three tribe herdsmen of the isle of Britain ;’

Bennren, herdsmen in Corwenydd (a place in Glamorganshire), who kept the herd of *Caradog, the son of Bran, and his tribe* ; and in that herd were twenty-one thousand milch cows, &c.”—p. 56.

Thus we see that Caractacus was, according to these Welsh records, the Prince of the Silures by hereditary descent. And moreover his father’s name was Bran, according to the same records. They state that Bran, the father of Caractacus, was carried a prisoner to Rome, along with his son Caractacus, and was imprisoned there for seven years, and having become a convert to Christianity there, returned to his kingdom of Britain.

Now all this is perfectly inconsistent with the facts of the case, as stated in the Roman historians. According to Tacitus and Dio Cassius, Caractacus, with his brother Togodumnus, were sons of *Cunobelinus*, who was king by descent, not of the Silures, but of the Cattivelaueni—a nation inhabiting a tract to the north of London, and by conquest, sovereign of the greater part of England from Yorkshire southwards. Caractacus and his brother, who had each inherited a share of the dominions of *Cunobelinus*, contended with great courage against the Roman invasion in the time of the Emperor Claudius ; but after a long contest, Caractacus, being deprived of his paternal dominions, was received by the Silures, a warlike people of South Wales, as their leader ; and at their head he engaged in a fresh contest with the Romans, which issued in his defeat, and his subsequent betrayal to the Romans by his stepmother, Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes. His father *Cunobelinus*, therefore, had been *dead* many years before Caractacus was captured by the Romans ; and this is wholly inconsistent with the Welsh Triads, which make Bran, instead of *Cunobelinus*, the father of Caractacus ; and suppose him to have been *alive* when the latter was taken. In fact, if Dio Cassius, an historian of good credit, who lived in the third century, is to be believed, there never was such a person as Bran. Tacitus also, who mentions (Annal. l. xii. c. 35, 36) the capture of the wife and daughter of Caractacus, the surrender of his brothers, and his subsequent betrayal, is perfectly silent as to the capture or betrayal of his *father*.

On the whole, then, we think there is sufficient ground for rejecting the testimony of the Welsh records on all historical points relating to events prior to the time of Gildas, who declares that there were *no historical records* extant amongst the Britons in his time, *i. e.* about the end of the sixth century.

The Welsh account of the introduction of Christianity into Britain has been adverted to above. Mr. Williams produces the following Triads in reference to the subject:—

“The three holy families of the isle of Britain:—

“The first, the family of Bran, the blessed, son of Llyr Llediaith: that Bran brought the faith in Christ first into this island from Rome, where he had been in prison through the treachery of Aregwedd Voeddawg, daughter of Avarwy, the son of Llud.”—p. 53.

And shortly after, the following:—

“The three sovereigns of the isle of Britain who conferred blessings:—

“Bran the blessed, son of Llyr Llediaith, who first brought the faith in Christ to the nation of the Cymry, from Rome, where he had been seven years a hostage for his son Caradog, whom the Romans had taken captive, after he was betrayed by treachery, and an ambush laid for him by Aregwedd Voeddawg.”—p. 54.

“The Genealogy of the Saints” is quoted to the same effect.

Now, as we have seen, the *father* of Caractacus was not alive when he was captured by the Romans; and his father's name was Cunobelinus, not Bran; so that this story is altogether incredible. And there is absolutely no evidence to prove that the records on which it appears are as much as five hundred years old; while there is distinct evidence that they are all later than the time of Nennius—the end of the ninth century. So that the tradition as to Bran, and the introduction of Christianity by him, must be absolutely rejected as a mere fabrication. In fact, the broad features of the case are quite sufficient to demonstrate the utter incredibility of the whole notion. According to the Triads and other connected records, Christianity was the established religion in Britain during the lifetime of St. Paul! A succession of Christian monarchs from that period governed the whole of Britain! Instead of Constantine being the first Christian sovereign, the kings of Britain had been for centuries Christians before his time; and in ages when Christians elsewhere were suffering persecution, they were in Britain subject to sovereigns of their own faith, and, of course, free from persecution! Certainly were all this true, it would be by far the most extraordinary concatenation of events in history; but its plain and palpable

improbability in itself, and its contradiction to all authentic history, is quite sufficient to overthrow the credit of the whole.

It may here be observed, that the Welsh history of the introduction of Christianity into Britain is absolutely inconsistent with the account given by Venerable Bede, though the latter is, we think, quite as apocryphal as the former. The Welsh traditions represent King Bran as the first Christian sovereign, and the introducer of Christianity into Britain. They give us a succession of Christian princes after King Bran until King Lleirwg, who is supposed by Mr. Williams and other writers to be the same as "King Lucius," who, according to Bede's story, wrote to Pope Eleutherius, requesting to receive baptism, and was, according to him, the founder of the Christian Church in Britain. If the "Lleirwg," or Llever Mawr, of the Triads is meant to be the same as the "Lucius" of Bede, he holds very different positions in the two accounts. In the one he is born in a Christian land, his ancestors having for several generations been Christian kings. In the latter, he seeks baptism from Pope Eleutherius, and becomes the originator of British Christianity. The two stories are radically inconsistent. "Lucius" cannot by any means be fitted into the position of "Lleirwg," nor can "Lleirwg" meet the description of "Lucius." The introduction of Christianity into Britain is directly and plainly ascribed to "Lucius" by Bede: this is right in the teeth of the Welsh records, according to which "Lleirwg" (if that means "Lucius") had nothing whatever to do with the introduction of Christianity, which had taken place a hundred and twenty years before his time. Accordingly, the Welsh records are wholly silent as to any application from "Lleirwg" to Eleutherius, or as to his having received baptism from foreign missionaries. He is supposed to have been born in a Christian land, and to have founded the Archbishopric of Llandaf.

We must here cite a few passages from Mr. Williams's work as illustrative of the state of Britain, as described in the Welsh records, before the time of "Lleirwg," and in his time.

"It is affirmed in the genealogy of Jestyn ab Gwrgant, that Caradog, 'after he had been carried prisoner to Rome, returned to Wales.' Alfred likewise says, 'that Claudius sent him home again, and that, after many years, he died in peace, being a friend to the Romans.' His son Cyllin succeeded to his throne, and is described as a wise and gracious sovereign, deeply imbued, moreover, with the desire of extending the influence of the Church within his kingdom: hence he has been emphatically styled Cyllin Sant, or Cyllin the Saint. In his days, many of the Cymry were converted to the Christian faith, through the

teaching of the native clergy, and were also visited by several missionaries from Greece and Rome.

"A custom had hitherto prevailed among the Cymry, of deferring to impose names upon individuals until they arrived at years of maturity, when their faculties were duly developed, so as to suggest a suitable and appropriate appellation. This custom was authoritatively changed by Cyllin, who enacted that, in future, a person's name shall be given him in his infancy. The alteration, we naturally presume, referred to baptism; and the royal enactment is so far interesting, as it implies the exercise of state authority in matters ecclesiastical, and the wide and visible progress which Christianity had already made in the king's immediate dominions. . . . Cyllin's life must have been extended to the second century. He left behind him two sons, Owain and Coel, the former of whom appears to have inherited his father's dominions. It would appear that he enjoyed a tranquil reign, and was on good terms with the Romans, whose magnificence and splendour he copied in the erection of a royal palace. He rendered many and great benefits to his Christian subjects in general, and particularly to the establishment founded by Eurgain [a college or monastery], which he is said to have endowed with wealth for the maintenance of twelve members. . . .

"When Lleirwg (Lucius) ascended the throne, he became deeply impressed with the necessity of providing more amply for the Church, regulating its external affairs as bearing upon the state in a more defined and permanent manner, and more clearly distinguishing it from ancient Druidism. With this view, he applied to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, A.D. 173—180, by means of Medwy and Elvan, native Christians, requesting to be furnished with the Roman and imperial laws, in which he doubtlessly expected to find certain ordinances respecting the Church. Eleutherius in reply sent him the following letter: . . .

"The conveyance of this letter was entrusted to Dyvan and Fagan, both of British extraction, and both, most probably, descendants of some of the royal captives taken to Rome with Caradog. Dyvan, indeed, is ascertained to be the great grandson of Manawydaw, Bran's brother, and, therefore, a kinsman of Lleirwg. The selection of such persons was judicious, and well calculated to promote the design of the king.

"What Lleirwg by their aid accomplished, is briefly, though not very intelligibly, specified in the Triads. One says, that he 'made the first Church at Llandaf, which was the first in the isle of Britain, and bestowed the privilege of country and native judicial power and validity of oath, upon those who might be of the faith of Christ.' Another Triad, speaking of the three archbishoprics of the isle of Britain, states: 'The first was Llandaf, of the gift of Lleirwg, the son of Coel, the son of Cyllin, who first gave lands and civil privileges to such as first embraced the faith in Christ.'"—pp. 63—69.

Here we have a history of a succession of Christian monarchs of Britain previous to the time of Lleirwg, and the latter is by

the Triads represented merely as the author of certain endowments of Churches and regulations in ecclesiastical matters. But the majority of the Britons are represented to have been Christians, even in the time of his grandfather Cyllin. The book of Llandaf, from which Mr. Williams derives much of his statement about "Lucius," is of uncertain authority. Its date is not stated; nor is its account corroborated by any other ancient documents. As far as Mr. Williams details its contents, they are inconsistent with the account given by Venerable Bede, in his account of the object of the mission to Eleutherius, which Bede states to have been for the purpose of obtaining baptism; while the book of Llandaf represents it to have been with a view to obtain copies of the Roman laws.

And now to come to Bede's account of "King Lucius." In the prefatory epistle to King Ceolwulph, Bede states the sources from which his history is drawn; and with reference to the earlier portion, extending from the beginning to the period when the English received Christianity, he professes to have derived his information chiefly from former writers—*A principio itaque voluminis hujus usque ad tempus quo gens Anglorum fidem Christi percepit, ex priorum maxime scriptis hinc inde collectis ea quæ promeremus didicimus.* Thus it appears that Bede, like Gildas, refers to former writers as his authorities; and it is not to be supposed that he derived any of his historical knowledge of those ages from the traditions of the Britons, inasmuch as Gildas (whose work is quoted by Bede) himself derived nothing from British traditions or records. If Gildas, though a Briton, knew nothing of British traditions, still less could Bede. The Anglo-Saxons, of course, could have known nothing of the history of Britain previously to their own arrival, except from information derived from the Britons; and if there was any account whatever among them of the introduction of Christianity into Britain, it must have come from the Britons. But it is quite evident that there was no knowledge amongst the Britons of the period of the introduction of Christianity. Gildas supposes, indeed, that Christianity was introduced here in the Apostolic age; and such a supposition is very reasonable. But the fact of his making this statement proves that the Britons had, at that time, no tradition of the introduction of Christianity by the imaginary "King Lucius," in the latter part of the second century.

And as the tradition about "King Lucius" was plainly not derived from *British* or domestic tradition, so it is pretty evident that it could not have been derived from foreign history or tradition. In the first place, no historian or writer, before the time of Bede, ever mentioned the fact. Gildas, Sulpicius Severus, Gregory

of Tours, Prosper, Orosius, Eusebius, Rufinus, are all silent as to the alleged fact. The Christian apologists, who refer to the extent of Christianity as amongst its evidences, never mention so remarkable a fact as this mission—the *first* mission ever sent from a sovereign to a Christian bishop. Tertullian, who wrote shortly after the alleged event, and who spoke of British Christianity, never alluded to so unprecedented a circumstance. None of the Fathers referred to it. None of the bishops of Rome ever alluded to it, in all their manifold assertions of Papal power and jurisdiction. Innocent, Zosimus, and Leo, and Gregory the Great never spoke of it. In all the many epistles of Gregory the Great referring to the introduction of Christianity into Britain—in the correspondence with Augustine on the affairs of Britain—in the subsequent letters and decretals of the Popes—in the discussions between the Anglo-Saxon and the British Clergy with reference to Easter—there is throughout a total silence as to the fact of Britain having received its Christianity through Pope Eleutherius, or of any application having been made to Eleutherius by “King Lucius.” So that in fine, no less than *five hundred and fifty years* elapsed from the date of the alleged conversion of Britain under “King Lucius,” before any mention was made of it; for Bede wrote about A.D. 730; and this profound silence is altogether inexplicable on the supposition of the truth of the story; for there were many parties interested in making it public, and referring to it, if it had been true. And to say the least, the unsupported statement of one writer, five hundred years after an event, does not, in itself, afford any historical evidence. If it happened to be based on specified records or traditions, the case might be different; but here there is nothing of the kind.

We have seen that the story could not have been derived from British traditions or records, and that it was not derived from foreign writers or remains. Nor could it have been drawn from the records of the Church of the City of Rome; for there is not the slightest trace of any such records having been preserved. None of the epistles or acts of the early bishops of Rome have been preserved. The series of decretals begins in the latter part of the fourth century: all previous records have perished, if there ever were any; and the actions of the early bishops of Rome, and proceedings of their Church are only preserved in history—in the writings of Fathers, and in the councils. If there were any ancient records they probably perished in the persecution under Diocletian.

But, besides these difficulties, there are others specially affecting the state of Britain at that period.

It is extremely improbable that Christianity should not have made its way to Britain *before* A.D. 180—the time of Eleutherius; when,

in twenty or thirty years afterwards, Tertullian testifies that Christianity had extended into parts of Britain where the Romans had not penetrated. This implies that Christianity had been for some time in Britain, and we can scarcely suppose that it had not been introduced before A.D. 180. Irenæus, perhaps, refers to it. And there was nothing in the state of Britain to prevent the spread of Christianity there: it was a peaceful and well-regulated Roman province from the time of Agricola. If Christianity had not, under such circumstances, made its way into Britain in the early part of the second century at latest, it would be a very strange fact. And to suppose that any British king would, in the year 180, be obliged to send as far as Rome in order to obtain Baptism, is inconsistent at once with all probability, and with the position held by the Church of Rome in that age; for it is incredible that there should not have been Christian Clergy much nearer than Rome: indeed, it is certain there were, as Irenæus speaks of the "Churches" amongst the Germans, Celts, and Iberians; and in that age, though the Church of the City of Rome possessed a pre-eminence, founded on its being the imperial city, yet it had scarcely assumed such a position in the Church as the alleged mission of "Lucius" to Eleutherius would seem to indicate, and which would much better suit the notions of the eighth century than those of the second.

In addition to these objections there is this: that "Lucius" is represented by Bede as King of the Britons, at a period when there certainly could have been no such person, the whole country being subject to the Roman emperors; and there is not a trace in history of any subordinate or tributary sovereigns in Britain at *that* time, or at any time after the final conquest of Britain by Agricola. There is no sort of evidence that the Romans permitted any one to succeed Cogidunus in the dominions they allotted him. It is true that Archbishop Ussher saw a gold and a silver coin bearing the name of Lucius; but the gold coin, which is still extant in the British Museum, is a forgery⁵; and the silver coin, which has disappeared, was probably no better. The only genuine British coins which appear to exist are those of Cunobelinus, the father of Caractacus, which have been found in great numbers, and of one other petty prince named Segonax.

It is very strange that writers, like Archbishop Ussher and Bishop Stillingfleet, should not have felt themselves at liberty wholly to reject the story of "King Lucius" as apocryphal. The authority of Venerable Bede is, doubtless, very respectable; and

⁵ See Rev. T. Pantin's Preface to Bishop Stillingfleet's *Origines Britannicæ*, p. xv. Ed. Oxford, 1842.

as far as regards events in the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church, it is of the highest value; and yet even in this part of his history, there are legends which it is impossible to accept as matters of fact. His informants seem to have practised on his credulity occasionally; and it is clear that a pious fraud was committed, when he was told by some one (for we will not suppose that he was himself the author of the tale) that the British Church owed its Christianity to Pope Eleutherius, as the Anglo-Saxon did to Pope Gregory. We presume that the object of inventing this tale was to show the Britons that they ought to follow the Roman customs in preference to their own, because they had originally derived their Christianity from Rome. It is of course very easy for Ussher and Stillingfleet, and other writers who have followed them, to endeavour to reduce Bede's story of "King Lucius" to credible dimensions, by getting rid of the notions which he connects with it, that Lucius was King of the Britons, and that Christianity was then first introduced. It is easy to say that Lucius was not King of the Britons, but that he might have been some tributary prince of some one of the native tribes; and that he may have communicated in some way with Eleutherius, though not for the purpose of introducing Christianity into Britain. To make suppositions and conjectures like this is very easy; but to do so is to subvert the facts which Bede connects with the story; and if this be done, the whole story may be just as well rejected at once.

If there were any *other* evidence with reference to "King Lucius" besides the statement of Venerable Bede, and if that evidence were in some respects inconsistent with that of Bede, we might make the accounts tally by rejecting the more improbable circumstances on conjecture; but we have no such reasons to correct Bede's account, because it stands perfectly alone. No former writer, or document of any kind, corroborates it. There is no collateral evidence whatever. *After* the time of Bede, "King Lucius" was, indeed, frequently referred to, but by writers who appear to have derived the notion from Bede.

Our own conviction is, that "Lucius" was a purely imaginary personage; that the fiction was invented in the eighth century, at about the same time, and on the same principles as the spurious decretal epistles of the early Bishops of Rome. We think it is a plain and evident imposture, intended for the express purpose of advancing the influence of the See of Rome, just as "the Historical Triads" were designed for the purpose of enhancing the dignity of the Welsh people.

And now, having examined the records of early British ecclesiastical history, comprised in the Welsh Triads and in the ac-

counts of King Lucius, we must notice the claims put forward by many of our writers to the presence or preaching of one or more of the Apostles in our island. Stillingfleet, Collier, and others have sufficiently shown the baselessness of those various traditions which refer us to St. Peter, or St. James the Less, or St. Simon Zelotes, or Joseph of Arimathea, or Aristobulus, as preachers of the Gospel here in the apostolic age. All these traditions are easily proved to be valueless. But the accounts of St. Paul's mission are much more deserving of attention, and have been vigorously defended by Stillingfleet and Collier, who reject so many other traditions. It may, therefore, be desirable to offer a few remarks on this subject.

The argument of Stillingfleet and Collier is briefly this: Eusebius, in his *Evangelical Demonstration*, states that the Apostles preached amongst the remotest nations, such as the Romans, Persians, Armenians, Parthians, Medians, Scythians, and that some passed over the ocean to the "British islands;" and Stillingfleet adds, that Eusebius had an opportunity of gaining accurate information as to the history of the British Churches from the Emperor Constantine, who had been in Britain. We do not attach much weight to this; for Constantine was not likely to have felt much interest in the antiquities of the British Church, or to have had time to examine them. But besides Eusebius, Theodoret (in the fifth century) after mentioning Spain, remarks that St. Paul brought salvation to the "islands" in the ocean, and elsewhere expressly speaks of the "Britons" as amongst those who were converted by the Apostles. Jerome speaks of St. Paul's having been in Spain, and going "from one ocean to another," and his preaching "as far as the earth itself." In fine, Clemens Romanus says that St. Paul preached even "to the utmost bounds of the West," an expression which, according to the usage of ancient writers, may fairly include Britain. In addition to this, it is argued that St. Paul had time and opportunity to come to Britain, for it is generally admitted that he suffered at Rome, A.D. 69; and that the period during which he dwelt two years in Rome, on his first being sent there, ended in A.D. 61. So that the eight latter years of his life may have been spent in preaching in the West; and there is sufficient reason to allege that they were so spent, from the statement of the Fathers above referred to.

Such is a summary of the argument in behalf of St. Paul's preaching in Britain, and we would observe on it, in the first place, that the testimony of Jerome is very indefinite, and does not necessarily refer to Britain at all—that Theodoret may have probably derived his opinion from Eusebius; and Eusebius may have been led to make the statements referred to by the testimony of Clemens

Romanus. The latter testimony is of the highest authority, and, as far as the words go, may certainly refer to Britain; but they may equally refer to *Spain*; and, considering that the latest date at which the epistle of Clemens Romanus could have been written was about A.D. 96, it certainly appears a strong argument that, during some part of the latter years of his life, he *did* preach in the remotest parts of the West. That he spent all the latter years of his life in the West is improbable, when we remember the declaration of St. Paul to the Philippians, ii. 24, that he would "shortly come" to them. See also the Epistle to Philemon (22). In the Second Epistle to Timothy, St. Paul says that the time of his departure is "at hand" (iv. 6); and yet it appears that he had only lately returned to Rome, from a circuit through the East and Greece (i. 18; iv. 13, 20). It is evident from this, that the latter years of St. Paul's life could not have been exclusively devoted to the West, as Bishop Stillingfleet argues. It would also be an unaccountable fact, if St. Paul had preached for any length of time in the West, there should not be extant any epistles to Western Churches. Nor is there in any of the epistles, any *allusions* even, to any Western journeys, with the single exception of his *intention* to visit Spain. If he actually visited Spain, it seems strange that the fact should not be alluded to in any way in his last epistles. It may be further added, that the time between St. Paul's release from his first imprisonment at Rome, till his death, is held by the ablest modern critics not to have exceeded *four* years, instead of eight.

But, however this may be, one thing appears very clear—that it is not probable that St. Paul should have gone to *Britain* between A.D. 61 and 69; for in 61 and 62 occurred the expedition of Suetonius against Mona, and the subsequent bloody struggle between the Romans and Britons, in which seventy thousand Romans and their confederates were put to death at Camulodunum, London, Verulamium, and other places; while eighty thousand of Boadicea's army fell in battle. And though, after this, the war was not carried on with any vigour by the Romans till the time of Vespasian, about A.D. 70, still Britain was, unlike any of the other Roman provinces of the West, the seat of war. And it is not probable that St. Paul should have visited this island, when this was the case; more especially since, if we suppose him to have preached through the peaceable countries of Spain, and perhaps Gaul, and to have revisited the East, there would have been abundant employment for his latter years, without supposing that he visited a country which was in so unsettled a state as Britain. He would not have come to Britain until he had first evangelized Spain and Gaul, and those

two countries were of such vast extent, that, judging from his preaching elsewhere, he would have been engaged for several years in preaching there; so that, remembering his visit to the East, which certainly took place before his death, and which must have taken a long time, it seems very improbable that he should have come to Britain.

Setting aside therefore, as very improbable, any notion of a mission by St. Paul, or any other Apostle, in Britain, and rejecting also the story of the conversion under the pretended "Lucius," King of Britain, and also the fabrications of the Welsh Bards, in reference to the introduction of Christianity by Bran, the father of Caractacus; we only know, as matter of historical fact, that from the time of Agricola, A.D. 80, the province of Britain was reduced to subjection to the Roman arms and laws; and that there is the same probability that Christianity penetrated there at an early period, as there is in the case of Spain, Gaul, Africa, and Germany. But from the time of Agricola, A.D. 80, till that of Tertullian, A.D. 200, we hear absolutely nothing certain about Christianity in Britain—not even whether it existed. All we do know is, that by Tertullian's time Christianity in Britain had extended into those parts not subject to the Roman dominion;—that is, into Caledonia;—from which we may infer that it had existed for a considerable time previously in this country; and the allusion in the writings of Irenæus to Christian Churches among the "Celts," may very possibly refer to Britain as well as Gaul, both countries including a Celtic population at that time.

The mention of Christianity as existing in Britain in the pages of Origen, is the only circumstance in our ecclesiastical history of the third century; but, early in the fourth, we have the martyrdom of Alban, Julius, and others—the first mention of which occurs in Gildas, about A.D. 570, and which he may have learnt from the Martyrology in use in the British Church. Venantius Fortunatus, who, in the seventh century, mentioned the martyrdom of St. Alban in his poems, probably learnt the circumstance from the writings of Gildas, as Venerable Bede may also have done; and in the interval between the time of Gildas and Bede, the legend, as was to be expected, received many additional extraordinary circumstances. The facts relating to the Synod at Arles, A.D. 314, the orthodoxy of the British bishops during the Arian controversy, their presence at Ariminum, and the poverty of three of their number (the majority being in better circumstances), the events of the Pelagian controversy, and the mission of Germanus and Lupus, in the fifth century, are all within the province of history; though there are various disputed points. The amount of historical fact, however, is very small.

Certain conclusions, however, occur to us with reference to the whole history, up to the period of the Saxon invasion.

I. It is apparent that in their religious belief, and generally in their practice, the British Church agreed with the prevalent feeling and principles of the Church generally. They were not heretical, or in any respect peculiar, but were recognised as a part of the one great Christian body extended throughout the world. The faith, as described by Irenæus, Tertullian, and the other ante-Nicene Fathers, was theirs. In the Arian controversy they took the orthodox side. The same result followed in the Pelagian controversies. There are indications in Gildas that they also shared the prevalent feeling as regarded martyrs and their remains; and their adoption of the early discipline in regard to widows, testified by Fastidius, and their acceptance of the monastic institute, introduced into the West by Martin, Bishop of Tours, are indications of their general tone of mind. Their hierarchy was exactly like that of the rest of Christendom, consisting of three orders.

As regards the Papal Supremacy, we find nothing of the kind here, or in other western countries beyond Italy. The extensive jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome (over the suburbicarian provinces) is indeed alluded to by the Synod of Arles, at which British Bishops were present. The Bishop of Rome was given certain powers of causing causes to be reheard by the Synod of Sardica in 347; and the Bishops of Britain seem to have been there also; but there was no recognition of a Papal Supremacy in this—it was merely conferring on the bishop of the imperial city certain privileges which he did not before possess; nor was this Canon acted on. In 378 the temporal sovereign enacted a law by which all bishops were made liable to be tried by the Bishop of Rome, and Britain, of course, was included amongst the rest; but this law was not acted upon, as is evident from the history of the African Church in the next century. The first interference in the affairs of the British Church by the Bishops of Rome was in the time of the Pelagian controversy, when Celestine is said to have commissioned Germanus and Lupus, Gallican bishops, to visit Britain. The authorities are rather various on this point, some ascribing the mission to the Synod of Gallican bishops; but it does not seem improbable that Celestine may have interfered, because he and his predecessor Zosimus had induced the Bishops of Arles to accept the delegation of authority from the See of Rome, and had thus made the first step towards universal jurisdiction. There is nothing whatever inconsistent with the spirit of the fifth century in the supposition that Germanus was sent with the authority of the See of

Rome into Britain. It was at this period that Zosimus endeavoured to extend his jurisdiction to Africa, alleging in its support the Canon of Sardica, which he represented as a Canon of the Synod of Nice. On the detection of his deceit, the African Bishops, headed by St. Augustine, passed Canons prohibiting any such jurisdiction as that claimed by Zosimus under penalty of excommunication. In Gaul, however, the Bishops of Arles accepted in this century the delegation of powers from the See of Rome; and it is very possible therefore, that a Gallican bishop going to Britain to meet a rising heresy, might have been authorized by the See of Rome as well as by the Gallican synod of bishops. Probably, if the Roman dominion had continued in Britain, or if Christianity had remained settled there, the Popes would have endeavoured to appoint a Vicar here as they did in Gaul, and Spain, and Illyricum; and very possibly they might have succeeded in the attempt, and a commencement might thus have been made of ordinary jurisdiction.

We apprehend that it would be difficult to prove that the British Church was in any material point different from the rest of the Western Church in the time of Gregory the Great. Its customs were certainly different in various points from those of Rome; and there are many reasons for thinking that they were derived from those of the old Gallican Church, with which the Britons were connected by immediate vicinity, by a common language, and by a common derivation, the Celtic race prevailing in each of the two countries previously to the invasion of the Saxons and the Franks.

The people of Wales and the Bretons form the remains of that people who once overspread the greater part of Britain and Gaul—relics of the aboriginal population of the West. There is a deep interest attaching to all that concerns the history of that most ancient race; but its national dignity stands in no need of fable and exaggeration to enhance it. A race whose forefathers stood in heroic opposition to the Roman legions—to the eagles of the Cæsars—may be permitted to indulge in those feelings of national pride in which Welshmen, to do them justice, are rarely deficient; but the fables of Geoffry of Monmouth, or the inventions of the Bards, only tend to invite criticism, and by their extravagance, to diminish the respect due to the far-descended race of the CYMRŪ.

ART. II.—*History of the War of the Sicilian Vespers.* By MICHELE AMARI. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by the EARL OF ELLESMERE. 3 vols. London: Bentley. 1850.

LATE events have given a peculiar and painful interest to Sicily and her people: and yet, perhaps, we are wrong, in attributing any especial importance to the Sicilian question. For, without entering into the merits of the late struggle between the insurgents and their conquerors, we may safely assert that there is no spot on the face of the earth where a Bourbon has trodden, from the day of Hugh Capet's successful treason to the present time, without leaving his foot-prints of blood; and that there is no people or potentate under heaven that has not sufficient reason and just cause to dread the very name of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs; always, of course, excepting the Emperor of Russia and the Pope of Rome. These worthies, the one from his political, the other from his religious antagonism, to the best and truest interests of our country, have found a constant and useful auxiliary in the foreign minister of the Queen of England.

Leaving, however, this august trio to that consideration which they deserve and receive at the hands of every true-hearted Englishman, let us proceed to the examination of the very exciting volumes before us. We had, at first, used the epithet "*interesting*:" but, on second thoughts, have felt compelled to substitute the phrase which we have adopted. For though there is much of stirring event and striking incident in this work, and though it contains a masterly narrative of an important war, abounding with many caustic remarks and eloquent passages, there is a decided want of *interest*, properly so called. And this arises not from any fault in the writer, though in the warmth of his Sicilian provincialism and southern enthusiasm he is sometimes rather carried away by his feelings, but from an essential defect in his subject. Almost all the persons who play a conspicuous part in the drama are so atrociously wicked, or so ineffably childish, that we can feel no sympathy either with their success or their defeat. Thus all the sovereigns, with scarcely an exception, are avaricious and cruel, monsters of tyranny and perfidy, whilst the patriots for the most part are worthy disciples of their royal instructors.

The insurrection and massacre, properly known as that of the Sicilian Vespers, awakens in our mind little else but horror and disgust, which is in no way removed by the atrocious tyranny that preceded and provoked it.

The character of Peter of Arragon: his duplicity, his barbarity, his ingratitude, is not in our opinion rendered worthy of admiration by his courage, his perseverance, and his policy.

His son James is an embodiment of perfidy. And his brother Frederick far too wanting in constancy of purpose, or consistency of principle, to win our respect.

The Angevin monarch, Charles the First of Naples, combines that selfishness and superstition, which so frequently characterise his family—a family, the animus of which finds its truest exponents in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the pollution of the Palatinate.

But in darkest colours, a darkness that may be felt, though lurid with flame and crimson with blood, stand out the Roman Pontiffs and their emissaries.

The work, however, has its many powerful lessons, lessons which the present age may profit from, if it is so inclined; some of which we shall slightly indicate in the cursory notice which we are able to bestow upon it:—

“After its occupation by Charlemagne,” says Mr. Amari, “and the Othos, the greater part of Italy had remained subject to the feudal supremacy of the Emperors of the West; but these mighty men gave place to feeble successors; the turbulence of the great feudatories distracted the empire; and the German dominion soon became, at best, merely nominal on this side of the Alps. Meanwhile, the Church increased in power, and with the scriptural doctrines of liberty and equality, encouraged the Italians to throw off the yoke. Industry, commerce, science, and literature sprang up anew in Italy, to change the destinies of the world. Fostered by them, from the confused multitude of serfs, vassals, and lesser nobles, arose a new order—the people, sole basis of equal rights and civil freedom. Hence, when the feudal system changed into feudal anarchy, the latter, encountering this new order, gave rise, in the eleventh century, to the mercantile republics.”—Vol. i. p. 17.

“Sicily, and the peninsula south of the Garigliano, though differing little from the rest of Italy in race, language, traditions, and manners, were subjected to a different form of government. While in the rest of Europe, the Northern races, losing the virtues of barbarism retained only its vices, Sicily, like Spain, was under the dominion of the Saracens, who, if not civilised, were enlightened, and full of the activity and energy of a recently regenerated people. The mainland province now invaded by the barbarians, now reconquered by the Greek Em-

perors, split itself into a multitude of states, under various polities. Some of them were adopting the forms of the rising Italian republics, when a handful of Norman adventurers, summoned as defenders, made themselves masters of the soil, and established the feudal system. Crossing into Sicily, toward the close of the eleventh century, they drove out the Saracens, who were odious to the natives as foreign rulers differing from them in race and religion, and founded there a new principality. They were the first to introduce feudality, which, as it was already beginning to decline in the rest of Europe, here arose in a more equitable and milder form, being further modified by the virtues and ability of Roger, the leader of the conquerors, by the influence of the great cities, by the powers grasped by the Church on the head of Christian virtues, by the amount of allodial lands, by the wealth and number of the Saracens, subdued rather than exterminated, and even by that of the Christian inhabitants of Sicily. Thus Count Roger, as ruler of a free people, rather than chief of a turbulent baronage, and invested with the authority of pontifical legate (which is, even to the present day, an inherent privilege of the Sicilian crown), governed his new state firmly and orderly. It was raised to the rank of a kingdom by the second Roger, son of the count, who, by combined force and policy, wrested Apulia and Calabria from the other Norman princes, and then gallantly defended them with Sicilian arms against the barons, who there enjoyed greater powers, the Emperor and the Pope. Upon this he was hailed by the parliament, King of Sicily, Duke of Apulia and Calabria, and Prince of Capua; and at length, either of favour or necessity, recognised by the Pope. He centred the power of the magistracy in the crown, restrained the barons, established wise internal regulations, revived industry, and employed his arms with success beyond the limits of his kingdom.

"The newly-founded Sicilian monarchy had two opposing powers to contend with; these were the baronage (which, although not sufficiently powerful to set at nought the regal authority, was yet daring enough to provoke it), and the court of Rome. The latter involved our princes in the contests of Italy, now calling them to her aid, and now laying claim to their provinces, and openly combating them. Nevertheless the monarchy, based on a firm foundation, resisted these assaults from within and from without, strengthened itself by improved laws under the reign of the second William, and might, perhaps, after a long period of neutrality, have raised a true national standard in Italy, subdued the Emperor and the Pope, and occupied and protected the whole country to the foot of the Alps, had it not passed, by marriage, from the Norman line to the House of Suabia, which at that time wielded the sceptre of the empire."—Vol. i. pp. 21—24.

Then followed the long and deadly contest between the Popedom and the House of Suabia, which ended in the entire annihilation of the latter. At the death of the great Emperor, Frederick II., the reigning Pope, Innocent IV., redoubled his efforts

for their destruction : and succeeded in preventing his son Conrad from being elected Emperor, and in order to deprive him of his southern dominions he proclaimed, as he had in the time of Frederick, liberty to the people : he stirred up the barons, exhorted the bishops and clergy, preached remission of sins to all who would rise in rebellion against their sovereign, and in his briefs, and by his legates, endeavoured to arouse a spirit of disaffection, promising to all orders and conditions of men, peace, prosperity, and every other result of mild and just government under the protection of the Church. There were not wanting causes of complaint against the reigning house: the Suabian dynasty is indeed charged with rigour and avarice : we are, however, inclined to think that such rigour may have been necessary for the maintenance of order, and the protection of person and property, in an age and country where insubordination was general, and lawlessness universal : and no doubt can exist but that, even supposing the imperial avarice not to have been *produced* by the necessity of obtaining funds for carrying on the contest against Rome, it was vastly increased by that cause. Subjects of discontent there always will be, but we doubt extremely whether the Sicilians and Neapolitans were justified in their feelings of disaffection, much less in their practices of treason. The result would seem to condemn them.

For the present, the intrigues of the Pope and the insubordination of the people were overpowered by the zeal of the Ghibellines, and the talents of Manfred, an illegitimate son of the late Emperor. After a reign, however, of little more than two years, Conrad died, leaving an only child, an infant, named Conrad, but known in history by the childish diminutive of Conradin. His father confided him, as an infant and an orphan, to the paternal care of the Pontiff, who, in the ruthless and unchristian spirit which has so often characterized the See of Rome, a spirit naturally breathing itself into the constant energy of life from the errors of her church and the claims of her Bishop, renewed his assaults more furiously than ever, both by force and fraud, upon the heritage of the helpless and fatherless child.

At this juncture the conduct of the Sicilians is utterly inexcusable. They had a noble opportunity of saving their country, their honour, and their king. Had they rallied round the defenceless innocent whom the Providence of God had appointed for their future ruler, they might have secured all their existing franchises, and obtained all those that were wanting ; they might have consolidated the Sicilian constitution, obtained the entire freedom of their country from foreign domination, ensured the love and gratitude of their prince, and established a mutual

good-will and devotion alike beneficial to the ruler and the ruled.

Instead of doing this they quarrelled miserably among themselves, and at length established what has been aptly termed the Republic of Vanity. This bubble polity was, after a brief existence, destroyed by Manfred, whom we have already mentioned as the illegitimate son of Frederick the Second, and who was thus uncle to the infant Conradin. For a time, the Papal arms had been universally victorious on the continent. Manfred, however, and some few partisans of the Suabian dynasty still held out. That able prince fought his ground most bravely, and, watching his opportunity, succeeded in reconquering the kingdom of Naples.

"Thus," says our author, "Manfred subdued all the inhabitants of the mainland and of Sicily, and governed, for a time, in the name of Conradin; but, unwilling to resign to a mere child the sceptre he had reconquered by his own valour, he promulgated the report of the death of his nephew in Germany; and whether his word were believed or no, he assumed the crown in Palermo, as sole heir of Frederick, on the 11th of August, 1258.

"Manfred held the reins of government with a strong hand, and, finding conciliation impossible, combated the court of Rome with desperate energy. He placed himself at the head of the Ghibeline party, which he revived in Lombardy, and fomented in Tuscany. He found partisans even in Rome, which was not yet subdued by the Popes; and, being governed by a senator, had recently elected to that office one Brancaleone, a man of lofty spirit; who, from community of hatred, had allied himself to the Ghibeline king. The court of Rome, finding itself, under these circumstances, unequal to maintain the conflict, now hastened to put into execution a long-conceived design. So early as on the decease of Frederick II., Pope Innocent, conscious of the want of vigour in the pontifical arm to wield the sceptre of Sicily and Apulia, had turned his eyes to the west in search of some potentate who would conquer them with his own forces, and hold them with the title of king in fief from the Church, upon condition of paying her tribute both in money and in military service; by which means he would raise in Italy a powerful champion of the Church and head of the Guelph party. Thus, while proclaiming liberty to the people of southern Italy and Sicily, he bargained for them as for a flock of sheep: first, with Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III. of England; then with Charles, Count of Anjou and Provence, brother of Louis IX. of France; and, finally, with the youthful Edmund, son of the aforesaid Henry. The still existing epistles of the monarchs, and bulls of Innocent and of his successors, reveal and confirm all these practices, carried on for sixteen years by the court of Rome with the utmost caution, unless when driven to precipitancy by fear or indignation. With unwearied zeal

the Pope dispatched briefs and legates to urge on the sovereigns—used every effort to win over their courtiers, and lavished the tithes of all Christendom to aid the conquest of Sicily and Apulia. To this end he published a crusade, and commuted for it the vows of princes and nations to take part in the holy war in Palestine. Often, during these negotiations, the court of Rome, either from want of means, from the necessity of self-defence, or from impatience to occupy some of the provinces of Apulia, borrowed money upon the security of the property of the Transalpine churches, and compelled their prelates to satisfy the claims of the creditors, threatening those who showed reluctance with the weight of its censures. Sometimes the Pope granted bulls of investiture in exchange for vast sums of money; sometimes his eagerness for the destruction of Manfred made him suspend these lucrative practices; and mean while the enterprise was postponed, as beyond the powers of those who meditated it, and rendered almost desperate by the strength and talents of Manfred.”—Vol. i. pp. 40—43.

That excellent monarch, St. Louis, whose sublime and eminent virtues, virtues which would have shone bright even in a constellation of good and great men, but which appearing as they do in one of his family, stand forth like gems in the darkness, and render him the Abdiel of his race, held out for a long time against the pleadings of papal craft. He was ready to protect the Church, to fight for the Church, to die for the Church; but his simple piety could not perceive the righteousness of the unjust and outrageous aggression proposed by the supreme pontiff. At length, however, he was won over by the wiles and prayers of the Pope, who represented Manfred as a monster of cruelty and licentiousness, half Saracen and half heretic, ruling with avaricious and lawless tyranny over a suffering and Christian people.

So St. Louis gave his sanction to the enterprize of his brother, Charles of Anjou; and in the Angevin prince the Pope found a suitable instrument wherewith to effect his purposes.

“And now all haste was made to prepare arms and forces for the war against Manfred. . . . Having thus gathered from all quarters the means of defraying the cost of the preparations, the warriors, whose object was gain, and the crusade their pretext, assembled under the adventurous banner of Anjou, some as mercenaries, some leading bands of followers at their own expense, like a stake in a speculation or a lottery, with the hope of a return in territorial possessions in the conquered kingdom. They amounted to thirty thousand, between horse and foot; and yet they are designated in history as an army, not, as they were in truth, a band of freebooters, congregated beyond the Alps, to pour down upon Italy, to slay for the sake of plunder, and to assume the semblance of authority, and stigmatize resistance as rebellion.

“After a perilous sea-voyage, to avoid the formidable army of Manfred, Charles landed in Italy with a handful of followers; and, in June,

1265, he assumed for a time the office of senator of Rome, by the consent of the Pope. In the autumn his forces crossed the Alps, meeting with no opposition from the Italian Ghibellines, some of whom were intimidated, and others bought over. Thus fortune, which overthrows all human counsels at a breath, at this juncture forsook Manfred. The divisions of Italy were injurious to him, as the prospect of innovation produced a revival of the Guelph party. The power of the Church was likewise against him; but it was the fickleness of his barons which wrought his ruin, together with the disaffection of the people, caused by the frequency and weight of the imposts, the often-repeated excommunications, and all the evils engendered by the struggle with Rome."—Vol. i. pp. 52, 53.

Deserted by the headstrong baronage and discontented people, more capable of discerning the faults than of appreciating the merits of their ruler—Manfred was left with but few followers to oppose the vast and warlike force of the foreign invader. Gathering, however, an army of Germans and Italians, of as many Apulians as were faithful to his cause, and of the Saracens of Sicily, who had been removed to the mainland, and who, hated by all besides, clung to him alone, he did all that indomitable energy could do to strengthen his forces, and endeavoured, with the utmost skill, to gain time from the enemy. His efforts were, however, unavailing. The winter had set in with great severity. Charles of Anjou had been crowned at the Vatican on the 6th of January, 1266: and the failure of means left him but two alternatives,—to advance at once upon Manfred, or to disband his forces immediately. He adopted the former. His advance was rapid, and accompanied with rapid success.

"Only at Benevento was there fighting; for Manfred was there, and Charles would listen to no conditions of peace. There the Germans and the Sicilian Saracens fought bravely; the rest fled; and after a fearful carnage the impetuosity of the French carried the day. Manfred thereupon rushed upon the ranks of the enemy to seek for death, nor did he seek it in vain. His corpse was found amongst the thousands of the slain, and over it the hostile soldiers raised a pile of stones; but even this humble sepulture was denied him by the hatred of the pontifical legate; and, for his last obsequies, the remains of the Suabian hero were flung to the dogs on the banks of the Verde.

"Naples applauded the conqueror; rebellion, the defeat of the army, and the death of the king, caused the submission of the remainder of Apulia and Calabria, as well as of Sicily; the gallant Saracens alone held out in Lucera. The treasures of the vanquished were hastily divided between Charles, Beatrice, and their knights; the soldiers of fortune obtained lands and dignities; and the people, who in changing their rulers rarely change their destinies for the better, hoped, as usual, to reap benefit, deeming that peace would bring with it a diminution of

the taxes imposed for the maintenance of the obstinate conflict with the Court of Rome."—Vol. i. pp. 55, 56.

How far this expectation was realized, we learn from the sequel, which gives an account of oppression so grinding, cruel, unrelenting, and destructive, that the particulars are hard to be believed. We do, however, fully believe them, not only from Mr. Amari's high character for fidelity, honesty, and accuracy, but from the full and unmistakable evidence of entire and unswerving truthfulness, which these volumes display. No one can read them without believing every statement of fact which they contain.

And here we must pause to observe, that had the Sicilians done their duty by Conrad in the first place, they would neither have fallen under the sway of Manfred, nor that of the house of Anjou; and that had they, after acknowledging Manfred as their king, stood by him, they would not have undergone the miseries to which they were afterwards subjected. Manfred may have been arbitrary, and even in some degree rapacious—as great princes, and all great men, were tempted to be in those good old times, which our mediævalists hold up to us as the ages of faith, and days of universal blessedness,—a sort of foreshadowing, it would seem, of the Millennium: but he was, take him all in all, an able and a good ruler; and whatever his faults may have been, he was as an angel of light compared with the miscreant who succeeded him.

Charles had not long enjoyed his easy conquest, when an unexpected adversary rose up against him in the almost forgotten Conrad, rightful heir to the throne. The exiled Italians from all quarters, expelled by the dominance of their enemies, and those who remained at home, oppressed by the hostile faction, by the Pope or by the foreigners, turned their eyes to him; whilst foreign princes gave him their assistance. He had now just emerged from extreme youth into early manhood; and in less than a year after the conquest of Apulia and Sicily, Charles found himself in danger of losing his so easily acquired dominions. And so successfully did Conrad and his partisans carry on their plans, that in the same year, 1267, the young prince descended upon Verona at the head of a German army of four thousand horse and several thousand foot. Don Henry of Castile, one of his firmest allies, was tumultuously elected in Rome to the office of senator; every where the Ghibellines arose in arms; and Sicily broke out into open insurrection against King Charles.

Had the Sicilians even now fought boldly, and unitedly, and *loyally*, for their lawful sovereign Conrad, there can be no doubt but that he would have achieved their deliverance, and established

the throne upon a firm, lasting, constitutional, and independent basis ; but with that factious selfishness, and restless folly, and headstrong vehemence, and childish impatience, which so often are to be discerned in their conduct, they spent in internal quarrels the greater part of that energy which should have been directed against the common enemy. It was just one of those cases in which we see the narrow-mindedness as well as narrow-heartedness of selfishness, and the practical wisdom as well as moral beauty of loyalty and self-devotion. Had the Sicilians thought more of their prince, and less of themselves ; more of his interests, and less of their own ; and more of their duties, and less of their deserts ; they would have triumphed. As it was, the enterprise of Conradin, after a temporary success, altogether failed ; and the Sicilians were subjected, as they deserved to be, to the merciless vengeance of the French tyrant. We pity the helpless and the innocent victims of his cruelty, and that of his myrmidons ; but we think that no amount of punishment would have been excessive or ill-bestowed upon any able-bodied Sicilian man, who, after rising in defence of the noble young Suabian, failed to support him to the last drop of his blood. So that, in fact, Providence, in our opinion, ordained that Charles of Anjou should, however unintentionally, punish the Sicilians for their treason to their lawful and gallant young prince.

We pass over the events of the war, and proceed to the two last scenes in Conradin's brief career of glory.

"Charles, unused to the sudden outbreaks of Italy, was terrified on beholding half the peninsula rising in favour of Conradin, Sicily lost, Apulia infected with the spirit of rebellion, and Conradin, whom the want of means had at first arrested at Verona, victorious on the Arno, gathering strength at Rome by the assistance of Henry of Castile, and, heedless of anathemas, advancing in a menacing attitude against the kingdom at the head of 10,000 horse, and a still greater array of foot, made up of Germans, Spaniards, Italians, and exiles of Apulia. Nor could Charles muster an army equally numerous ; but his troops were for the most part French, better disciplined, and commanded by more experienced leaders, and he boldly made head against the enemy near the frontier. They joined battle at Tagliacozzo, in the plain of San Valentina, on the 23rd of August, 1268 ; and fortune had already declared for Conradin, when the third division of the French army, led by the veteran Alard de Valary, and William prince of the Morea, appeared on the field, and with great slaughter broke the ranks of those whom the confidence of victory had thrown into disorder. The chiefs of Conradin's army were taken prisoners, and their followers slain by thousands. Charles, finding several Romans amongst them, not content to take their lives alone, in revenge for his deposition from the office of senator, in the first burst of his indignation, commanded that their feet

should be cut off; but afterwards, fearing that they should drag themselves to Rome to increase the hatred of its inhabitants against him by their miserable plight, he revoked the order. They were shut up in a house, and burned alive. And this was the champion of the Church! Conradin was recognised as a fugitive at Astura, and taken by treachery. His partisans, though still strong in numbers, were dismayed by this defeat; they disbanded themselves, each seeking only his own safety, and thus all were lost. Charles of Anjou retained his kingdom, as he had gained it, by a single battle; but the means which he adopted at once to secure and revenge himself are painful to record.

"I will begin by Conradin, although, before his blood was shed, that of his subjects had already flowed in torrents. Some attribute the evil counsel concerning him to Clement, whom others exonerate; my own belief is, that the pope and the king, urged on by indignation for the fear he had caused them, and anxiety for the future, were agreed in desiring the death of the youth. They were not executioners in a dungeon, but representatives of the nation, before the eyes of God and of the people, who defiled themselves with the guilt of the murder thus enjoined. King Charles summoned a parliament of barons, syndics, and burgesses of the cities of Apulia; every judicial form was mockingly observed; so that it seems like a foretaste of later times to read the logic by which, as usual in such cases, that singular court condemned Conradin and his followers to death. One Guidone da Suzara, a famous professor of civil law, who was not a subject of Charles, nor ambitious of his favour, alone dared to oppose the sentence; the consciences of the rest smote them, and the well-disposed sorrowed in their hearts; even the French execrated the monarch's cruelty; but the king's will was known, the judges trembled, and opposition was vain. A youth of sixteen, last scion of so long a line of emperors and kings, himself rightful sovereign of Sicily and Apulia, was led forth to execution, in the market-place of Naples, on the 29th of October 1268, followed by a string of victims, that the vengeance of the tyrant might be more ample on those who had roused him from his repose. By the side of Conradin walked the young Duke of Austria, the beloved companion of his childhood; both were fair and comely, and with an intrepid countenance and firm step advanced towards the scaffold. It was covered with scarlet, in semblance of regal pomp, and sullenly guarded by armed soldiers; the market-place was crowded with people, while, from the roof of a tower, Charles, like a crouching tiger, watched the scene. Conradin ascended the platform, showed himself to the spectators, and having listened to the sentence which pronounced him a sacrilegious traitor, nobly protested against it before God and the people. At his words a murmur ran through the multitude; then all were silent, paralyzed with fear, and, pale and terrified, fixed their eyes on Conradin. He gazed around upon the sea of horror-stricken countenances with a smile of bitter scorn, then raised his eyes to heaven, and bade farewell to every earthly thought. Roused by the sound of a falling stroke, Conradin beheld the severed head of the Duke of Austria lying on the

scaffold; he hastily raised it from the ground, pressed it to his bosom, kissed it repeatedly, embraced the bystanders, even to the executioner, then laid his head upon the block, and the axe fell. It has been related, that he had previously flung down his glove, in token of the transmission of the investiture of the two kingdoms to Peter of Arragon, son-in-law of Manfred; also, that the Count of Flanders, the husband of one of Charles's daughters, unable to endure the sight of this unholy sacrifice, with his own hand slew Robert of Bari, who framed and pronounced the sentence."—Vol. i. pp. 65—69.

The horrors which followed this atrocious murder seem almost incredible to those who perceive the altered state of feeling and conduct which has resulted from the blessed influence of that Holy Book whose lessons supported, enforced, and brought home by our Church, have made us the greatest as well as the happiest people of the earth. Yes! the fierce passions of mankind have been bridled, and even Popery itself compelled to adopt a more Christian tone, by the open publication of God's message to man. From our Church, as from the tabernacle in the desert, the blaze of divine glory has shed its living rays, so that they alike who hate and who deny the truth have been compelled to bow before it. We say not that the change is sincere; in many cases we believe that it is the very reverse, that the pent-up malice of men's hearts only rankles the more deeply because it cannot show itself as it was wont to do of old. Yet though it be hypocritical, we should recollect that "hypocrisy is the homage which vice pays to virtue;" and the existence of that homage proves the existence and the influence of that to which it is paid. Were Rome to succeed in destroying the English Church, and silencing the oracles of God which sound in her shrines, she would soon throw off the mask which sits so ill upon her countenance; and fire, and sword, and spoliation, and pollution would be the tokens of her presence and her power. Let us spend a few minutes in considering the conduct of her worthy son, Charles of Anjou, and his pious followers, that we may see the sort of *crusade* which she would like to publish, and in what manner the Holy See carries on its Holy Wars.

"They confiscated, they plundered, they slew, they blinded, they tortured, till Charles himself checked the inhuman zeal which was reducing the kingdom to a desert. . . . But for the Sicilians there was no mercy. He dispatched some of his French barons to bring them to the slaughter, the foremost of whom was William l'Estendard, a man of war and bloodshed, who held pity in contempt; more cruel, says Saba Malaspina, than cruelty itself, drunk with blood, and thirsting for it the more fiercely the more he shed. He crossed the strait with a

company of valiant Provençaux, augmented it, to our shame be it spoken, with brave Sicilians, and crushed without resistance the partisans of Conradin, to whom not a shadow of hope remained. Only in Agosta, a thousand armed citizens, with a band of two hundred Tuscan horse, defended themselves resolutely, aided by their impregnable position, so that William, having pitched his camp before it, wearied himself a long time in fruitless efforts, which redoubled his natural ferocity. He was at length able to gratify it without a battle, six traitors having been found to open a postern by night, and thus the intrepid garrison fell defenceless into his hands. He regarded neither valour, nor innocence, nor any human consideration. His men at arms traversed the city, defiling every quarter with rapine, violation, and slaughter, ransacking even the cisterns and granaries for victims. But the first onslaught, which satiated the fury of the soldiers, did not extinguish it in the bosom of the king's representative. He summoned to the work of butchery an executioner of giant strength; the citizens of Agosta were brought before him bound: and he dispatched them with a ponderous sword. When he was weary, brimming goblets of wine were brought to him, which he swallowed, mixed with the blood and sweat with which he was streaming, and then with renewed strength resumed his horrid task. . . . This slaughter was imitated and emulated in other places."

But a truce to these horrors. If our readers desire further particulars, they will find them vividly painted in the volumes under review.

But some will perhaps say, that these enormities were not justly chargeable on the Popes, or their system of faith and practice. We answer, that they were. The Papal system had substituted base counterfeits for almost all the holy things of God; for inward sanctity, outward formalism—for obedience to God's law, obedience to the Pope's commands—for Christian love to mankind in general and the brethren in particular, hatred of heathens, heretics, and all those who refused implicit obedience to the Roman See—for exalting devotion, degrading superstition—for the worship of the Creator, that of the creature—for the one Mediator, thousands of impostors—for the one Sacrifice, meritorious, atoning, and expiatory, innumerable devices of man's invention—in short, the Papal system had rendered the Word of God of none effect by its traditions.

Again, the Popes urged on these wars, and in no measured language devoted the unhappy people who fell under their wrath to the fury and the pleasure of the conqueror, kindling up the contest when it would have otherwise ceased, appropriating the revenues of distant churches to the use of its ministers of vengeance, and showing neither mercy nor pity towards even the

most helpless and innocent of those who had incurred its displeasure.

On many occasions we perceive the direct action of Popery through its supreme chief or his subordinates. Thus in a later portion of this work we are told that when the so-called crusaders invaded the dominions of Peter of Arragon,

“At the beginning of May this formidable host entered Rousillon. It advanced, divided into six bands, or rather armies, one of which, under the banner of the Church, was commanded by the legate, who, exasperated because in the occupation of Perpignan, and all the country, Elna alone resisted, encouraged the soldiers to put all the inhabitants to the sword; for, when perpetrated against the enemies of the Church, such acts either were no sin, or he would absolve them from it. The crusaders, therefore, spared neither age, sex, nor religion in this ill-fated town; they violated the nuns in the convents, slew the priests and the women after subjecting them to their pleasure, and dashed the infants against the walls.”—Vol. ii. p. 192.

Other traits of a similar nature are recorded of this legate, nor was his conduct in any way singular; and though of course there are brilliant exceptions, *they are exceptions*. And here we would throw out a suggestion, which has frequently occurred to us in reading the history of the middle ages,—that though there have been excellent men in the service, and even in the see of Rome, the sanctity, which undoubtedly is to be found in those times, flourished, so far as it did flourish, with such rare exceptions, not in the actual Church of Rome herself, but in those other Churches which she had unjustly subjected to her authority.

But to take up once more the thread of our narrative. From 1268 to 1282 the Sicilians suffered all that a people could suffer from the cruelty and rapacity of Charles and his subordinates, and the universal lawlessness, inhumanity, and licentiousness of the French and their companions. We have not space for the details of the ingenious and systematic oppression practised by the government and its officers during this time, nor for the many sufferings endured by the natives at the hands of their conquerors; for all of which we must once more refer our readers to the work itself.

Much discussion has of late arisen as to the origin of the Vespers, and Mr. Amari has taken much trouble to clear the subject from the many fables associated with it by after ages. He has done his work carefully and well; but we do not exactly coincide in the result at which he has arrived.

Our view of the case is as follows.—Peter of Arragon, ever since the murder of Conradin, had cast longing eyes upon the

crown of Sicily, which he claimed in right of his wife, Constance, daughter of Manfred. During the twelve years which intervened between that event and the popular outbreak at Palermo, he was preparing in every way for the enterprise which he meditated. John of Procida likewise had his share in the result for which he laboured, by effecting an alliance between Peter and the Greek Emperor, menaced by Charles's preparations, by intriguing with the Sicilian barons, and by endeavouring to arouse the Sicilian Commonalty. Charles was about to invade the Greek empire with an immense host; whilst he prepared for this, Peter prepared likewise his forces, the destination of which he concealed, intending to pounce upon Sicily and Apulia, as soon as Charles should have landed with all his disposable forces in the East; when, far from the scene of action, entangled in a difficult war, and unable to succour his garrisons, he would have been unable to resist Peter's invasion, supported as his cause would be by the secret wishes of the barons, and the vengeance of the people. The outbreak at Palermo was, we concur with Mr. Amari in believing, quite unpremeditated; in fact, we do not see how it could have been otherwise. We conceive that the suddenness of the revolution took Peter and the conspirators by surprise, and that the resistless fury of a people goaded to madness anticipated and outran the as yet undeveloped plot.

We proceed to transcribe in full the account which Mr. Amari has given of the commencement of that fearful movement known to future ages as the Sicilian Vespers. It will not bear abridgment.

"The Sicilians endured the yoke, though cursing it, until the spring of 1282. The King of Arragon's military preparations were not yet completed; nor, even if partially known in Sicily, could they inspire any immediate hope. The people were overawed by Charles's immense armaments destined against Constantinople; and forty-two royal castles, either in the principal cities, or in situations of great natural strength, served to keep the island in check. A still greater number were held by French feudatories; the standing troops were collected and in arms; and the feudal militia, composed in great part of foreign sub-feudatories, waited only the signal to assemble. In such a posture of affairs, which the foresight of the prudent would never have selected for an outbreak, the officers of Charles continued to grind down the Sicilian people, satisfied that their patience would endure for ever.

"New outrages shed a gloom over the festival of Easter at Palermo, the ancient capital of the kingdom, detested by the strangers more than any other city, as being the strongest and the most deeply injured. Messina was the seat of the king's viceroy in Sicily, Herbert of Orleans; Palermo was governed by the justiciary of Val di Mazzara,

John of St. Remigio, a minister worthy of Charles. His subalterns, worthy both of the justiciary and of the king, had recently launched out into fresh acts of rapine and violence. But the people submitted. It even went so far that the citizens of Palermo, seeking comfort from God amid their worldly tribulations, and having entered a church to pray, in that very church, on the days sacred to the Saviour's passion, and amidst the penitential rites, were exposed to the most cruel outrages. The ban-dogs of the exchequer searched out amongst them those who had failed in the payment of the taxes, dragged them forth from the sacred edifice, manacled, and bore them to prison, crying out insultingly before the multitude attracted to the spot, 'Pay, *paterini*, pay!' And the people still submitted. The Tuesday after Easter, which fell on the 31st of March, there was a festival at the church of San Spirito. On that occasion a hideous outrage against the liberties of the Sicilians afforded the impulse, and the patience of the people gave way. We will now record all that the historians most deserving of credence have transmitted to us concerning this memorable event.

"Half a mile from the southern wall of the city, on the brink of the ravine of Oreto, stands a church dedicated to the Holy Ghost, concerning which the Latin Fathers have not failed to record, that on the day on which the first stone of it was laid, in the twelfth century, the sun was darkened by an eclipse. On one side of it are the precipice and the river; on the other, the plain extending to the city, which in the present day is in great part encumbered with walls and gardens; while a square enclosure of moderate size, shaded by dusky cypresses, honey-combed with tombs, and adorned with urns and other sepulchral monuments, surround the church. This is a public cemetery, laid out towards the end of the eighteenth century, and fearfully filled in three weeks by the dire pestilence which devastated Sicily in 1837. On the Tuesday, at the hour of vespers, religion and custom crowded this then cheerful plain, carpeted with the flowers of spring, with citizens wending their way towards the church. Divided into numerous groups, they walked, sate in clusters, spread their tables, or danced upon the grass; and whether it were a defect or a merit of the Sicilian character, threw off for the moment the recollection of their sufferings, when the followers of the justiciary suddenly appeared amongst them, and every bosom thrilled with a shudder of disgust. The strangers came, with their usual insolent demeanour, as they said, to maintain tranquillity; and for this purpose they mingled in the groups, joined in the dances, and familiarly accosted the women, pressing the hand of one, taking unwarranted liberties with others; addressing indecent words and gestures to those more distant; until some temperately admonished them to depart, in God's name, without insulting the women, and others murmured angrily; but the hot-blooded youths raised their voices so fiercely, that the soldiers said to one another, 'These insolent *paterini* must be armed that they dare thus to answer;' and replied to them with the most offensive insults, insisting, with great insolence, on

searching them for arms, and even here and there striking them with sticks or thongs. Every heart already throbbed fiercely on either side, when a young woman of singular beauty, and of modest and dignified deportment, appeared with her husband and relations bending her steps towards the church. Drouet, a Frenchman, impelled either by insolence or licence, approached her as if to examine her for concealed weapons, seized her, and searched her bosom. She fell fainting into her husband's arms, who, in a voice almost choked with rage, exclaimed, 'Death, death to the French!' At the same moment a youth burst from the crowd which had gathered round them, sprang upon Drouet, disarmed and slew him; and probably, at the same moment, paid the penalty of his own life, leaving his name unknown, and the mystery for ever unsolved, whether it were love for the injured woman, the impulse of a generous heart, or the more exalted flame of patriotism, that prompted him thus to give the signal of deliverance. Noble examples have a power far beyond that of argument or eloquence to rouse the people, and the abject slaves awoke at length from their long bondage. 'Death, death to the French!' they cried; and the cry, say the historians of the time, re-echoed like the voice of God through the whole country, and found an answer in every heart. Above the corpse of Drouet were heaped those of victims slain on either side; the crowd expanded itself, closed in, and swayed hither and thither in wild confusion: the Sicilians, with sticks, stones, and knives, rushed with desperate ferocity upon their fully-armed opponents; they sought for them, and hunted them down; fearful tragedies were enacted amid the preparations for festivity, and the overthrown tables were drenched in blood. The people displayed their strength, and conquered. The struggle was brief, and great the slaughter of the Sicilians; but of the French there were two hundred,—and two hundred fell.

"Breathless, covered with blood, brandishing the plundered weapons, and proclaiming the insult and its vengeance, the insurgents rushed towards the tranquil city. 'Death to the French!' they shouted, and as many as they found were put to the sword. The example, the words, the contagion of passion, in an instant aroused the whole people. In the heat of the tumult Roger Mastrangelo, a nobleman, was chosen, or constituted himself, their leader. The multitude continued to increase; dividing into troops they scoured the streets, burst open doors, searched every nook, every hiding-place, and shouting 'Death to the French,' smote them and slew them, while those too distant to strike added to the tumult by their applause. On the outbreak of this sudden uproar the justiciary had taken refuge in his strong palace; the next moment it was surrounded by an enraged multitude, crying aloud for his death; they demolished the defences, and rushed furiously in, but the justiciary escaped them: favoured by the confusion and the closing darkness, he succeeded, though wounded in the face, in mounting his horse unobserved, with only two attendants, and fled with all speed. Meanwhile, the slaughter continued with increased ferocity; even the darkness of

night failed to arrest it, and it was resumed on the morrow more furiously than ever; nor did it cease at length because the thirst for vengeance was slaked, but because victims were wanting to appease it. Two thousand French perished in this first outbreak. Even Christian burial was denied them, but pits were afterwards dug to receive their despised remains; and tradition still points out a column surmounted by an iron cross, raised by compassionate piety on one of those spots, probably long after the perpetration of the deed of vengeance. Tradition, moreover, relates, that the sound of a word, like the *Shibboleth* of the Hebrews, was the cruel test by which the French were distinguished in the massacre; and that, if there were found a suspicious or unknown person, he was compelled, with a sword to his throat, to pronounce the word *ciciri*, and the slightest foreign accent was the signal for his death. Forgetful of their own character, and as if stricken by fate, the gallant warriors of France neither fled, nor united, nor defended themselves; they unsheathed their swords, and presented them to their assailants, imploring, as if in emulation of each other, to be the first to die: of one common soldier only is it recorded, that, having concealed himself behind a wainscot, and being dislodged at the sword's point, he resolved not to die unavenged, and springing with a wild cry upon the ranks of his enemies, slew three of them before he himself perished. The insurgents broke into the convents of the Minorites and Preaching Friars, and slaughtered all the monks whom they recognised as French. Even the altars afforded no protection; tears and prayers were alike unheeded; neither old men, women, nor infants were spared; the ruthless avengers of the ruthless massacre of Agosta, swore to root out the seed of the French oppressors throughout the whole of Sicily; and this vow they cruelly fulfilled, slaughtering infants at their mother's breasts, and after them the mothers themselves, and with a horrible refinement of cruelty, ripping up the bodies of Sicilian women who were with child by French husbands, and dashing against the stones the mingled blood of the oppressors and the oppressed."—Vol. ii. pp. 177—186.

These devilish atrocities deprive the Revolutionists, in our eyes, of that sympathy which we should otherwise feel, for a cruelly oppressed people throwing off the yoke of a foreign tyrant whose only claim to the throne rested upon the audacious usurpation and relentless malignity of the Roman See.

On went the rebellion, spreading from town to town, from village to village, from valley to valley, till the whole island was in open insurrection. The merciless animosity of the Sicilians, and the cruelty with which they had been treated, and which they now so fiendishly avenged, may be seen from the fact, that Amari mentions only one case in which a French family was spared; and that, as being the only one that had shown mercy in the time of Angevin ascendancy:—

“But the fate of William Porcelet merits eternal remembrance. He was lord or governor of Calatafimi, and, amid the unbridled iniquity of his countrymen, was distinguished for justice and humanity. On the day of vengeance, in the full flush of its triumphant fury, the Palermitan host appeared at Calatafimi, and not only spared the life of William and of his family, but treated him with distinguished honour, and sent him back to Provence; a fact which goes to prove, that for the excesses committed by the people, ample provocation had not been wanting.”—Vol. i. pp. 199, 200.

We had hoped to have given copious extracts from the later and more pleasing portion of the work; but we find ourselves already cramped for room, ere we have finished the first volume. We can, therefore, only briefly indicate the united and ferocious determination with which the Sicilians expelled the foreign domination; the gradual assumption of the lead in public affairs by the nobles; the invitation given by the whole nation to Peter of Arragon, then warring in Tunis, to ascend the vacant throne; the raising of the siege of Messina by the new monarch—Messina which had been nobly defended by its citizens, under the command of the glorious old noble Alaimo de Lentini, against Charles of Anjou, who besieged it with all his forces by land and sea.

From this time Sicily maintained a deadly contest with the House of Anjou and the Court of Rome, for the space of twenty years, during which the islanders performed prodigies of valour, both by land and sea, and ended by securing the independence of their country. The narrative of this long and desperate struggle is most brilliantly and graphically written; but, as we observed before, there is little to command our respect or arouse our sympathy. With a few noble exceptions, such as those of Alaimo de Lentini and Blasco Alagona, no sooner do we begin to feel an interest in any hero, than we find him conspiring against either his king or his country, as the case may be; or, if not guilty of treason to either prince or people, making up for his deficiency in these particulars by acts of the most horrible barbarity towards his enemies or his captives.

Peter, the first Arragonese monarch, is certainly a great man, but he is also a great villain. His conduct of the war both in Italy and Spain is most masterly; and the manner in which he conciliates the proud, confirms the doubtful, and gains over the refractory, with a stern unbending dignity, accompanied but not tempered by policy, is very striking. On the other hand, his fraud, cruelty, heartlessness, and ingratitude, are equally disgusting.

At one time it was proposed to settle the dispute between

Peter and Charles by single combat. After endeavouring to clear up this somewhat obscure point, our author adds, with a sarcasm which is quite delicious,

“But, possibly, the challenge was nothing more than an appeal made to public opinion after the fashion of the times, as a Charles and Peter of the present day might do by proclamations, putting forward humanity, legitimacy, the balance of power, the benefit of commerce or the good of the people.”—Vol. ii. p. 20.

As Charles found himself unable to conquer Sicily, and indeed had much difficulty in maintaining himself on the main land, many towns of which opened their gates to the Sicilians, the Pope proclaimed a crusade against Sicily, and formally deposed Peter from the thrones of Arragon and Catalonia, which his successor bestowed upon Charles of Valois. The efforts however of the French against these realms were totally unavailing, and in 1285 Peter died, bequeathing his Spanish dominions to his son Alfonso, and Sicily, with its dependencies, to his second son James, according to the succession appointed by the Sicilian parliament.

James had ruled Sicily, as viceroy, ever since his father's departure for Catalonia, and he was therefore crowned king without opposition or delay. He was a man of great ability, but no principle; he commenced his reign by an act of vindictive ingratitude, and concluded it by the vilest perfidy.

Amongst his first acts was the execution of that great and good man Alaimo de Lentini. To him had been owing, under Providence, the successful defence of Messina. He was one of Peter's early and zealous partisans. By his courage and temper he had crushed a dangerous conspiracy, and suppressed a rising rebellion. Afterwards, however, partly from the insane vanity and ambition of his wife Macalda, partly from the jealousy of his brother nobles, partly from the fact that the king owed him his throne, this loyal patriot incurred the hatred and suspicion of both Peter and James. The latter sent him a prisoner to the former, and on his father's death demanded him from his brother, by Bertram de Canellis, a Catalan, whom he had sent to Alfonso for that purpose. The king of Arragon at first resisted, but Bertram persisting, and almost accusing him of complicity with the treason of which he accused Alaimo and his nephews, at last gained his point.

“The prisoners having been given up to him, he embarked them under a strong escort, and caused them to confess themselves to a Minorite friar, before, as he said, encountering the perils of so long a voyage, beset with enemies and pirates. They set sail from Catalonia on the 16th of May, 1287, and on the 2nd of June, at the distance of

fifty miles from Maretimo, the crew gladly hailed the shores of Sicily, when Bertram summoned the prisoners on deck.

"Turning to Alaimo, he bade him gaze his fill on the welcome sight of his country; whereupon the noble old man exclaimed, 'O Sicily! O my country! how have I longed for thee! and yet happy would it have been for me, if from the time of my first infant wailings I had never beheld thee more!' The Catalan hesitated a few moments, perhaps from pity, and then replied, 'Hitherto you have heard only my mind, noble Alaimo; now that of the king must be heard and obeyed;' and he unfolded a written scroll, which Adenulf read. It was a mandate of the king, stating, that 'Whereas Alaimo of Lentini, Adenulf of Mineo, and John of Mezarina, had aforesaid planned a vast and iniquitous conspiracy against the island and the Royal House of Sicily, and were guilty of sundry other misdeeds; and whereas their living on in confinement was judged to be of great peril to the state, the peace of which it was incumbent upon him to preserve even by the utmost rigours of justice, the king committed to Bertram the charge of seizing them in Catalonia, and flinging them overboard on the first sight of the shores of Sicily.'

"Alaimo showed neither surprise nor fear of death; nor did he utter word of complaint, or dwell vainly on the past; only he resented the refinement of cruelty which had selected such a scene for such a punishment, and denied him sepulture in the land of his fathers. Yet with Christian resignation he prayed for the king, and even for his executioners. 'I have lived,' said he, 'a life of sorrow and suffering even to my old age, and now I close it without honour. I lived not for myself, but for others, and for others I must die. My misdeeds, (and here, perchance, he thought of the exaltation of Peter, and the death of Walter,) my misdeeds have been greater than they are deemed by man, and I have deserved a more cruel death than this; let it, at least, bring peace to my country, and put an end to suspicion.' He then himself asked for the piece of linen cloth which was to be the instrument of death as well as the bier and shroud of the hero of Messina. The executioners swathed and fastened it round him, and flung him into the sea, the two young men shared his fate. The guilty vessel cast anchor at Trapani, and the news of the death of Alaimo spread horror throughout Sicily. All remembered his noble birth, his lofty intellect and courage in matters of war and policy, the power to which he attained, and the insane arrogance of Macalda which caused his ruin; his friends trembled, and the cautions whispered that the king must surely have had weighty cause for what he had done. These rumours are mentioned in somewhat obscure language by Neocastro, who records with sympathising grief the execution and the memorable words of Alaimo, perhaps the best, and certainly the greatest man, of whom Sicily had to boast in the revolution of the Vespers."—Vol. ii. pp. 243—246.

In spite of this atrocious crime, James made a good king, and

an able commander, and under his rule Sicily prospered both at home and abroad. In the course of time, however, Alphonso of Arragon died, and James set sail for Spain, leaving his brother Frederick viceroy of the island. It had been intended, both by Peter and the Sicilians, that in the event of James's succeeding to the throne of Arragon, Frederick should succeed to that of Sicily, a result which finally occurred, though not in the time or manner proposed. James, on his accession to his ancestral dominions, lost all sympathy with his island kingdom, and determined to betray the Sicilians for the purpose of procuring peace and safety in Spain. Pope Boniface endeavoured also to gain over the infant Don Frederick, and for this purpose proposed an interview with him. The Palermitans, who, as well as the rest of the Sicilians, were warmly attached to the young prince, dissuaded him from accepting the invitation, but in vain.

"He embarked on board the fleet with Procida . . . with Loria, and with many other of the Sicilians most renowned in council or in field . . . Boniface now assumed the guise of paternal benignity. When Frederick knelt before him, he raised him up, taking his head between both hands, he kissed him affectionately, and seeing how vigorously and gracefully he bore the weight of his armour, he began to compliment him, saying: 'It is easy to see, fair youth, that from a child you have been inured to this heavy burden.' Then, turning to Loria, he asked him, without any appearance of anger, whether he were that enemy of the Church, famous for so many bloody battles? To which Loria replied, 'Father, such was the will of the Popes.'

"After this cordial reception they proceeded to business. As the price of the abandonment of Sicily, the Pope promised Frederick to wife the young Catherine de Courtenay, daughter of Philip, titular Emperor of the East, with her the right to that empire, and, to assist him towards its reconquest, a military force, and, within four years' time a sum of 180,000 ounces of gold. It really appears that Boniface had not miscalculated, and that the youth, tempted by sounding words, and by the allurements of beauty, though unseen by him, inclined to give up into the hands of the enemy the people to whom he was bound by ties far stronger than those of his viceregal office."—Vol. iii. pp. 15—17.

Be this as it may, no practical result followed from this conference, and if Frederick wavered for a moment, he soon became more sincerely attached than ever to the cause of Sicily, and never again hesitated in his faith to her children.

James, on the contrary, despite the earnest entreaties of the Sicilians, who sent two embassies to him on the subject, entered into a treaty, by which he relinquished his claims to the crown of Sicily, and promised, if needful, to assist the see of Rome in

subjugating the indomitable islanders. Deserted, betrayed by their king, the Sicilians nobly determined that nothing should induce them to yield; they might be exterminated, but they would not be subdued. With this view they at once offered the vacant throne, with fresh limitations of the royal authority, to Frederick. The prince accepted the crown with the conditions affixed, and showed by his future conduct the wisdom of his people in making him their king. He had, it is true, many faults, or rather, we should say, weaknesses, but they were faults which difficulty, adversity, and danger had a natural tendency to subdue, or at least, decrease. Wanting in judgment, rash, and unable to decide for himself without the suggestion of others, he was brave, chivalrous, kind, warm-hearted, and generous; and we feel therefore disposed to award him the rank of a hero, despite his early vacillation, and the occasional errors of his later years.

James of Arragon fulfilled his perfidious promise, and invaded Sicily at the head of a powerful force. Though partially successful, however, he was unable to effect his purpose of reducing the island, and at length retired from Sicily, leaving Robert, Count of Artois, in command of the allied forces.

Amongst the many painful occurrences of this year was the treason of John of Procida, and John Loria, who deserted the Sicilian cause for the service of the perfidious King of Arragon.

“And thus the two Neapolitans whose names had been so famous in the Revolution of the Vespers together, left Sicily as enemies, closely bound to each other by community of fate and of ambition; companions first in exile, then in hopes, and in the support of the new dynasty in Sicily, lastly in treason. Loria, brought up from a child at the court of Peter of Arragon, was a man of boundless aspirations and great military talent, a renowned general, and the first admiral of his time; but ruthless and blood-thirsty, avaricious, haughty, and of insatiable rapacity. He restored the naval superiority of Sicily; taught the Sicilians the art of victory; and was the most powerful support of the infant state.”—Vol. iii. p. 85.

The achievements of Loria whilst in command of the Sicilian fleet form some of the most stirring scenes of this strikingly dramatic work. We had intended transcribing more than one of them to these pages, and are only preventing from doing so by the want of space. They were as gallant naval actions, and are as brilliantly described, as any thing we know of in the circle of history. After the flight of Loria, his vassals rose in arms, but the outbreak taking place before the arrival of James, and Loria not being there to lead the insurrection, it was easily put down. Subsequently, John Loria, his nephew, was made prisoner by the

Sicilians, and, despite of the offers made by James, executed as a traitor. The uncle, however fearfully avenged his death, when, in the rout of the Sicilian fleet at Capo d'Orlando, he shouted as the watchword of indiscriminate slaughter, "Remember John Loria!"

With the brave, but cruel and rapacious admiral, the dominion of the sea departed from the Sicilians; and nothing but the most determined and indestructible energy of patriotism could have preserved them against the allied forces, firstly, under James of Arragon, then, Robert of Artois, and lastly, Charles of Valois.

At length it became clear to all reasonable men that the conquest of Sicily under present circumstances was utterly impracticable, and a treaty was at length concluded, in which the gallant Frederick was acknowledged King of Trinacria, and received in marriage Eleanor, daughter of Charles the Second, of Naples.

Amongst the many noble passages of this last war is the defence of Messina, and the patient endurance as well as undaunted courage shown by the citizens of that place, who thus a second time saved their country from slavery.

In taking leave of these volumes and their author, after this very cursory review of the work, we beg to thank Mr. Amari for having made a valuable addition to the standard literature of the historical world, and to assure him that by his deep research and patient accuracy, as well as by the power of his eloquence, and the graces of his style, he has produced no merely ephemeral composition, but one which deserves to obtain, and will we have no doubt acquire, the position of a KTHMA ΕΣ ΑΕΙ.

ART. III.—*A Plain Christian's Manual; or Six Plain Sermons on Early Piety, the Sacraments, and Man's Latter End; Uncontroversial, but suited to the Present Time.* By JOHN WOOD WARTER, B.D., *Christ Church, Oxford, Vicar of West Tarring, Sussex, &c.* London: Rivingtons.

MR. WARTER appears from his title-page to feel that there is a kind of apology due for publishing a work at present which is not "controversial;" or, at least, that the world may expect from every writer on religious topics some direct practical reference to existing dissensions. And Mr. Warter has, without doubt, judged aright of the tone and feeling now most generally prevalent, in consequence of the prolonged struggles of party. Yet we cannot but think that great as is the demand for controversial teaching in these times of trouble, the necessity for simple, plain, practical, uncontroversial teaching, like that of which Mr. Warter has afforded so excellent a specimen in the little volume before us, is greater than ever, and we are persuaded that this is deeply felt by a large proportion of the community. To ourselves it is a positive refreshment to turn aside from marking the contests of human passion, and the manifold speculations of modern religionism which are daily passing before our eyes—to the calm, and simple, and old-fashioned piety, which meets us in Mr. Warter's pages, where Hooker, and Jeremy Taylor, Bishop Hall, Dr. Donne, Sir Thomas Browne, and other old English worthies, supply to the reader many a deep thought, and many a beautiful image.

Perhaps few writers in the present day have so carefully studied the writings of our elder divines, or so cordially entered into their spirit as Mr. Warter. His publications have invariably evinced an extraordinary acquaintance with, and almost an enthusiastic admiration for them; for not only are they quoted with an aptness and a copiousness which proves the extent of the study bestowed on them; but even the style in which Mr. Warter's works is composed, is modelled on that of the seventeenth century. It is not so much the style of the present day, as that of the English translation of the Bible, or of the writers of the times of James and Charles the First. And in imbibing the principles of the greatest writers of the seventeenth

century, we need not say that his views are as remote from Puritanism as they are from Popery. Men who have trained themselves in the school of Bramhall, and Jeremy Taylor, and Hammond, have learnt from them to adhere to the Church of England, amidst all the clouds and darkness which may overshadow her temporal or spiritual prospects. They remember that holier and more learned men than themselves—men who have never been surpassed in high qualifications for the service of the Church—did remain steadfast in an age when error and schism not only abounded within the communion of the Church of England, but were actually for many years triumphant, and legally established; and when the pretensions of Rome were just as great; and the arguments and persuasion of her advocates just as insinuating; and the instances of apostasy just as frequent, as they have ever been since. Yet, amidst all the adversity of their Church, its faithful sons maintained steadfastly their religious convictions, and never relinquished the defence of that system of Apostolic truth which was enshrined in the Liturgy and Formularies of the Church of England. Mr. Warter has evidently derived from the same source as those holy men, a spirit of confidence in the Church of England, as a faithful and an honest guide, and a resolution to abide by her teaching under all circumstances. The following passage comprises sentiments which must meet a response in the heart of every real Churchman.

“No controversial teaching is inculcated here, but the teaching of the Prayer Book is insisted upon and understood in that plain, honest sense, in which the holy men who drew it up intended that it should be. Men they were, not easily deceived themselves, but scrupulously devout, and guiltless of the thought of deceiving others. Single-minded men, their desire was, that the TRUTH AS IT IS IN JESUS should be known unto the people, that they might live accordingly; and to the best of their ability they set it forth in that book which the generation of our fathers held in reverence, and which their sons will revere as long as they hold to the faith of the ‘Holy Church throughout all the world.’

“‘Christ and his apostles,’ said Lord Clarendon, ‘left their declaration of what we are to believe, and what we are to do, so clearly stated, that we cannot dangerously mistake.’ And so, if we were not prejudiced, it would be. And when it is otherwise, and men desert their mother Church, and will not receive plain truth, even here, usually, and after a term of years, there is a returning; and when opposition is over, and the asperities of preconceived notions are rubbed off, they are apt to fall down and worship as their fathers did before them. And, under existing turmoil and contentious disputations, I have hope in the end. No storm is lulled at once but by a miracle; neither will this storm

subside till it has wrought the good intended, and cleared the atmosphere of some practical misbelief or other.

“Therefore, individually, I am no way timorously solicitous about the event of the late or present theological contests. *Magna est Veritas et prævalebit!* Christian doctrine is Christian doctrine, and development is but a name. Let the unwise, if they cannot remain where they are, fall back on Rome, ‘as people being ashamed steal away when they flee in battle;’ but ‘he that believeth shall not make haste,’ but take his time, and yet do valiantly for the Church of his fathers. The timorous alone ‘flee seven ways,’ with Rome and its consequences before them. Well said Philip Henry, ‘I am too much of a Catholic to be a Roman Catholic!’ And I say,—I will take good care, the Lord being my helper, that the pure doctrines of our faith be preached within the boundaries of this parish, as long as I am the duly appointed minister of it, notwithstanding any decision, ecclesiastical or civil, to the contrary.”—Pref. pp. iii—vi.

The volume before us consists of a series of six sermons on subjects of the most simple and practical character,—with one exception, where the writer enters on a subject of some difficulty, and of high moment in every point of view,—the question of repelling persons from the Lord’s Supper. The first discourse applies the history of Job very beautifully to impress the benefit and blessings of early piety. We must quote a few words at the opening of this sermon, where, having spoken of “early piety,” he describes it as—

“A possession than which earth hath none greater, inasmuch as it is twice blessed, being the blessing both of children and of their parents. Moreover, like the possessions of this world, it passeth not away, but endureth ever, if it ripen well, and continue unto the end. In other words, if EARLY PIETY settle down into solid and well-grounded religious faith and practice, it passeth the grave and the gate of death, and is consigned over to everlasting habitations, and to ‘the inheritance of the saints in light.’ Certain it is,—there is nothing more certain,—that from a child (as St. Paul said to Timothy) to have ‘known the Holy Scriptures,’ is ‘able to make’ a man ‘wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.’ And our blessed Lord’s own words, applied to Christian Baptism, wherein children are made regenerate, or, born anew, assuredly look this way: ‘Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God.’ Bright as are the stars in the heavens, and lovely as are the loveliest spots on earth, yet is there nothing brighter, nothing lovelier, than a child brought up ‘in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.’ Witness the history of ‘the child Samuel,’ that ‘ministered unto the Lord before Eli!’ Of whom it is recorded that he ‘grew, and the Lord was with him, and did let none of his words fall to the ground.’ Witness that all-blessed childhood of our only Lord and Saviour; so beautiful!

so attractive! and which should be the model and the pattern for us all; and how of Him it is said, that 'he went down with' his parents, 'and came to Nazareth, and was subject unto them, and increased in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man.' Surely from that time forth the estate of childhood was blessed, and the beauty of **EARLY PIETY** shone forth, never to be forgotten more!"—pp. 3—5.

In the course of the same sermon, we have the following distinct and sound teaching on the subject of Baptism.

"Then, Christian brethren, admitting that all children are born in sin, and that the stain of Adam's transgression passeth upon all that are born into this world of sadness, of sickness, and of sorrow; let us all be mindful as parents; let our children be admitted, as soon as may be, within the borders of the Covenant, from whence afterwards they can only be cast out by their own transgression; 'for it is certain, by God's Word, that children which are baptized, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved.' So that the first step towards **EARLY PIETY** is Christian Baptism, in the which most sacred rite our most merciful Father, which is in heaven, doth regenerate infants with his Holy Spirit, receive them for his own by adoption, and incorporate them into his Holy Church, purchased by the blood of his only and all-beloved Son. As one [Barrow] said, 'It hath been the doctrine constantly with general consent delivered in and by the Catholic Church, that to all persons, by the holy mystery of Baptism duly initiated into Christianity, and admitted into the communion of Christ's body, the grace of the Holy Spirit is communicated, enabling them to perform the conditions of piety and virtue which they undertake, and continually watching over them for accomplishment of those purposes; which Spirit they are admonished not to resist, to abuse, to grieve, to quench; but to use it well, and to use its grace to the working out their salvation.' Clearly, then, the first duty of a parent is to bring the child to the font."—pp. 11, 12.

The same sermon applies the well-known passage, in which our Lord is represented as blessing children, to the foundation of an argument on behalf of infant baptism, which appears to be very satisfactorily managed, and to be adapted to the comprehension of the rural congregations to which it was addressed. The argument deduced from circumcision is, as Mr. Warter observes, "not easily put in a popular discourse;" but to our mind it is placed in an intelligible point of view in this discourse. The argument is appropriately wound up with the following practical application.

"And so 'the kingdom of grace, the Church, consisteth of children in age or in manners, of them and such as they are; and the kingdom of glory, or heaven, shall be filled with infants blessed by Christ, and

with men become as little children.' Such Christ receiveth, as He did the infants in the text; and the sooner the better, Christian brethren, we come to the understanding of this matter, that, to receive the kingdom of God 'as a little child,' is in the obedience of the faith, with all humility and lowliness, to submit to the Gospel, to receive the doctrines, to obey the precepts. In this sense practice is knowledge, and we all know that knowledge is power. Happy any who is, so to say, Jacob no longer, but the Israel of God! Happy any unto whom the Lord hath said, 'As a prince hast thou power with God and with men, and hast prevailed!' Sure I am if any *doth* follow his Lord in the way, his understanding shall be enlightened, 'and his flesh' shall come 'again like unto the flesh of a little child, and he shall be 'clean.' In our Lord's own words, 'If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.'—pp. 35—37.

"Certainly, to reach heaven at the last, we must use all diligence, and good thrift is it that our thoughts and conversations be always there. But we must not mingle the 'dross' of earth with 'pure gold.' We must be ambitious, not of what is of the earth, earthy, but of what is heavenly in temper; lest there be no entrance found there for such as are not like to little children, but are unprepared to perfect praise. Be assured our 'inward parts' are not hid from Him with whom we have to do; and if, in the stead of the humbleness and the innocency of the little child, there be found in us the very reverse of this—that is to say, unscrupulous ambition, and pride, and hypocrisy, and anger, and wrath, and clamour, and envy, and malice, and revenge, and whatsoever else there be contrary to childlike simplicity—in that case, unless we be 'converted, and become as little children,' the everlasting doors of heaven will be closed against us. Thou Christian man, on whom the privilege of Baptism hath passed, or ever thou didst know thy right hand from thy left, remember well, 'The Lord seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart.' It is the little one in spirit that shall be blessed the most; the youngest, so to say, like David—not Eliab, not Abinadab, not Shammah—but the lowly one of heart, the child! As 'the Lord said, Arise, anoint him; for this is he.' Such have, verily, 'an unction from the Holy One.' His they are, and Him they serve with a perfect and unreserved submission, and they are blessed everlastingly. And hence said David himself when he had sinned and repented him of his sin, and knew that he was accepted, 'I refrain my soul, and keep it low, like as a child that is weaned from his mother: yea, my soul is even as a weaned child.'—pp. 38—40.

In the third sermon, the doctrine of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper, and the connexion of these Sacraments, are very ably traced, and expounded in the language of our elder divines, amongst whom Hooker is here, as in other places, the chief author referred to. The excuses and objections commonly made by uneducated persons, in reference to the reception of the Lord's

Supper, are very truly detailed, and very ably met in the fourth sermon. The preacher there points out to his people, that the best preparation for the Holy Sacrament is a godly life. May we be permitted to express a doubt, whether the necessity of a penitential and humble frame of mind is sufficiently insisted on? It appears to us, that in the case of such doubts and difficulties, as to the amount of preparation requisite, the simplest and the safest course is to refer to the description of the preparation comprised in the last answer of the Church Catechism. Every true penitent comes within the conditions there laid down, and every Christian must at all times be a penitent and nothing more. The preparation for the Sacrament is simply the same preparation which would be requisite for death, and should therefore never for a moment be intermitted in life; so that the Christian should *at all times* be prepared to partake of the Holy Communion. The special preparation for the Sacrament, which appears to consist in a due sense of the sacredness of the rite, is thus described by Mr. Warter:—

“But, besides this, a special preparation is at all times necessary as we would ‘grow in grace, and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.’ Holy and heavenly things,—spiritual manna, which, so to say, is angels’ food,—and ‘the blood of Christ which is verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord’s Supper’ under the symbol of consecrated wine,—these emblems of death so precious, and pledges of life to the godly receiver, must not be taken as common food, but as sacred viands. That preparation, which by God’s grace ends in sanctification, is to be ever in the pious communicant’s thoughts. And because it was not so in the thoughts of the profane Corinthian communicants, it turned to their harm, in some cases was their death. As St. Paul told them in his teaching, ‘Whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord, unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord’s body,’ that is to say, ‘eateth and drinketh just judgment and condemnation to himself, not considering the greatness of this mystery, and making no difference betwixt this sacred bread, which is sacramentally the body of Christ, and the other common and ordinary bread.’ And the result was as I said, many were ‘weak and sickly,’ and ‘many’ slept,—were stricken with death itself; whereas, had they eaten and had they drunk in faith, like Elijah the prophet of the Lord, they might have gone on to their lives’ end ‘in the strength of that meat’ which cherisheth the souls of God’s people, and of which it can be verily and truly said: ‘This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die.’”—pp. 75—77.

We now come to the discourse on “Repelling from the Lord’s

Supper," which evinces much careful consideration; and after pointing out the duty of Christian ministers to invite all who can be induced to avail themselves of that privilege, rather than to repel any; and after referring the legal difficulties which interfere to prevent the exercise of such a power of repelling—concludes by pointing out the possibility of cases occurring, in which persons of grossly and notoriously sinful habits, offensive to the congregation, might present themselves; and the duty of Christian ministers in this case, to obey the rules of God's Law, and the directions of their Church, without regarding any legal penalties or difficulties in which they might be involved in consequence.

Such sentiments may be very offensive to those in the present day who admit no exercise of conscience to the Christian, except as it may accord with the decisions of the temporal power and the law of the land—who invest the civil magistrate with an infallibility which they deny to the Pope. Such persons, as we refer to, profess a very great abhorrence of Popery, wherever it may be found; but they would erect a Popery more offensive and more ridiculous than any other system that bears the name. To these sycophants the word of the temporal magistrate is a law which is of more practical authority than the word of God, because it is held to be an infallible exposition of it. Religion, according to them, depends on the changing will of parliament, and may be varied at the pleasure of a body, consisting of men of all creeds and views. Of course, it would be a work of supererogation to ask where the belief of such reasoners is to be found. The State has great authority, by the Law of God, in all matters concerning religion; but it has no authority *against* God's law—and the conscience is relieved from all necessity of obeying it, when its decisions are clearly contrary to that higher law. It will enforce its determinations by temporal penalties, as far as it deems advisable; but it can have no right to contradict the Laws of God; and the same liberty of conscience and judgment which is claimed as the birthright of every Christian, is a right of which he cannot be divested by Popery, whether it appears in the guise of temporal or of spiritual power.

ART. IV.—*The Seven Lamps of Architecture.* By JOHN RUSKIN.

It is one of the most marked tendencies of the present time, to seek anxiously for new forms and combinations of knowledge, new developments of intellectual life. The civilized and educated world are as eager for a new intellectual pleasure, as the Persian monarch is reported to have been for a new gratification of sense. One of the last and most fashionable is the study of architecture. It is no longer a mere collection of dry rules, a computation of the precise number of inches to be occupied by modules and cavettos, a perpetual repetition of the columns of the Temple of Jupiter Stator, varied by scarcely intelligible disquisitions upon proportion, or by the tame extravagancies of Vitruvius and his followers, who at one time compared their columns to trees, and at another to men and women. It has grown up in a few years from one of the most meagre and technical of all studies, to be a pursuit full of interest and variety. It has taken life, and form, and colour. It has spread its roots and its branches every where. Besides its obvious connexion with utility and with beauty, it has its own history and its own system of metaphysics. It has been twisted into a connexion with the religious controversies of the day. It penetrates every where. Most young clergymen have some knowledge of the date, and some feeling for the beauty of their parish church. Most young ladies, and a great many young gentlemen, can tell a decorated from a perpendicular window. It breaks out in the most unexpected places. It is said that in one of Her Majesty's regiments the dulness of country quarters is diversified by ecclesiological researches. Not long ago an enthusiastic undergraduate braved the wrath of proctors, and incurred those penalties which the university denounces against those of its pupils who drive one horse before another, by going in a tandem to "rub a brass," which he alleged was too distant to be reached by the more legitimate conveyance of a one-horse gig. The number and variety of late works upon this subject is prodigious; the beauty of their illustrations truly remarkable. Every shop window displays architectural glossaries and introductions, and few drawing-room tables are without them. The promoters of archæological research shrink from no labour. The industry of Mr. Parker is giving us a complete descriptive list of all the architectural remains in England; the parish churches

alone must be several thousands. Nor has the subject wanted a graver illustration. Some of the hardest and strongest thinkers of England have employed their acute and practised minds on this subject. Professors Whewell and Willis have used their powerful faculties to explain the laws and the history of architectural science. Nor has practice been wanting. A very large proportion of our ecclesiastical edifices have enjoyed the advantages and suffered the dangers of restoration. London itself, the most dingy and gloomy of capitals, is fast assuming a new character. The vast and costly "New Palace of Westminster" shows sufficiently that we do not shrink from expense or labour in carrying out our architectural ideas.

And, indeed, without going so far as to say of the study of architecture what Sir Symons D'Ewes, that most perfect of prigs, said of the perusal of old law records, that it is "the most ravishing and satisfying part of human learning," we may safely say that few pursuits afford so many and such varied sources of gratification. It yields something for every taste, and falls in with every occupation. To the tourist it affords a new supply of interesting objects; to the artist some of his most valued materials; to the poet an abundant store of the associations dearest to verse. The man of detail may measure mouldings; the metaphysician may speculate upon the subtle theories which attempt to explain that difficult subject—the manner in which the human mind has striven to impress itself upon outward objects; to cut out human thought in stone. For the antiquarian or historian architectural knowledge is of course indispensable. The earliest histories of all nations are their buildings. Books of stone were before those of paper or parchment. The records of the monarchs of Egypt and Assyria are still to be read upon the ruins of Thebes and Nineveh. Architecture, the oldest of the fine arts, has been the mother and the nurse of the rest. Nor is it less closely connected with utility. Real architectural knowledge cannot be separated from a study of the principles of sound construction—a matter so strangely neglected among ourselves. The inhabitants of Manchester are generally accounted a prudent and practical race; yet it has been lately declared by an eminent architect, that if he were required to erect a building that should burn with the greatest possible speed and certainty, he could suggest no better plan than that on which the warehouses of Manchester are constructed. It is not too much to say that no persons accustomed to the correct methods of construction in use among our ancestors, would have committed an architectural solecism so great and so disastrous in its consequences.

It is a natural result of the variety of attractions presented by

he study of architecture, that it should draw to itself a great diversity of minds, should be looked at from very different points of view, and be pursued with very different aims. We have at present three principal schools of architectural amateurs, which, though they of course run into each other, are still in the main distinct. There is an ecclesiological, an antiquarian, and an artistic school. The first treats of architecture chiefly as subservient to the ends of religious worship; the second aims mostly at an accurate knowledge of the existing remains of ancient buildings, not without a certain tendency to slight modern imitations; the third takes for its chief object the buildings themselves, as expressions of the human mind, as works of beauty and grandeur.

The artistic school is by much the least prominent; the two great influences which have of late promoted the study of architecture, are the ecclesiological and the antiquarian. It cannot be said that they carry on their common studies in a spirit of absolute harmony. They have distinct societies and a different nomenclature. They speak different languages; and while one party shrinks from the absurdity of saying "plain decorated," or "late early," the other finds it altogether inconsistent to describe a building as an "early middle-pointed church," or an arch as "round-headed, first pointed."

We owe much to the Ecclesiologists. They first set the example of a conscientious imitation, as well as study of the ancient examples; and it is to them we owe chiefly the efforts that have been made for the satisfactory restoration of our ancient churches, and the erection of modern ones in a more worthy and dignified manner. Yet it must be confessed, that with the fervour natural to beginners, they pursued their favourite study with more zeal than knowledge, and ran headlong into the usual mistakes of inexperience—a premature generalization, and a narrow exclusiveness. They very early confined all excellence to one style in architecture, and they soon began to limit it to one modification even of that. Having persuaded themselves that Gothic architecture expresses the spirit of Christianity, they not merely neglected, but seem to have positively disliked every other. All that was not Gothic, including, of course, all the church architecture of the first ten centuries, was denounced as "Pagan," as if false doctrine could be hidden in the fluting of a column, or under the curl of an acanthus leaf. It is the natural tendency of exclusive feelings to become still more narrow as they are indulged. Accordingly, as their zeal against architectural heresies grew fiercer by indulgence, they began to proscribe all but one favourite style of Gothic. It was not, to be sure, quite settled

which that was to be. One writer pretty plainly intimated, that what is technically called the early English style, was communicated by a special inspiration to the Cistercians, whose abbey affords many of our most beautiful specimens of that style¹. On the whole, however, "middle pointed" was the most in repute. One writer in the "Ecclesiologist," in the excess of his zeal for purity of style, went so far as to hint a wish to demolish the venerable Norman nave of St. Albans, that it might be replaced by "loveliest middle pointed," an extravagance of exclusiveness for which he was, with great reason, reprehended by the Editor of that journal.

An over-hasty generalization is to be expected in all new studies. Having laid down, as a first principle, that modern architects are to be guided by the rules observed by the builders of the middle ages, the students of ecclesiology deduced from the observations of a limited number of examples canons which appear to have been, in many cases, altogether capricious, and bitterly persecuted in their reviews any architect who ventured to deviate from them in the minutest particular. If an instance was adduced to contradict the canon, an answer was always ready. If the example was brought from Ireland, the objector was told that the rules of English and Irish ecclesiology were different; if from Kent, then the Kentish churches were very anomalous, and by no means to be set up as precedents. It was early laid down that it was quite irregular to have two lancet windows in the east end of a church, and equally wrong to insert *three* in the western façade. Now the former practice is common in Ireland, and in England most of the *large* churches, built during the early Gothic period, have western triplets, so that there certainly can have been no symbolical reason against the practice, yet the positive assertions of the ecclesiologists seem to have prevailed; and for the last few years few architects have ventured on the heresy of a western triplet.

As was to be expected, the ecclesiological party rushed eagerly into the mysteries of symbolism. In a pursuit where a little ingenuity will commonly enable the student to make any thing out of any thing, they were not likely to be disappointed. Some of these symbolical speculations were sufficiently singular. One was that the Romanesque, or round arched style, typified the church militant; the Gothic, or pointed, the church triumphant. This appears hardly consistent with the other theory, that the self-

¹ Such a revelation would not be without precedent in the case of the Cistercians, whose habit is supposed to be copied from the dress in which the Virgin Mary appeared to St. Stephen Harding, to the considerable discomfort of the Order in summer, as the dress in question is very warm,

ted arch and horizontal lines of the Romanesque express and the vertical lines of the Gothic an upward aspiration. by some supposed that those mysterious little openings in es, commonly called lychscopes, and which, if not in- for ventilation, seem to have been contrived expressly for ercise of archæological acuteness, were designed to repre- ie wound in the side of our Saviour, and the name of Vulne ws was, in consequence, imposed upon them. Unfortu- for this theory, many churches have two, one on each

study of architecture, in a purely antiquarian sense, can be thought to be generally very interesting. The accu- on of details, without referring them to some general prin- or theory, can only suit that small class of minds who love for its own sake. And yet the study of details is quite as ensable to success as in any other art or science. In no of human knowledge can we be safely ignorant of the ulated experience of those who have preceded us. We imes see it complained of that architects do not invent a ycle of architecture. It would be almost as easy to invent a anguage. Such an invention in the first case, as in the l, would most likely be principally distinguished for its eness and its poverty. The nearest approaches to new of architecture with which we are acquainted, have been by Sir John Soane and by Mr. Nash, with what success is nown to every one who has walked up Regent Street. rtistic or æsthetical study of architecture, the attempt to end and to express the hidden causes of beauty and eur in the temples of Greece and Egypt, or the cathedrals gland and France, may well seem replete with attractions. ; requires for its successful prosecution, more vigour of in- and greater powers of mind than are the common portion nkind. Among ourselves it has lately been followed with vith originality, and with genius:—the names of Ferguson,

of art, and went straight for its inspiration and teaching to no meaner mistress than to nature herself. The magnificent formality of the early Gothic foliage was discarded; the artist took his ornaments from the vegetation that made beautiful his native fields and forests; he copied the vine, the oak, and the maple. For the wrinkled and frittered drapery which we find in the Parthenon, and which descended through the Romans to the middle ages, he substituted the more simple and dignified folds of nature. The same movement pervaded Europe. In Italy, Giotto, in whose time Gothic architecture was introduced into Tuscany, freed painting from the fetters of his Byzantine predecessors. It is not perhaps too much to connect this emancipation of the human mind in the wide regions of art with the struggles for ecclesiastical reform and liberty with which they coincide in date. The middle ages, like bodies which are remote from us, often seem to have stood still, when they were in fact in rapid motion; and he who studies the subject, however slightly, will be astonished to find what a quantity and vigour of thought must have been bestowed upon architecture in those times.

If we have rightly considered the course of Gothic architecture to be a progress to a definite end, the fusion of the parts in the whole, it will seem natural that they, whose tendency is to regard architecture as a scientific study, with whom a building is rather a subject for reasoning than for impulsive taste, should be favourably disposed towards the later Gothic, when the principles of the style were carried out to their fullest development. Both Mr. Petit and Mr. Freeman, our most ingenious speculators upon the laws of mediæval architecture, appear to regard some modification of our own perpendicular as their ideal of Gothic. Their scientific conceptions of the art are best pleased with those buildings in which the tendencies of the style are most fully carried out. This has perhaps been done in the purest, most vigorous, and most consistent manner by the practical and business-like William of Wykeham.

But this logical completeness is not without a weighty counterpoise of disadvantage, in the frequent sacrifice of æsthetical beauty. Mr. Freeman himself tells us that, in the fusion of the parts into the whole, the beauties and ornaments which belong to the parts must be lost also; and it can hardly be denied that in piquancy, variety, and picturesqueness of effect, the earlier Gothic buildings far surpass the later. As has happened with many schools of conventional literature, architects became cold, and lame, and lifeless, in their struggle for systematical correctness.

To this style Mr. Ruskin shows no mercy. All the vials of his wrath are emptied upon it. He has upon this subject used some

language to which we can scarcely think he will adhere upon consideration. Our English perpendicular is "an impotent and ugly degradation." "All that carving upon Henry the Seventh's chapel simply deforms the stones of it." Even the magnificent chapel of King's College is characterised "as a piece of architectural juggling." The church of St. Ouen, at Rouen, which Mr. Freeman selects as the most perfect Gothic type extant, fares no better. Its "glorious lantern" is described as "one of the basest pieces of Gothic in Europe," "its entire plan and decoration resemble and deserve little more credit than the burnt sugar ornaments of elaborate confectionary."

In truth, Mr. Ruskin seems to take very much a painter's view of architecture. Hence the extraordinary value which he sets upon the Italian schools of Gothic, an estimate in which few northern critics will agree with him. It is impossible to escape the conclusion, that he is unduly fascinated by the beauty and splendour of colour which the abundance of marbles, and the beauty of their climate, has given to the buildings of Venice and Tuscany. But the architectural critic is not so to be put off, he requires a design abstractedly beautiful; and, if we are to have what Mr. Ruskin so emphatically pleads for, any style or rules in architecture at all, we must learn to think of and to judge them as expressed in black lines upon white paper, without reference to material, to colour, or to historical associations. And the Italian Gothic is undoubtedly bad Gothic. The style was never thoroughly mastered or rightly naturalized south of the Alps; it bears every where the marks of a feeble imitation; no where those of spontaneous life. Its builders caught the forms of northern architecture, but they missed its spirit. In an imperfect style, by a most prodigal use of their sumptuous materials, they have erected some of the fairest buildings of the earth. Had they well understood the style in which they worked, their buildings would have been much more beautiful. We ask no better evidence than Mr. Ruskin has himself supplied. He has given a daguerreotype of the upper story of the Campanile of Florence. Can any one who has not seen the original, see in the representation any thing like a justification, or even an explanation, of the praise which Mr. Ruskin bestows upon this tower, as the most beautiful building on the earth? Or to him who has seen it, does the print recal the faintest idea of the surpassing loveliness of the original? Or let it be compared with the great tower of Lincoln, and then say which architect had the most vivid sense of the grandeur and beauty of architectural form? The fascination of the Florentine tower lies in its colour. But architecture is above all, and emphatically, a science of form.

Colour is a grace and a beauty ; it ought never to be the principal object of the architect's attention.

It is impossible to read Mr. Ruskin's writings, without regretting the habit which he indulges of stating his opinions in their extreme form. He seems to think that he can never say a thing strongly enough. And this not only in matters of importance, and where a man may feel some certainty of being in the right, but, as we have seen, in matters of mere taste ; and where men who have thought deeply and written ably upon the subject differ from him altogether. And the same excessive earnestness he shows about things which cannot but seem trifling. His style, if the expression may be used, wants perspective, every thing is painted in the strongest colours, and he expresses what assuredly he does not feel, the same ardour of conviction about small things and great. He is almost as fine upon a ribbon as upon a Raphael. With what a "tempest of splendour" does he scorch and shrivel up an unfortunate ribbon, which has offended him by its too frequent occurrence in architectural decoration. While we agree in the general criticism, we cannot help feeling that there is a certain incongruity in the expression of it.

"Inscriptions appear sometimes to be introduced for the sake of the scroll on which they are written ; and in late and modern painted glass, as well as in architecture, these scrolls are flourished, and turned hither and thither, as if they were ornamental. Ribbons occur frequently in arabesques,—in some of a high order, too,—tying up flowers, or fitting in and out among the fixed forms. Is there any thing like ribbons in nature ? It might be thought that grass and sea-weed afforded apologetic types. They do not. There is a wide difference between their structure and that of a ribbon. They have a skeleton, an anatomy, a central rib, or fibre, or framework of some kind or another, which has a beginning and an end, a root and head, and whose make and strength affects every direction of their motion, and every line of their form. The loosest weed that drifts and waves under the heaving of the sea, or hangs heavily on the brown and slippery shore, has a marked strength, structure, elasticity, gradation of substance ; its extremities are more finely fibred than its centre, its centre than its root ; every fork of its ramification is measured and proportioned ; every wave of its languid lines is lovely. It has its allotted size, and place, and function ; it is a specific creature. What is there like this in a ribbon ? It has no structure : it is a succession of cut threads all alike ; it has no skeleton, no make, no form, no size, no will of its own. You cut it and crush it into what you will. It has no strength, no languor. It cannot fall into a single graceful form. It cannot wave, in the true sense, but only flutter ; it cannot bend, in the true sense, but only turn and be wrinkled. It is a vile thing ; it spoils all that is near its wretched film of an existence. Never use it. Let the flowers come loose if they

cannot keep together without being tied; leave the sentence unwritten if you cannot write it on a tablet or book, or plain roll of paper. I know what authority there is against me. I remember the scrolls of Perugino's angels, and the ribbons of Raphael's arabesques, and of Ghiberti's glorious bronze flowers: no matter; they are every one of them vices and uglinesses."

In these violent expressions upon all possible subjects, there is more harm than a mere waste of power. They detract greatly from the authority of the writer, and are likely to interfere in no small measure with the high and noble aim to which he has set himself.

Any work on art by Mr. Ruskin can hardly fail to be of far more than ordinary value. To no man has been given a keener or a deeper sense of the beauty and the glory of this visible universe, or a more worthy utterance to express them, so far as words may do it. The pomp and prodigality of his eloquence are well enough known; to describe them adequately would require language not less forcible and beautiful than his own. In the difficult and noble task of painting in words the fair features of nature he is very hardly to be surpassed. A more exquisite description of scenery than the following, it would be indeed hard to find. It has been already often quoted, and the reader has probably read it before; he will *therefore* willingly read it again.

"Among the hours of his life to which the writer looks back with peculiar gratitude, as having been marked by more than ordinary fulness of joy, or clearness of teaching, is one passed, now some years ago, near time of sunset, among the broken masses of pine forests which skirt the course of the Ain, above the village of Champagnole, in the Jura. It is a spot which has all the solemnity, with none of the savageness, of the Alps; where there is a sense of a great power beginning to be manifested in the earth, and of a deep and majestic concord in the rise of the long low lines of piny hills; the first utterance of those mighty mountain symphonies, soon to be more loudly lifted and wildly broken along the battlements of the Alps. But their strength is as yet restrained; and the far-reaching ridges of pastoral mountain succeed each other, like the long and sighing swell which moves over quiet waters from some far-off stormy sea. And there is a deep tenderness pervading that vast monotony. The destructive forces and the stern expression of the central ranges are alike withdrawn. No frost-ploughed, dust-encumbered paths of ancient glacier fret the soft Jura pastures; no splintered heaps of ruin break the fair ranks of her forests; no pale, defiled, or furious rivers rend their rude and changeful ways among her rocks. Patiently, eddy by eddy, the clear green streams wind along their well-known beds; and under the dark quietness of the undisturbed pines, there spring up, year by year, such company of

joyful flowers as I know not the like of among all the blessings of the earth. It was spring time, too; and all were coming forth in clusters crowded for very love; there was room enough for all, but they crushed their leaves into all manner of strange shapes only to be nearer each other. There was the wood anemone, star after star, closing every now and then into *nebulæ*; and there was the oxalis, troop by troop, the dark vertical clefts in the limestone choked up with them as with heavy snow, and touched with ivy on the edges—ivy as light and lovely as the vine; and, ever and anon, a blue gush of violets, and cowslip bells in sunny places; and in the more open ground the vetch, and comfrey, and mezerion, and the small sapphire buds of the *Polygala Alpina*, and the wild strawberry, just a blossom or two, all showered amidst the golden softness of deep, warm, amber-coloured moss. I came out presently on the edge of the ravine; the solemn murmur of its waters rose suddenly from beneath, mixed with the singing of the thrushes among the pine boughs; and, on the opposite side of the valley, walled all along as it was by grey cliffs of limestone, there was a hawk sailing slowly off their brow, touching them nearly with his wings, and with the shadows of the pines flickering upon his plumage from above; but with a fall of a hundred fathoms under his breast, and the curling pools of the green river gliding and glittering dizzily beneath him, their foam globes moving with him as he flew."

One knows not whether most to admire in this passage the minute and accurate fulness of details, or the certainty and felicity with which they are used to express general truths, and to indicate the hidden sources of beauty and power. The colours of the flowers and the ripples of the river are set before the eye, but we are not suffered to forget that these slight and delicate ornaments are but another manifestation of that power which has raised up the cliffs of the mountains, as a man wrinkles the folds of a garment. And this is eminently characteristic. Mr. Ruskin's enthusiasm is far from being wild or unregulated, nor in his love for the accidents of art does he ever lose sight of its higher and more essential qualities as an expression of the highest truths. It may, perhaps, be questioned, whether his systematic view of art, as a representation of nature, may not, in some degree, have affected the accuracy of his architectural theories.

It would be altogether to misconceive the purpose and the object of Mr. Ruskin's work to suppose that it was written, either as a display of literary ability, or as the mere pastime of an artistical dilettanteism. He has very different and much higher purposes. To a man who reflects at all, and who considers out of what materials and by what process the minds and characters of individuals, and of nations are built up, it may well afford matter for speculation to consider in what manner we deal with the outward beauty and appearance of those objects of daily use,

which we touch and see continually, among which we habitually move and live. It is hardly too much to say that the works of man are, in this age and country (with a few exceptions, mostly borrowed from the examples of an age which we call barbarous), absolutely ugly. The stamp of that "formalised deformity, that shrivelled precision, that starved accuracy, that minute misanthropy," which Mr. Ruskin finds in our domestic architecture, is painfully impressed upon almost every thing that we make, from a suburban villa to a fire-shovel. It is not necessarily so. Nations whom we despise as dull and unintelligent are able to make their common appliances and utensils of life good and pleasant to look upon. Toss a bundle of Asiatic garments and utensils into a heap, and you have a picture; but what artist who could help it would copy our steel fenders or papier mâché trays? Our best ornaments are importations, or copies. What we lose in this way cannot be estimated. In the moral world, as in the physical, no impression is utterly lost. Every sight that a man sees has some effect upon the general turn of his thoughts and feelings. It may be such as to make him familiar with the forms of beauty, and thereby to soften and to exalt him; or such as to blunt and degrade his taste by a perpetual acquaintance with ugliness and deformity. Let it be recollected, that the bulk of the people of England are dwellers in cities, where they can hardly see the sun or the sky itself, and that if they want the opportunity of catching some ideas of grace and beauty from the works of man, must be without the feeling altogether. Whatever tends to humanize, to educate, and to refine our vast city population, cannot rightly be thought of mean importance. And good architecture does this, and more than this; it tends powerfully to create those local attachments, which, on a larger scale, we call patriotism, and the want of which is not the least ugly symptom of the deep-seated malady of our time. The inhabitants of Bolton or Manchester can never regard their interminable lines of dingy warehouses with the pride and affection with which the citizen of Florence or Bruges looked up to the towers of his native town.

Nor is this all. Our practice of making bad ornaments tends, and that not a little, to degrade the workmen who make them. The improving effects of a good work of art are at least as great upon the workman as upon the beholder. It may be said, without extravagance, that it is twice blessed. "It blesses him that gives and him who takes." It is no slight matter for the health and contentment of mind of the vast numbers of artisans who are employed in these arts, which are more or less decorative, that they should have that to do which may give some oppor-

tunity for mental action in the doing, some sense of a satisfied taste for beauty in the completion, and thus make the workman happy in his work. The great and master evil of our own time, the dissatisfaction of every man with his own condition, would be much mitigated, if all who could afford it, dwelt, as men did of old, in houses of solid and enduring beauty, wrought as those were by workmen who knew and felt the value and excellence of their work.

This unfortunate state of the national taste is very generally recognised, and some desultory efforts are made to improve it. We hear on all sides of art manufactures and exhibitions. But in all these things we have begun at the wrong end. It is architecture that has in all times been the nurse of all the other fine arts, and it must be so now. If people are inured to meanness and tawdriness, to deception and falsity in their greatest works, they are little likely to avoid them in their smallest. "We shall not manufacture art," as Mr. Ruskin most truly tells us, "out of pottery and printed stuffs." What we want most of all in this matter is truth and honesty, and earnest endeavour to do what is really good of its kind. So long as we count the bricks and stones that we bestow upon our palaces and places of worship, and strain eagerly to get the greatest possible show out of the least amount of materials and of labour, we shall have no true, or honest, or healthy art.

In the work before us Mr. Ruskin has endeavoured to separate and to explain those principles which ought to guide the architect—his leading stars in the midst of that chaos of styles with which he now finds himself surrounded; and this he has done with an especial reference to the necessities of our own time. These principles he calls with a quaintness—not without its use in arresting the attention of the reader—*Lamps*; and of these lamps he reckons seven:—of Sacrifice, of Truth, of Power, of Beauty, of Life, of Memory, and of Obedience. Three of these, the Lamps of Sacrifice, Truth, and Memory, seem to be for the most part rather different aspects of the same light, than altogether distinct luminaries; they all enforce the great principle, that *we are to do our best* in design, in material, in workmanship; that all architecture, where this is not done, is bad architecture. But in this matter let us hear Mr. Ruskin.

"Let us have done with this kind of work at once; cast off every temptation to it; do not let us degrade ourselves voluntarily, and then mutter and mourn over our short comings; let us confess our poverty or our parsimony, but not belie our human intellect. It is not even a question of how *much* we are to do, but of how it is to be done; it is not a question of doing more, but of doing better. Do not let us

boss our roofs with wretched, half-worked, blunt-edged rosettes; do not let us flank our gates with rigid imitations of mediæval statuary. Such things are mere insults to common sense, and only unfit us for feeling the nobility of their prototypes. We have so much, suppose, to be spent in decoration; let us go to the Flaxman of his time, whoever he may be, and bid him carve for us a single statue, frieze or capital, or as many as we can afford, compelling upon him the one condition, that they shall be the best he can do; place them where they will be of most value, and be content. Our other capitals may be mere blocks, and our other niches empty. No matter: better our work unfinished than all bad. It may be, that we do not desire ornament of so high an order: choose, then, a less developed style, as also, if you will, rougher material; the law which we are enforcing requires only that what we pretend to do and to give shall both be the best of their kind; choose, therefore, the Norman hatchet work, instead of the Flaxman frieze and statue; but let it be the best hatchet work; and, if you cannot afford marble, use Caen stone, but from the best bed; and if not stone, brick, but the best brick; preferring always what is good of a lower order of work or material, to what is bad of a higher; for this is not only the way to improve every kind of work, and to put every kind of material to better use, but it is more honest and unpretending, and is in harmony with other just, upright, and manly principles, whose range we shall have presently to take into consideration."

It will be easily seen that this principle, as the Lamp of Truth, condemns all that base use of sham materials and sham decorations, that luxury of plaster cornices and composition marbles, in which modern architects so much please themselves. It will likewise enforce a solid and enduring construction, so that our memory may be transmitted with our buildings to after ages, and their times linked to ours, by the benefits which we have bestowed on them. And this is the Lamp of Memory. To all those who consider at all upon what foundations are built the strength and the happiness of nations, we would earnestly commend the following eloquent passage.

"I cannot but think it is an evil sign of a people when their houses are built to last for one generation only. There is a sanctity in a good man's house which cannot be renewed in every tenement that rises on its ruins: and I believe that good men would generally feel this; and that having spent their lives happily and honourably, they would be grieved at the close of them to think that the place of their earthly abode, which had seen, and seemed almost to sympathize in, all their honour, their gladness, or their suffering,—that this, with all the record it bore of them, and all of material things that they had loved and ruled over, and set the stamp of themselves upon—was to be swept away, as soon as there was room made for them in the grave; that no respect was to be shown to it, no affection felt for it, no good to be drawn from

it by their children; that though there was a monument in the church, there was no warm monument in the hearth and house to them; that all that they ever treasured was despised, and the places that had sheltered and comforted them were dragged down to the dust. I say, that a good man would fear this; and that, far more, a good son, a noble descendant, would fear doing it to his father's house. I say that if men lived like men indeed, their houses would be temples—temples which we should hardly dare to injure, and in which it would make us holy to be permitted to live; and there must be a strange dissolution of natural affection, a strange unthankfulness for all that homes have given and parents taught, a strange consciousness that we have been unfaithful to our fathers' honour, or that our own lives are not such as would make our dwellings sacred to our children, when each man would fain build to himself, and build for the little revolution of his own life only. And I look upon those pitiful concretions of lime and clay which spring up in mildewed forwardness out of the kneaded fields about our capital—upon those thin, tottering, foundationless shells of splintered wood and imitated stone—upon those gloomy rows of formalised minuteness, alike without difference and without fellowship, as solitary as similar—not merely with the careless disgust of an offended eye, not merely with sorrow for a desecrated landscape, but with a painful foreboding that the roots of our national greatness must be deeply cankered when they are thus loosely struck in their native ground; that those comfortless and unhonoured dwellings are the signs of a great and spreading spirit of popular discontent; that they mark the time when every man's aim is to be in some more elevated sphere than his natural one, and every man's past life is his habitual scorn; when men build in the hope of leaving the places they have built, and live in the hope of forgetting the years that they have lived; when the comfort, the peace, the religion of home have ceased to be felt, and the crowded tenements of a struggling and restless population differ only from the tents of the Arab and the gipsy by their less healthy openness to the air of heaven, and less happy choice of their spot of earth, by their sacrifice of liberty without the gain of rest, and of stability, without the luxury of change."

The same principle pervades what Mr. Ruskin calls the Lamp of Power, the necessity of weight and mass, of strong shadow and deep recess, in short, of abundant material, of size, and solidity. This is the very heart and root of the matter; if we are to have any architecture worth the name, we must abandon our favourite practice of stretching our materials to the utmost, and of erecting buildings just strong enough to hold together. We must work patiently and for posterity.

We now come to the Lamp of Beauty, and on this head we must confess we differ altogether from Mr. Ruskin. He holds, if we rightly understand him, that there can be no beauty except that which arises from the imitation, more or less close, of natu-

ral objects, or at least of lines which are to be found in nature. We can hardly suppose that the author himself would, upon reflection, be quite satisfied with a theory which has involved him in disquisitions upon the more or less frequent occurrence in nature of the crystals of salt or bismuth. In this matter *à priori* speculations can go for very little; nearly every thing must depend upon the testimony of our sensations. We cannot *prove* a thing to be beautiful. Let us try Mr. Ruskin by a test which he has himself furnished. He affirms that the Campanile of Florence is the most beautiful of buildings, and he gives us a daguerreotype view of it. With the trifling exception of the flowered capitals, what is there in the view which at all reminds us of any object in nature? Or let any man look at the east end of Lincoln cathedral, or any other fine specimen of the geometrical Gothic, and then say if that does not present one of the highest types of architectural beauty, or if it be like any thing in nature. Nor will it avail to say that many of our most beautiful geometrical arrangements are but combinations or fragments of circles, and that that form is always before us in the sweep of the horizon, in the orbs of the great lights of heaven. For it is not by the possibility of finding something in nature *in some degree* like what is beautiful in architecture that we ought to judge, but by the effect and disposition of the whole. And in a pure style of architecture we shall find a general tendency to those geometrical forms which are so sparingly exhibited in nature. In truth, if architecture depended exclusively for its beauty on the reproduction of natural forms, it would follow that the more closely the members of a building copied those forms, so much the greater would be their beauty. We ought to build columns like trees, and vaulting ribs like their branches. Yet this practice, which to a certain extent is sufficiently common in the latest German Gothic, is a sure mark of degradation, and there is perhaps no baser piece of architecture in the world than that arch in the beautiful triforium of Westminster, of which the shafts have been tormented into the form of palm-trees.

This theory of Mr. Ruskin is, we think, another instance of what we have before had occasion to remark, that he often looks upon his subjects rather with the eye of a painter than of an architect. The truth seems to be, that the proper and peculiar beauty of architectural objects consists in the expression of excellence of form, not as it is presented to us in the visible objects of the outward universe, but as it is conceived by the human mind. As there are sciences, which are conversant only with the abstractions of the mind, as the lines and circles of the theoretical mathematician have no existence but in his understanding, no

types in the world of matter, so in architecture the eye may be pleased and the taste satisfied by ordered arrangements of geometrical figures altogether unlike any thing in nature, and deducing the rules of their arrangement from the laws of the mind itself. Architecture might perhaps be described to be the expression of human thought in stone. And the manner in which beauty is conceived by man is far remote from that in which it is expressed in nature. Man works with far less plastic materials and is bound by far more rigid laws. His conceptions take naturally the shape of those geometrical figures, and are bounded by the rigidity of those mathematical lines which in natural objects scarcely occur at all. For more subtle and delicate beauties he must go to nature, one of the many ways in which we are taught how absolute is our dependence upon a power great beyond the utmost reach of our weak conceptions.

Of the "Lamp of Life," the title sufficiently expresses the scope and purpose. And this also is to be referred to that great principle, which we have before mentioned as the main source of all that is worth having in art; the earnest endeavour of the artist to do his best, the struggle to realize to the utmost that the means in his power permit the ideas that his mind forms of beauty and grandeur. Where this is, the work has life, and however rude or imperfect, it is sure to have some merit; it is a real expression of human thought; it has given some honest pleasure to the maker, and so long as it stands it will continue to give the same to those who behold it. Where this is not, the work may be vast, elaborate, expensive, but it will be cold, tame, and dead; that which has excited no enthusiasm in the maker will never do so in the spectator. In how few of our own buildings do we feel that the architect has really done the best that he could, that he has set himself seriously to work to gather and select all the materials of beauty which lay within his reach, that he has never been satisfied of doing well enough, where he might have done better! Our architects seldom or never work up to their full strength. But in this matter they are unfavourably circumstanced. It is an indispensable condition for a living architecture that it should be in some degree original and progressive, that it should not be too rigidly bound by precedent. In no work of imagination can any result worth having be got by copying those who have gone before. To rise at all, we must aim at the highest things, and make our ultimate object no less than the utmost conceivable grandeur and beauty. We should copy Gothic, not because it is Gothic, but because it is beautiful; and we ought to try earnestly to do better. Beautiful as our own Gothic buildings are, one may surely conceive others still more beautiful. They are not wanting in faults

we should avoid, any more than in excellencies which we are to copy. Now, a modern architect, even if he choose the classic style, will find himself grievously hampered by precedents. He is limited, in what is to a certain extent even now a foreign and artificial style, and what is worse, he is perpetually subject to the reproaches of critics, for the smallest departure from existing principles—censures which may most seriously affect his interests ; and he works timidly, and with more reference to what is, than to what ought to be, and thinking at least as much of precedent as of principle. Of what is called Classical Architecture it seems needless to speak ; that has been long ago by its too careful nurses mummified into a mummy.

This principle of originality is not in reality, though it may at first sight so appear, at all opposed to the next and the last of Ruskin's architectural principles, the Lamp of Obedience. Under this head he explains and enforces the necessity, if we would have any architecture, or indeed any art at all that is really original, of selecting and adhering to some one style of architecture. It is impossible that the architect, who is liable to be at any time called upon to compose in almost every style that has ever been known, from Chinese to Egyptian, should ever be able to use the full resources of any. He is distracted by the multiplicity of objects which are before him. He is always learning the rudiments of his art, and has neither leisure nor knowledge to apply to any one style wholly original in anything. A man who should pique himself on being habitually writing half a dozen languages, would hardly have any originality or genial style in any. And the same observation will hold as to every workman employed in building. Unless his eye and his taste are trained in some one style, they will never be fully and entirely trained at all. Good decorative work is not so easy as it is often supposed to be ; it can be done by a divided attention ; it needs the full application of the undiminished energies of most men. If the selection of a single style be necessary for the healthy life of architecture among us, it is no less so for that of painting and sculpture. These arts have always depended, if not for their existence, at least for their vigour and animation, upon the first. And this is especially so, for paintings and statues are but the ornaments of houses and temples ; nor will they ever fit in comfortably or in free space to develop themselves where the architect has not provided it. The modern method of painting pictures for pieces of furniture, whose greatest praise is to fetch high prices in an auction-room, will never give rise to a worthy or dignified style of painting.

Such a school is certain to be seduced by that great Circe of the arts—colour. The results of such a practice are well seen in the Dutch school of painting, and without going so far as Mr.

Ruskin, who some where delivers an opinion that the greatest service which could be rendered to art with respect to the paintings of the Dutch masters, would be to collect the whole of them into one grand gallery and then burn it to the ground, we think that few would be disposed to regard it as an elevated or adequate utterance of the truths which it is given to artists to express.

With respect to the choice of style, Mr. Ruskin appears, on the whole, to prefer that which it is likely would unite in its favour the great majority of suffrages,—the early English decorated. It seems, indeed, only natural to select a style which is adapted to our climate and to our materials, and the models of which are always before our eyes. The style in question possesses also the very important advantage, that it admits of being ornamented, either with conventional or natural foliage; nor is there, probably, any other style which can so easily both do without ornament or use it in the most lavish manner. It is another instance of the strong, and, indeed, unreasoning love which our author bears to the buildings of Italy, that he actually enumerates three of the Italian mediæval styles, as competitors with our own best age of Gothic. And yet it is difficult to see upon what principles of criticism the Pisan Romanesque can be considered as any thing but an imperfect and undeveloped style; or the Tuscan or Venetian Gothic as otherwise than very imperfect imitations (that they are imitations cannot be denied) of the Teutonic architecture. And this, we must repeat, is not a question of the beauty or grandeur of particular buildings, which depends so much upon their position, their material, or such other considerations; but of what is a very different matter—the abstract excellence of style. It is very characteristic of Mr. Ruskin's excessive love for the Italian styles that we find him actually citing with admiration a want of exact correspondence in measurement, which, it appears, occurs in the cathedral of Pisa between parts answering to each other, and to the eye doing so exactly. It is difficult to understand how any beauty can arise from a difference which is not perceptible, nor does there seem to be any reasonable doubt that the builders *intended* to make the corresponding parts really equal. They failed, most likely, for want of sufficiently accurate working drawings, yet they came near enough for all purposes of importance: the fault is a trifling one, and takes little or nothing from the merit of the structure, but it is not a merit.

Under the head of the Lamp of Memory, Mr. Ruskin has given a very ingenious, and, we think, a correct explanation of that so much oftener used than understood term, "The Picturesque." Ac-

ng to him, the picturesque consists in "parasitical sublimity;" s to say, in that sublimity which arises out of the surface of bject represented, and not out of its more essential charac- ics. In proportion, then, as the eye and the attention rawn to the surface of any object rather than to its inter- nd inherent qualities, as the outside hides the inward struc- it is picturesque. The picturesque character depends upon is excrescential as distinguished from what is essential, he more the excrescences are developed, the more strongly marked. Thus the mane of the lion, which makes him so resque a subject, is no necessary part of the animal, his s or mode of life would be in no respect altered should he it; his essential qualities lie in his *form*, which the mane much disguises. Hence this quality is properly called pic- queness, for it is evidently much more easy to represent the ard surface of any thing than its inward qualities, to describe its accidents, than in its essence. And for the same rea- as this is the easiest and most obvious style, it is also the noble and dignified.

the same chapter Mr. Ruskin has treated a subject 1, from its great practical importance, deserves some no- that of restoration, a process which, in more or less ure, all our ancient ecclesiastical edifices seemed destined to rgo. Our author, as we have seen, is not much in the of limiting his propositions, and he lays it down that all ration is impossible. "It means the most total destruc- that a building can suffer; a destruction out of which no ants can be gathered: a destruction accompanied with a description of the thing destroyed." And he tells us that a sity for restoration is a necessity for pulling the building . So far as these observations apply to sculptures, we ive them to be altogether just. So long as a fragment of an tature will remain in its niche, it ought to be sacred from the of modern hands. But to the restoration of buildings in main and essential parts, that is, in their masonry and dings, these observations do not seem properly to apply. dings being formed by combinations of geometrical lines certainly be exactly copied, if sufficient care be taken, and is weathered in one place may usually be restored from other part which remains perfect. Even if it were not so, uld often become necessary to restore the outside of a build- in order to preserve the interior. We cannot suffer our hies to fall down, they must be repaired in some manner; an there be any doubt that that should be done as like to the nal as is possible? It continually occurs that the window

tracery of churches falls out, while the rest of the structure stands good ; it must be replaced in some fashion. Moreover, an accurate restoration is the very best school, both for the architect and the workman. It is no doubt true, that infinite damage has been done, and is now being done, by hasty, unnecessary, ill-considered, and imperfect restorations ; but restorations are very often not matters of choice, but of sheer necessity.

It has been already said that Mr. Ruskin has aims higher than those of the mere dilettante artist, or the self-asserting man of letters. We believe that to him that will be the most grateful criticism which most tends to help and further his objects. And nothing, we think, would so much tend to increase his authority, and thereby promote his views, as that he should modify what we have so often had unwilling occasion to remark, his habit of stating his opinions with needless vehemence. His earnestness of thought, his vigour of conception, his energy of expression, like all excellent qualities, have their temptations and their dangers. To correct this habit would hardly be very difficult ; and we are persuaded that its existence interferes seriously with the promotion of those ends to which he has addressed himself.

Nor are those ends light or trifling. When it is considered what large classes of men, and those, too, often highly educated men, pass their lives in the practice of what are called the decorative arts, in the making of what is, or at least is supposed to be, ornamental—when we think of the thousand of pictures which are at this moment being exhibited in London only—it cannot appear a small matter that so great an amount of work should be done, and so many lives spent, honestly, conscientiously, and happily ; that so vast a quantity of thought and mind should tend, like the verse of him who has just gone down to the grave full of years and honours,

“ To soothe and cleanse, not madden and pollute.”

Nay, more, that the outward shows of visible things may be made the instruments to lift us above themselves, and that from the sight of the fleeting objects of this transitory world, we may rise to the contemplation of those things which are everlasting.

ART. V.—*The Life and Correspondence of the late ROBERT SOUTHEY. In Six Volumes. Edited by his Son, the Rev. CHARLES CUTHBERT SOUTHEY.* London: Longman, Brow, Green, and Longman. 1849, 1850.

ROBERT SOUTHEY was one of that chosen band whose appointed lot it is to exhibit the power of the human mind and will in a life-long struggle against adverse circumstances; to create in the midst of a hostile world an exceptional position for themselves; and, in the absence of the adventitious advantages of wealth or worldly station, to exercise a powerful influence upon the destinies of mankind,—a member of that apostolate of genius, whose mission it is, “being poor,” to “make many rich.” Men of this class are to universal humanity what the prophets of old were to the nation of Israel; their office is not only to instruct the generation in which their lot is cast, but to predict the destinies of future ages; to cast their bread upon the waters of time’s tide, to be found after many days; to speak words often unheeded by the world’s ear, which yet are not suffered to fall to the ground. The school in which such men are fitted for their office is not the common school in which the ordinary craftsmen and labourers are trained, by whose routine performances the mechanism of society is kept in motion; theirs is a discipline as extraordinary as their vocation. To the unreflecting observer, it appears as if the lot of such men were unusually severe; and involuntarily the thought suggests itself what this or that man of the class alluded to might not have achieved, had he not been hampered and crippled by the intricacies of his course, and the perplexities of his position. Such a view of the irregular and often painful career of men of great eminence and public usefulness, however, arising from an incorrect appreciation of man’s nature, and scarcely excusable in a pagan philosopher, is wholly unworthy of the Christian thinker. The seeds of evil inherent in all the children of Adam, spring up with greater vigour in powerful than in weak or ordinary natures, and require, if the luxuriant growth of sin is to be arrested, a more powerful check to be imposed on them,—a check of which, according to the appointed order of God’s Providence, the force of external circumstances forms not the least important part. The conflict between the internal, unregulated power of the mind and will,

and the pressure brought to bear upon it by the outer world, produces those anomalies of position and eccentricities of action which characterize the early history of almost every man of genius; while in the after periods of life it is made apparent whether that discipline has been set at nought in a spirit of proud rebellion, or submitted to with meekness and humility. The result is, in the former case, the display of gigantic powers, but powers misused to the injury of their possessor and of mankind at large,—the gloomy defiance of the misanthrope and the atheist against every law human or divine; in the latter case, it is the application of powers not less gigantic, though less striking in the form and manner of their action, to the furtherance of the happiness and improvement of mankind, and to the advancement, more or less directly, of the purpose and kingdom of God,—accompanied in the individual himself by a sense of inward contentment, the natural fruit of life's vocation conscientiously fulfilled.

To the latter, the beneficent and the blessed class of master-minds, did he belong whose "Life and Correspondence" is now lying before us, in a series of six volumes, edited by his son. In saying the "Life and Correspondence," we simply follow the title-page of the work; and we must at once enter our protest against the supposition, that we admit this as a correct description of its contents. Strictly speaking, the publication of the Rev. Charles Cuthbert Southey has no claim to be considered as any thing more than fragments from the correspondence of Robert Southey, constituting materials for a history of a life which remains yet to be written. In making this reservation, we do not, however, wish to be understood as intending to cast any censure upon the Editor, or to depreciate the value of the biographical stores which he has communicated to the world. The son, who was undoubtedly the most proper person to collect the correspondence, and to decide what portions of it should be given to the public, with a due regard to those sanctities of private life, which ought never to be violated for the sake of gratifying public curiosity, was by the very fact of his relationship to the mighty departed, the most unfit person to work up those materials into a history of his father's life. The *pietas* of the son and the office of the critic and the judge, are in their nature incompatible; while an encomiastic narrative, such as filial affection might have indited, would have carried with it no greater weight than the laudatory inscriptions on tombstones, which do more credit to the feelings of the survivors, than justice to the character of the departed.

To do Mr. Charles Cuthbert Southey justice, he does not in his preface profess to do more than we have here indicated, and

if his title-page might lead us to expect more, that one leaf, rather than the design and execution of the work itself, must bear the blame. With great modesty, he disclaims the possession of "any peculiar qualifications" for such an undertaking as the history of his father's life; he exactly circumscribes the limits of what he proposes to do, as a contributor of materials:—

"My object has been, not to compose a regular biography, but rather to lay before the reader such a selection from my father's letters, as will give, in his own words, the history of his life; and I have only added such remarks as I judged necessary for connexion or explanation; indeed the even tenor of his life, during its greater portion, affords but little matter for pure biography, and the course of his literary pursuits, his opinions on passing events, and the few incidents of his own career, will all be found narrated by himself in a much more natural manner, than if his letters had been worked up into a regular narrative."—*Preface*, vol. i. p. vi.

Still further to enable the reader to appreciate the value of the materials placed in his hands, Mr. Charles Cuthbert Southey has appended to the last volume a few retrospective observations touching the principles on which, and the manner in which, he has executed his task; observations which we think it but fair to give in his own words:—

"In selecting from the masses of correspondence which have passed through my hands, there has necessarily been considerable labour and difficulty, the amount and nature of which can only be understood by those who have been similarly employed. One of my chief difficulties has been to avoid repetition, for the same circumstance is commonly to be found related, and the same opinions expressed, to most of his frequent and familiar correspondents; so that what a Reviewer calls "significant blanks and injudicious erasures," are very often nothing more than what is caused by the cutting out of passages, the substance of which has already appeared in some other letter, and, according to my judgment, more fully and better expressed. It may probably be observed, that my selections from the correspondence of the later years of his life are fewer in proportion than of the former ones; but, for this, several reasons may be given. A correspondence is often carried on briskly for a time, and then dropped almost entirely—as was the case between Sir Walter Scott and my father, although the friendly feelings of the parties were undiminished; in other cases the interchange of letters continued, though they contained nothing sufficiently interesting for publication. With others, again, as with Mr. Rickman, Mr. H. Taylor, and Mr. Bedford, the correspondence increased in frequency, and necessarily the interest of single letters diminished, as it was carried on by a multitude of brief notes; and this, which in these two cases resulted from facilities in franking, it seems likely will be so general a result of the new postage system, that in another generation there will

be no correspondences to publish. With respect to the correspondence with Mr. Wynn, much to my regret, I was unable to procure any letters of later date than 1820, owing to their having been mislaid; since his decease they have been found and kindly transmitted to me by his son; but, unfortunately, it was too late for me to make any present use of them.

“In addition to these causes, it may also be mentioned, that his correspondence with comparative strangers and mere acquaintances occupied a continually increasing portion of his time. The number of letters he received from such persons was very great, and almost all had to be answered, so that but little time was left for those letters he had real pleasure in writing. Every new work he engaged in entailed more or less correspondence, and some a vast accession for a time, and these letters generally would not be of interest to the public. The *Life of Cowper* involved him in a correspondence of considerable extent with many different persons: many of these letters I could have procured, and some were sent to me; but they were not available, from the limits of this work, neither would their contents be of general interest. I may, however, take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to those gentlemen who have sent me letters of which I have not made any use, but for whose kindness I am not the less obliged.

“While, however, I have necessarily been obliged to leave out many interesting letters, I feel satisfied that I have published a selection abundantly sufficient to indicate all the points in my father’s character—to give all the chief incidents in his life, and to show his opinions in all their stages. I am not conscious of having kept back any thing which ought to have been brought forward—any thing, excepting some free and unguarded expressions which, whether relating to things or persons, having been penned in the confidence of friendship and at the impulse of the moment, it would be as unreasonable in a reader to require, as it would be injudicious and improper in an editor to publish. And if in any case I may have let some such expression pass by uncancelled, which may have given a moment’s pain to any individual, I sincerely regret the inadvertency.”—Vol. vi. pp. 394—396.

It only remains to be stated, that although Robert Southey does not appear to have kept copies of his letters to his numerous correspondents—for the present publication is made from the originals transmitted by the parties to whom they were addressed, or by their representatives—he seems himself to have contemplated the plan of an epistolary autobiography. Indeed, as far as the first fifteen years of his life are concerned, he himself, in his forty-seventh year, embodied his reminiscences of them, together with a full account of his birth and parentage, in a series of letters addressed to his friend Mr. John May, with the avowed object of composing, in this manner, an autobiographic memoir of himself. But while he disported himself, with all that innocent hilarity

of spirit which he possessed in so remarkable a degree, and which is one of the surest indications of a well-spent life and a happy old age, in the recollection of the small troubles and the childish adventures of his boyhood, his courage failed him when he approached that period of his life, in reviewing which the sense of personal responsibility could not but have greatly interfered with his narrative, and placed him in the inconvenient position of being at once judge and prisoner at the bar, his own prosecutor and his own advocate. To this cause, no less than to the unwillingness to open afresh wounds of affliction which time had healed over, we are disposed to attribute the abandonment of the projected autobiography by Southey himself; and we think, that in relinquishing the undertaking he was guided by a correct instinct. For a man who has attained a position of moral eminence, in which he is a spectacle to all and an example to many, to trace out before the world the erratic course of his years of indiscretion and inexperience, in a tone, we will not say of approbation, but of palliation, or of leniency of judgment, would be to render an ill service to the cause of religion and morality—by furnishing a plausible excuse to the *servum pecus* to imitate the faults, while uninfluenced by the impulses, and unprotected by the compensating excellencies, of the man of genius. On the contrary, to retail the follies and delinquencies of youth in their naked deformity, after the manner of the “*confessions*” of J. J. Rousseau, although without their turpitude, would be an act unbecoming the wisdom and the rectitude of maturer and graver years. Robert Southey did wisely, therefore, for more reasons than those apologetically set forth by his son, in not proceeding any further with his autobiographical letters to Mr. John May, but leaving the tenor of his life, the tendency of his sentiments, and the tone of his mind and heart, to be collected from his chance correspondence after he should have been gathered to his fathers. That he anticipated, and even intended, that such a use should be made of his correspondence, is evident from some of the very letters now published, in which he adverts to this plan as a substitute for the continuation of the memoirs of his own life, the completion of which he appears to have contemplated, at intervals, for several years after they had been broken off.

In July, 1826, five years after the discontinuance of the autobiographical correspondence with Mr. John May, he thus writes to his friend Grosvenor C. Bedford:—

“ I wish to show you some things, and to talk with you about others; one business in particular, which is the disposal of my papers whenever I shall be gathered to my fathers and to my children. That good office would naturally be yours, should you be the survivor, if the business

of the Exchequer did not press upon you, like the world upon poor Atlas's shoulders. I know not now upon whom to turn my eyes for it, unless it be Henry Taylor. Two long journeys with me have made him well acquainted with my temper and every-day state of mind. He has shown himself very much attached to me, and would neither want will nor ability for what will not be a difficult task, inasmuch as that which is of most importance, and would require most care, will (if my life be spared but for a year or two) be executed by my own hand. You do not know, I believe, that I have made some progress in writing my own life and recollections upon a large scale. This will be of such certain value as a post obit, that I shall make it a part of my regular business (being, indeed, a main duty) to complete it. What is written is one of the things which I am desirous of showing you. If you ever look over my letters, I wish you would mark such passages as might not be improper for publication at the time which I am looking forward to. You, and you alone, have a regular series which has never been intermitted. From occasional correspondents plenty of others, which, being less confidential, are less careless, will turn up. I will leave a list of those persons from whom such letters may be obtained, as may probably be of avail."—Vol. v. pp. 254, 255.

And shortly after he writes to Henry Taylor himself:—

"The growth and progress of my own opinions I can distinctly trace, for I have been watchfully a self-observer. What was hastily taken up in youth was gradually and slowly modified, and I have a clear remembrance of the how, and why, and when of any material change. This you will find (I trust) in the Autobiography which I shall leave, and in which some considerable progress is made, though it has not reached this point. It will be left, whether complete or not (for there is the chance of mortality for this) in a state for the press, so that you will have no trouble with it. There will be some in collecting my stray letters, and selecting such, in whole or in part, as may not unfitly be published, less for the sake of gratifying public curiosity, than of bringing money to my family."—Vol. v. p. 266.

It is both curious and characteristic that the pecuniary value of his projected autobiography, as the means of increasing the scanty provision which he had been enabled to make for his family, should have been the uppermost thought connected with this subject in the mind of a man who felt, and had reason to feel, "the conviction that, die when he might, his memory was one of those which would smell sweet, and blossom in the dust." Such being the nature of the collection from which we are left to gather our materials, we shall now endeavour to transfer to our pages a slight sketch of the picture presented to us in these volumes of Robert Southey, the man, the author, the politician, the champion of the Church of England. As a man, there can be but one opi-

nion, that Robert Southey will, in the eyes of all parties, be a great gainer by the publication of these letters, and by the light which they throw upon his personal and domestic history. The impression prevalent in the public mind, of the earlier period of his life, has hardly been as favourable as that which the present authentic data cannot fail to produce. Large allowances must be made for the unpropitious nature of his early education, which was in no sense calculated to regulate his mind or to form his character. Under the auspices of a maiden aunt, whose idol was her drawing-room furniture, her world the playhouse, and stage-players almost her only society,—with no regular tuition, and no better vehicles than playbills, fairy tales, and dramatic pieces, for that desultory information which, like all children of active mind, he failed not to pick up for himself,—it is not wonderful that the boy should have grown up without any clear ideas of religious truth, and without any deep or solemn religious feelings, even though his aunt did make a practice of occupying her pew at the parish church. His early reading was all in the world of fiction, not in the realities either of the visible or of the invisible world; all his associations of a light and frivolous kind,—barring always the stern severity of his aunt on such points of domestic discipline as she held it essential to enforce in the indulgence of her own peculiarities; the sentiments which he imbibed, the language in which he learned to clothe his thoughts, all overwrought, extravagant, fantastic. His scholastic beginnings were, if possible, of a more unfavourable kind; the first schoolmaster on whom devolved the task of educating the infant mind of the future author of the *Book of the Church*, was a dissenting minister of the General Baptist Denomination, with a Socinian creed, whose chief recommendation was that he kept religion carefully out of sight in his school. The master of the next “seminary” to which he was consigned, a genius in astronomy, with a drunken wife, who had formerly been his maid-servant, devoted his time to the construction of a huge orrery, and left his school-room to the charge of an ill-conditioned, half-grown son of his, between whom and the father a fight ensued, on the school being broken up by the appearance of the itch among the pupils. The chief acquirement which young Southey brought away was the difficult art of steering his course among a number of boys of coarse and tyrannical habits, accustomed to no other restraint among one another or from their superiors, than that of brute force. Such was the foundation on which the education of his later boyhood was built; and if the schools to which he was subsequently sent, as a day-boarder, were not of an equally objectionable character, they were certainly not calculated to correct the injury which

must have been inflicted on his mind by the training of his infant years. The rest may easily be imagined, and is soon told. After passing from hand to hand in a course of inefficient tuition, young Southey was sent to Westminster, where his extra-scholastic acquirements, his knowledge of plays, and of other branches of poetic literature, and his aptitude for composition, both in prose and verse, assigned him among the boys a higher standing than his classical attainments warranted, the result of which was his speedy expulsion from the school for the prominent part he had taken in the editorship of a periodical lampoon upon the authorities, under the ominous title "*The Flagellant*." The bankruptcy of his father, which happened at this time, as the *dénouement* of years of embarrassment, did not prevent his removal to Oxford, a maternal uncle interposing his good offices; but his stay there was not of long duration. Rejected at Christ Church, where his name had been put down, in consequence of his Westminster antecedents, he was entered at Balliol. To give an idea of the nature and success of his academic labours, it will be sufficient to transcribe the note addressed to him by his tutor, himself half a democrat, and an admirer of American independence:—

"Mr. Southey, you won't learn any thing by my lectures, Sir; so if you have any studies of your own, you had better pursue them."—Vol. i. p. 215.

His tutor's suggestion that he might have studies of his own, was correct enough. A vast variety of literary projects occupied his mind, tragedies and epics of divers kinds were on the stocks, and the theories and events of the French revolution furnished matter for plentiful political and metaphysical speculation. While thus engaged, the undergraduate of Balliol made the not very astonishing discovery that his opinions would offer an insuperable bar to his subscription of the Articles, and consequently to his entrance into Holy Orders, the very object for which his uncle had undertaken to defray the expenses of his education at the University. To avoid the total disappointment of his kind relative's expectations, he contemplated for a short time the study of physic, and mingled chemistry with his poetry; but from the horrors of the dissecting-room his muse shrank with invincible nausea, and convinced him that, however Apollo himself might succeed in both lines, he must renounce the healing art, and confine himself to the art of song. An attempt to obtain, through the intervention of his friend Bedford, a situation in a Government Office, was nipped in the bud by the unenviable notoriety which he had gained as a philosopher of the revolutionary school.

While he was in this uncomfortable state of mind, Robert

Southey fell into an acquaintance, which soon after ripened into an intimacy, with an *alumnus* of the sister university, of equally unsettled opinions, and still more unstable character, whom his friends had just ransomed from the hands of the recruiting sergeant, the mystic poet and misty metaphysician Samuel Taylor Coleridge. This completed the discomfiture of the plans for future settlement in an honourable career, which had led his kind uncle, the Rev. Herbert Hill, to send him to Oxford, and the long vacation, which riveted their inauspicious friendship, gave birth to the wild and sufficiently notorious scheme of a *Pantisocratic* republic, to be constituted, on principles of the purest *Aspheteism*, in the transatlantic world. The discovery of this notable project, and of the success which he had had in securing for his partner in the new Utopia one of four fair and penniless sisters, willing to embark in the prospect of love in a bower on the banks of the sweetly-sounding Susquehanna, deprived Robert Southey of his temporary home in the house of his maiden aunt, Miss Tyler, who marked her disapprobation, not unnaturally, though somewhat unseasonably, by turning her nephew into the street on a dark and rainy night.

Thus thrown on his own resources, Robert Southey found a friend and patron in Joseph Cottle, a young bookseller, himself a dabbler in poetry, at Bristol. The bibliopole Mæcenas became the purchaser of Joan of Arc, and otherwise forwarded the endeavours made at this critical juncture by Robert Southey to turn an honest penny, by bringing his talents into the market. Among other schemes set on foot with this view, was the announcement of a series of lectures by the two brother *Pantisocrats*, Southey and Coleridge, the latter selecting moral and philosophical subjects, and the former taking the historical line, as may be seen from the following prospectus :

“ Robert Southey, of Balliol College, Oxford, proposes to read a course of Historical Lectures, in the following order :—

“ 1st. Introductory : On the Origin and Progress of Society.

“ 2nd. Legislation of Solon and Lycurgus.

“ 3rd. State of Greece from the Persian War to the Dissolution of the Achaian League.

“ 4th. Rise, Progress, and Decline of the Roman Empire.

“ 5th. Progress of Christianity.

“ 6th. Manners and Irruptions of the Northern Nations. Growth of the European States. Feudal System.

“ 7th. State of the Eastern Empire, to the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks ; including the Rise and Progress of the Mohammedan Religion, and the Crusades.

“ 8th. History of Europe, to the Abdication of the Empire by Charles the Fifth.

" 9th. History of Europe, to the Establishment of the Independence of Holland.

" 10th. State of Europe, and more particularly of England, from the Accession of Charles the First to the Revolution in 1688.

" 11th. Progress of the Northern States. History of Europe to the American War.

" 12th. The American War.

" Tickets for the whole course, 10*s.* 6*d.*, to be had of Mr. Cottle, Bookseller, High Street."—Vol. i. pp. 234, 235.

Southey's lectures were not only well attended, but faithfully delivered, at the times appointed, which was more than could be predicated of the brother apostle of *Aspheteism*, S. T. Coleridge. The view which he took of life at this period—he was in his twenty-first year—and the extent of his hopes and aspirations, is somewhat amusingly pourtrayed in the following extract from a letter to his brother Thomas :

" I am giving a course of Historical Lectures, at Bristol, teaching what is right by showing what is wrong ; my company, of course, is sought by all who love good republicans and odd characters. Coleridge and I are daily engaged. . . . John Scott has got me a place of a guinea and a half per week, for writing in some new work called 'The Citizen,' of what kind I know not, save that it accords with my principles : of this I daily expect to hear more.

" If Coleridge and I can get 150*l.* a-year between us we purpose marrying, and retiring into the country, as our literary business can be carried on there, and practising agriculture till we can raise money for America—still the grand object in view.

" So I have cut my cable, and am drifting on the ocean of life—the wind is fair, and the port of happiness I hope in view. It is possible that I may be called upon to publish my Historical Lectures ; this I shall be unwilling to do, as they are only splendid declamation."—Vol. i. pp. 235, 236.

The unpromising career which Southey had thus opened for himself in his native city, was presently cut short by the interference of his uncle, who held a Chaplaincy at Lisbon, and who prevailed on his nephew to accompany him thither on a six months' visit, in the hope of rescuing him from his *Asphetic* associates, including his lady love, the romantic Edith Fricker. In this hope, however, he was disappointed. The only benefit which Robert Southey derived from this expedition, was a knowledge of the Spanish and Portuguese languages, which exercised a great influence subsequently upon the choice of his literary undertakings. When the six months were expired, he returned to England, where, for a time, he attempted the profession of the

law, with what success he himself shall tell. In December 1799, after a two years' trial to reconcile himself to a study against which the whole bent of his mind rebelled, he writes to his friend Grosvenor :

" In my present state, to attempt to undergo the confinement of legal application were actual suicide. I am anxious to be well, and to attempt the profession: *much* in it I shall never do: sometimes my principles stand in my way, sometimes the want of readiness which I felt from the first—a want which I always know in company, and never in solitude and silence. Howbeit I will make the attempt; but mark you, if by stage writing, or any other writing, I can acquire independence, I will not make the sacrifice of happiness it will inevitably cost me. I love the country, I love study—devotedly I love it; but in legal studies it is only the subtlety of the mind that is exercised. However, I need not philippicise, and it is too late to veer about. In '96 I might have chosen physic, and succeeded in it. I caught at the first plank, and missed the great mast in my reach; perhaps I may enable myself to swim by and by. Grosvenor, I have nothing of what the world calls ambition. I never thought it possible that I could be a great lawyer; I should as soon expect to be the man in the moon. My views are bounded—my hopes to an income of 500*l.* a year, of which I could lay by half to effect my escape with. *Possibly* the stage may exceed this. . . . I am not indolent; I loathe indolence; but, indeed, reading law is laborious indolence—it is thrashing straw. I have read, and read, and read; but the devil a bit can I remember. I have given all possible attention, and attempted to command volition. No! The eye read, the lips pronounced, I understood and re-read it; it was very clear; I remembered the page, the sentence,—but close the book, and all was gone! Were I an independent man, even on less than I now possess, I should long since have made the blessed bonfire, and rejoiced that I was free and contented."—Vol. ii. pp. 33, 34.

In the following spring, his medical advisers enjoined change of climate, and he gladly accepted an invitation from his uncle to pay another visit to Portugal, during which he finally abandoned the idea of following the legal profession, and gave himself up to the pursuit for which nature appeared to have intended, and to which circumstances had moulded him, the pursuit of literature, for its own sake, and as his only profession.

Before we proceed to follow him in that career which, as being suited to his taste, he pursued with a steadiness of application rarely to be met with in the history of literary genius, it is proper that we should advert to certain redeeming features in the character of the young man, whose strangely erratic course we have thus far traced. In the midst of the instability of purpose with

which he applied himself, or rather failed to apply himself, to those studies which, according to the intention of his relatives, were to have opened the door to his advancement in life, he continued to toil in the employment which was congenial to his mind with the most persevering energy, and that in spite of the barrenness of the pursuit in a pecuniary point of view. His refusal to enter into holy orders proceeded from the most conscientious feelings, and not, as the sequel proves, from any captious objection against the Church or her doctrines. He felt himself, most unaffectedly, disqualified for an office which he regarded with becoming reverence. From his participation in the schemes of Pantisocracy he withdrew as soon as his eyes were opened to their impracticable nature, and even during the time that the plans were in agitation, he never ceased to employ himself usefully, as far as he had the opportunity. When his fortunes were at the lowest ebb—at one time he was so far reduced that he actually went without a dinner for want of a sixpence to pay for the scantiest meal—he sustained his privations with honourable fortitude, and exerted himself manfully to retrieve his fallen fortunes. A deep sense of rectitude, and an anxious desire to settle down to some occupation which should be at once suitable to his talents and conducive to his support, pervaded his conduct; and while we may justly censure many of the opinions he entertained, and be unable to suppress a smile at vain aspirations of mingled enthusiasm and inexperience, or to withhold our pity from the fruitless efforts which he made to accommodate himself to uncongenial employments, we never lose our respect for him, because he never, for a moment, lost his self-respect. The disapprobation which some parts of his course are calculated to excite, is ever qualified, on the one hand, by the consideration that the fruit was far less evil than such an education as he had received might have led us to expect; and, on the other hand, by the evidence which his subsequent career affords of his having been unconsciously guided all through by a correct instinct to that which, after all, was his true vocation. It is in this light that he himself viewed, in after life, a period of his existence on which it was impossible for him to look back with satisfaction. Writing to Chaunsey H. Townsend, he observes:

“ The stages of your life have passed regularly and happily, so that you have had leisure to mark them with precision, and to feel them, and reflect upon them. With me these transitions were of a very different character; they came abruptly, and, when I left the University, it was to cast myself upon the world, with a heart full of romance, and a head full of enthusiasm. No young man could have gone more widely astray, according to all human judgment; and yet the soundest judgment could not have led me into any other way of life in which

I should have had such full cause to be contented and thankful."—
Vol. v. p. 78.

The view which we have taken of this portion of Southey's career, is confirmed by the honourable testimony borne to the blameless excellency of his character, by his uncle, the Rev. Herbert Hill, on his return to England from his first visit to Lisbon; a testimony which can hardly be suspected of partiality, seeing how completely his nephew had at that very time disappointed his almost parental solicitude:—

“ ‘ He is a very good scholar,’ he writes to a friend, ‘ of great reading, of an astonishing memory: when he speaks he does it with fluency, with a great choice of words. He is perfectly correct in his behaviour, of the most exemplary morals, and the best of hearts. Were his character different, or his abilities not so extraordinary, I should be the less concerned about him; but to see a young man of such talents as he possesses, by the misapplication of them, lost to himself and to his family, is what hurts me very sensibly. In short, he has every thing you would wish a young man to have, excepting common sense or prudence.’ ”—Vol. i. pp. 273, 274.

One part of his conduct at the period of his life to which this testimony more particularly applies, has called forth a greater diversity of judgment than almost any other passage of his life, certainly than any other part of his private history,—his clandestine marriage with Edith Fricker, on the eve of his departure for Lisbon on the urgent invitation of his uncle. As a question of ethics, the case was one of conflicting duties, and as such it must be viewed, in order to form a fair judgment upon it. The concealment from his uncle, whom he had already so grievously disappointed by the unprofitable issue of his college career, and who was at this very time taking pains to extricate him from a position full of embarrassments, was no doubt blamable, and must to Southey himself have been not a little painful. At the same time, the difficulty in which he was placed was not small. To have shaken off his engagement with Edith Fricker, would have been highly dishonourable, and wholly unjustifiable, as there was nothing, beyond her poverty, that rendered an alliance with her improper or undesirable. Southey himself was the son of a linendraper, who had become bankrupt; marriage with the daughter of a large sugar-pan manufacturer, whom the war had ruined, and whose orphan family had been left in a state of poverty, in which they did the best they could for their own maintenance by honourable industry, could hardly be called a *mésalliance*. He became acquainted with Edith through his college friend Lovell, who had married one of the sisters, and the ac-

quaintance appears to have ripened into mutual affection, and a positive engagement, some time before the Susquehanna scheme was brought on the *tapis*; he neither offered himself, nor was he accepted in the off-hand manner in which Samuel Taylor Coleridge convinced a third sister, Sarah, that she ought to bestow her heart and hand upon him; and the whole of Southey's subsequent conduct, the readiness with which he saddled himself with the widow of his friend Lovell, and with the worse than widow and orphan, of the magnificent Coleridge, as well as the long life of uninterrupted domestic happiness, clouded only by such afflictions as the Great Disposer of all things saw fit to lay upon them—may well be accepted as evidence that the clandestine marriage resolved upon at a most critical moment, was not an ill-advised step taken under the influence of rash and ungovernable passions, but the performance of a duty which could not honourably have been omitted or postponed. At least, it must be admitted that there were many considerations which might justly lead Southey to regard the matter in this light. The day fixed by him for this romantic wedding was the day on which it was appointed that he should sail for Lisbon with his uncle. Immediately after the ceremony had been performed, they parted, and Edith Fricker wore her wedding-ring suspended round her neck, and preserved her maiden name, until rumour gave publicity to the union. Of his feelings on the occasion, Southey thus writes in confidence to his friend Bedford:—

“ ‘ Here I am, in a huge and handsome mansion, not a finer room in the county of Cornwall than the one in which I write; and yet have I been silent, and retired into the secret cell of my own heart. This day week, Bedford! There is a something in the bare name that is now mine, that wakens sentiments I know not how to describe: never did man stand at the altar with such strange feelings as I did. Can you, Grosvenor, by any effort of imagination, shadow out my emotion? . . . She returned the pressure of my hand, and we parted in silence.—Zounds! what have I to do with supper!’ ”—Vol. i. p. 255.

The considerations by which he was induced to act as he did, he thus explained to his friend Cottle, on hearing that the secret had oozed out:—

“ ‘ My marriage is become public. You know my only motive for wishing it otherwise, and must know that its publicity can give me no concern. I have done my duty. Perhaps you may hardly think my motives for marrying at that time sufficiently strong. One, and that to me of great weight, I believe was never mentioned to you. There might have arisen feelings of an unpleasant nature, at the idea of receiving support from one not legally a husband; and (do not show this to

Edith) should I perish by shipwreck, or any other casualty, I have relations whose prejudices would then yield to the anguish of affection, and who would love, cherish, and yield all possible consolation to my widow. Of such an evil there is but a possibility: but against possibility it was my duty to guard.'—Vol. i. p. 258.

We have been thus particular in regard to this transaction, because we think that the commencement of a wedded life, which no other shadows ever darkened, except those which the hand of a loving Father, chastening in mercy, cast over it, at intervals by bereavements, and at the close by a still sadder affliction, deserves to be rescued from an obloquy which has been thoughtlessly thrown upon it, upon an insufficient view of the bearings of the transaction. There can be no doubt in the mind of any impartial person, that on this, as on every important occasion in the course of his life, Southey acted upon the most conscientious motives, and that, if he committed any error, it was one of judgment and not of the heart. What the world calls imprudent, was never so considered, at least never eschewed as such, by him, if it was demanded by any deep and generous feeling of the heart. Let him be convinced that a thing was in itself right and proper to be done, and he would at once proceed to do it without a moment's hesitation,—such was his reliance on the correctness of his moral sense, such the independence of his character, and, in justice to him we must add, his firm faith in the good providence of God, which, he never for a moment doubted, was sure to prosper the right and the generous course. Of this, many proofs are scattered up and down through his life. It was the greatness of the man, as much as his peculiarity, that he felt his way to what was right, with a nice and exceedingly sensitive moral instinct, and acted upon his convictions, regardless of all inferior and selfish considerations, with the boldness of a lion, and with a trust in God which nothing could shake.

At no time would he, to serve any selfish or mercenary purpose of his own, swerve from that which in his opinion was the right path. If the sentiments which he advocated were not at all periods of his life the same, it was because his convictions had undergone a change. There never was a more unfounded charge than that which party spirit has brought against Southey, that he was bought over to the opinions of which in his later years he was the champion. The letters now published, written from time to time in the intimacy of friendship, not only account for all the alterations in his views in the most natural manner, but contain, moreover, many proofs of the extent to which he kept himself independent even of the party with whose general views he coincided, and in whose service seemingly he wrote.

The accusation is the more ridiculous, as he never obtained any substantial reward at all adequate to the eminent services which he rendered to that party with whose sentiments his own happened to coincide. Neither the small pension of 160*l.*, which he obtained at an early period, and by which he was hardly a gainer, as he resigned for it the allowance generously made him by his friend Wynn, nor the paltry 100*l.* or 120*l.*, which formed the remuneration of the Laureateship, can by the most malignant be tortured into a bribe sufficient to purchase a man of Southey's calibre, supposing him to have been as crouching and venal as he was upright and incorruptible. As to the increase to his pension bestowed on him in his 61st year, at the recommendation of Sir Robert Peel, the grant of it was preceded and accompanied by circumstances which, more than any thing else, prove how completely superior Southey was to all those lures by which men are captivated and enslaved in the political world. But this part of his story had better be told by Mr. Charles Cuthbert himself:—

“ One morning, shortly after the letters had arrived, he called me into his study. ‘ You will be surprised,’ he said, ‘ to hear that Sir Robert Peel has recommended me to the King for the distinction of a baronetcy, and you will probably feel some disappointment when I tell you that I shall not accept it, and this more on your account than on my own. I think, however, that you will be satisfied I do so for good and wise reasons;’ and he then read to me the following letters, and his reply to them.”

Sir Robert Peel to R. Southey, Esq.

“ Whitehall Gardens, Feb. 1, 1835.

“ My dear Sir,—I have offered a recommendation to the King (the first of the kind which I have offered), which, although it concerns you personally, concerns also high public interests, so important as to dispense with the necessity on my part of that previous reference to individual feelings and wishes, which, in an ordinary case, I should have been bound to make. I have advised the King to adorn the distinction of baronetage with a name the most eminent in literature, and which has claims to respect and honour which literature alone can never confer.

“ The King has most cordially approved of my proposal to his Majesty; and I do hope that, however indifferent you may be personally to a compliment of this kind, however trifling it is when compared with the real titles to fame which you have established,—I do hope that you will permit a mark of royal favour to be conferred in your person upon the illustrious community of which you are the head.

“ Believe me, my dear Sir, with the sincerest esteem,

“ Most faithfully yours,

“ ROBERT PEEL.”

“ This was accompanied with another letter marked *private*.

Sir Robert Peel to R. Southey Esq.

“ Whitehall, Feb. 1, 1835.

My dear Sir,—I am sure, when there can be no doubt as to the purity of the motive and intention, there can be no reason for seeking direct channels of communication in preference to direct ones. Will you tell me, without reserve, whether the possession of power puts within my reach the means of doing any thing which can be serviceable and acceptable to you; and whether you will allow me to find some compensation for the many heavy sacrifices which office imposes upon me in the opportunity of marking my gratitude as a public man, for the eminent services you have rendered, not only to literature, but to the higher interests of virtue and religion?

“ I write hastily, and perhaps abruptly, but I write to one to whom I feel it would be almost unbecoming to address elaborate and ceremonious expressions, and who will prefer to receive the declaration of friendly intentions in the simplest language.

“ Believe me, my dear Sir, with true respect,

“ Most faithfully yours,

“ ROBERT PEEL.

“ P.S.—I believe your daughter is married to a clergyman of great worth, and, perhaps, I cannot more effectually promote the object of this letter than by attempting to improve his professional situation. You cannot gratify me more than by writing to me with the same unreserve with which I have written to you.”

Robert Southey, Esq. to Sir Robert Peel.

“ Keswick, Feb. 3, 1835.

“ Dear Sir,—No communications have ever surprised me so much as those which I have this day the honour of receiving from you. I may truly say, also, that none have ever gratified me more, though they make me feel how difficult it is to serve any one who is out of the way of fortune. An unreserved statement of my condition will be the fittest and most respectful reply.

“ I have a pension of 200*l.* conferred upon me through the good offices of my old friend and benefactor, Charles W. Wynn, when Lord Grenville went out of office; and I have the Laureateship. The salary of the latter was immediately appropriated, as far as it went, to a life insurance for 3000*l.* This, with an earlier insurance for 1000*l.*, is the whole provision that I have made for my family; and what remains of the pension after the annual payments are made, is the whole of my certain income. All beyond must be derived from my own industry. Writing for a livelihood, a livelihood is all that I have gained; for having also something better in view, and therefore never having courted popularity, nor written for the mere sake of gain, it has not been possible for me to lay by any thing. Last year, for the first time in my life, I was provided with a year's expenditure beforehand. This exposition might suffice to show how utterly unbecoming and unwise it would be to accept the rank, which, so greatly to my honour, you have

solicited for me, and which his Majesty would so graciously have conferred. But the tone of your letter encourages me to say more.

" My life insurances have increased in value. With these, the produce of my library, my papers, and a posthumous edition of my works, there will probably be 12,000*l.* for my family at my decease. Good fortune, with great exertions on the part of my surviving friends, might possibly extend this to 15,000*l.*, beyond which I do not dream of any further possibility. I had bequeathed the whole to my wife, to be divided ultimately between our four children; and having thus provided for them, no man could have been more contented with his lot, nor more thankful to that Providence on whose especial blessing he knew that he was constantly, and as it were immediately, dependent for his daily bread.

" But the confidence which I used to feel in myself is now failing. I was young, in health and heart, on my last birth-day, when I completed my sixtieth year. Since then I have been shaken at the root. It has pleased God to visit me with the severest of all domestic afflictions, those alone excepted into which guilt enters. My wife, a true helpmate as ever man was blessed with, lost her senses a few months ago. She is now in a lunatic asylum; and broken sleep, and anxious thoughts, from which there is no escape in the night season, have made me feel how more than possible it is that a sudden stroke may deprive me of those faculties, by the exercise of which this poor family has hitherto been supported. Even in the event of my death, their condition would, by our recent calamity, be materially altered for the worse; but if I were rendered helpless, all our available means would procure only a respite from actual distress.

" Under these circumstances, your letter, Sir, would in other times have encouraged me to ask for such an increase of pension as might relieve me from anxiety on this score. Now that lay sinecures are in fact abolished, there is no other way by which a man can be served, who has no profession wherein to be promoted, and whom any official situation would take from the only employment for which the studies and the habits of forty years have qualified him. This way, I am aware, is not now to be thought of, unless it were practicable as part of a plan for the encouragement of literature; but to such a plan perhaps these times might not be unfavourable.

" The length of this communication would require an apology, if its substance could have been compressed; but on such an occasion it seemed a duty to say what I have said; nor, indeed, should I deserve the kindness which you have expressed, if I did not explicitly declare how thankful I should be to profit by it.

" I have the honour to remain,

" With the sincerest respect,

" Your most faithful and obliged servant,

" ROBERT SOUTHEY."

" Young as I then was, I could not, without tears, hear him read with his deep and faltering voice, his wise refusal and touching expres

sion of those feelings and fears he had never before given utterance to, to any of his own family. And if any feelings of regret occasionally come over my mind that he did not accept the proffered honour, which, so acquired and so conferred, any man might justly be proud to have inherited, the remembrance at what a time and under what circumstances it was offered, and the feeling what a mockery honours of that kind would have been to a family so afflicted, and, I may add, how unsuitable they would be to my own position and very straitened means, make me quickly feel how justly he judged, and how prudently he acted."—Vol. vi. pp. 253—259.

The statement of his circumstances, which Southey had thus unreservedly made, remained not long unregarded. Two months after Sir Robert Peel thus writes:—

Sir Robert Peel to R. Southey, Esq.

“ Whitehall, April 4, 1835.

“ My dear Sir,—I have resolved to apply the miserable pittance at the disposal of the Crown, on the Civil List Pension Fund, altogether to the reward and encouragement of literary exertions. I do this on public grounds: and much more with the view of establishing a principle, than in the hope, with such limited means, of being enabled to confer any benefit upon those whom I shall name to the Crown—worthy of the Crown, or commensurate with their claims.

“ I have just had the satisfaction of attaching my name to a warrant which will add 300*l.* annually to the amount of your existing pension. You will see in the position of public affairs a sufficient reason for my having done this without delay, and without previous communication with you.

“ I trust you can have no difficulty in sanctioning what I have done with your consent, as I have acted on your own suggestion, and granted the pensions on a public principle—the recognition of literary and scientific eminence as a public claim. The other persons to whom I have addressed myself on this subject are—Professor Airey of Cambridge, the first of living mathematicians and astronomers—the first of this country at least,—Mrs. Somerville, Sharon Turner, and James Montgomery of Sheffield.

“ Believe me, my dear Sir,

“ Most faithfully yours,

“ ROBERT PEEL.”—Vol. vi. p. 263.

With the same unambitious simplicity Southey had, nine years before, refused the offer to bring him into Parliament, and provide him with a qualification, made to him under circumstances the most honourable to both parties. He was travelling in Holland, when on his way home through Brussels a report reached him of his having been returned to Parliament; and on his arrival in town he found the following document waiting for him:—

“ July 10, 1826.

“ A zealous admirer of the British Constitution in Church and State, being generally pleased with Mr. Southey's ‘ Book of the Church,’ and professing himself quite delighted with the summary¹ on the last page of that work, and entertaining no doubt that the writer of that page really felt what he wrote, and, consequently, would be ready, if he had an opportunity, to support the sentiments there set forth, has therefore been anxious that Mr. Southey should have a seat in the ensuing Parliament; and having a little interest, has so managed that he is at this moment in possession of that seat under this single injunction:—

“ Ut sustineat firmiter, strenue et continuo, quæ ipse bene docuit esse sustinenda.”—Vol. v. p. 261.

The offer came, as was afterwards discovered, from Lord Radnor, to whom Southey was an entire stranger. The light in which he regarded it, is recorded by himself, in a letter to a mutual friend, Mr. Richard White:—

“ Our first impulses in matters which involve any question of moral importance, are, I believe, usually right. Three days allowed for mature consideration, have confirmed me in mine. A seat in Parliament is neither consistent with my circumstances, inclinations, habits, or pursuits in life. The return is null, because I hold a pension of 200*l.* a-year during pleasure. And if there were not this obstacle, there would be the want of a qualification. That pension is my only certain income; and the words of the oath (which I have looked at) are too unequivocal for me to take them upon such grounds as are sometimes supplied for such occasions.

“ For these reasons, which are and must be conclusive, the course is plain. When Parliament meets a new writ must be moved for, the election as relating to myself being null. I must otherwise have applied for the Chiltern Hundreds.

“ It is, however, no inconsiderable honour to have been so distinguished. This I shall always feel; and if I do not express immediately to your friend my sense of the obligation he has conferred upon me, it is not from any want of thankfulness, but from a doubt how far

¹ The following is the concluding passage in the Book of the Church here referred to:—“ From the time of the Revolution the Church of England has partaken of the stability and security of the State. Here, therefore, I terminate this commendious, but faithful, view of its rise, progress, and political struggles. It has rescued us, first, from heathenism, then from papal idolatry and superstition; it has saved us from temporal as well as spiritual despotism. We owe to it our moral and intellectual character as a nation; much of our private happiness, much of our public strength. Whatever should weaken it, would, in the same degree, injure the common weal; whatever should overthrow it, would, in sure and immediate consequence, bring down the goodly fabric of that constitution, whereof it is a constituent and necessary part. If the friends of the constitution understand this as clearly as its enemies, and act upon it as consistently and as actively, then will the Church and State be safe, and with them the liberty and prosperity of our country.”

it might be proper to reply to an unsigned communication. May I therefore request that you will express this thankfulness for me, and say at the same time, that I trust, in my own station, and in the quiet pursuance of my own scheme of life, by God's blessing, to render better service to those institutions, the welfare of which I have at my heart, than it would be possible for me to do in a public assembly."—Vol. v. pp. 262, 263.

So determined was he in refusing an honour which he had not sought and to which he considered that he had no claim, that all the entreaties of his family could not prevail on him to write even one single frank, as an autograph memorial of his membership, though he continued nominally the member for Downton from July to November. In the latter month he thus writes on the subject to Sharon Turner :—

" On Wednesday next I shall write to the Speaker, and lay down my M.P.-ship. No temptation that could have been offered would have induced me to sacrifice the leisure and tranquillity of a studious and private life. Free from ambition I cannot pretend to be, but what ambition I have is not of an ordinary kind : rank, and power, and office I would decline without a moment's hesitation, were they proffered for my acceptance ; and for riches, if I ever perceive the shadow of a wish for them, it is not for their own sake, but as they would facilitate my pursuits, and render locomotion less inconvenient. The world, thank God, has little hold on me. I would fain persuade myself that even the desire of posthumous fame is now only the hope of instilling sound opinions into others, and scattering the seeds of good. All else I have outlived."—Vol. v. pp. 271, 272.

It was not a very unnatural effect of Southey's conscientious reluctance to accept the offer thus made him, that those who had taken an interest in his election should be all the more intent upon bringing such a man into the House. Accordingly we find that the proposal was renewed in a yet more tempting form. Southey at the beginning of December thus writes to Bedford :—

" On Wednesday, I received a note from Harry, saying, that a plan had been formed for purchasing a qualification for me ; that Sir Robert Inglis had just communicated this to him, and was then gone to Lord R. to ask him to keep the borough open : that he (Harry) doubted whether a sufficient subscription could be raised, but supposed that under these circumstances I should not refuse the seat ; and desired my answer by return of post, that he might be authorized to say I would sit in Parliament if they gave me an estate of 300*l.* a-year.

" I rubbed my eyes to ascertain that I was awake, and that this was no dream. I heard Cuthbert his Greek lesson, and read his Dutch one
VOL. XV.—NO. XXIX.—MARCH, 1851. H

with him. I corrected a proof sheet. And then, the matter having had time to digest, I wrote in reply, as follows :—

“ My dear H.,

“ An estate of 300*l.* a-year would be a very agreeable thing for me, Robert Lackland, and I would willingly change that name for it: the convenience, however, of having an estate is not the question which I am called upon to determine. It is (supposing the arrangement possible,—which I greatly doubt), whether I will enter into public life at an age when a wise man would begin to think of retiring from it; whether I will place myself in a situation for which neither my habits, nor talents, nor disposition are suited; and in which I feel and know it to be impossible that I should fulfil the expectations of those who would raise the subscription. Others ought to believe me, and you will, when I declare that in any public assembly I should have no confidence in myself, no promptitude, none of that presence of mind, without which no man can produce any effect there. This ought to be believed, because I have them all when acting in my proper station, and in my own way, and therefore cannot be supposed to speak from timidity, nor with any affectation of humility. Sir Robert Inglis and his friends have the Protestant cause at heart, and imagine that I could serve it in Parliament. I have it at heart also; deeply at heart; and will serve it to the utmost of my power, ‘so help me God!’ But it is not by speaking in public that I can serve it. It is by bringing forth the knowledge which so large a part of my life has been passed in acquiring: by exposing the real character and history of the Romish Church, systematically and irrefragably (which I can and will do) in books which will be read now and hereafter; which must make a part, hereafter, of every historical library; and which will live and act when I am gone. If I felt that I could make an impression in Parliament, even then I would not give up future utility for present effect. I have too little ambition of one kind, and too much of another to make the sacrifice. But I could make no impression there. I should only disappoint those who had contributed to place me there: and in this point of view it is a matter of prudence, as well as in all others, of duty, to hold my first resolution, and remain contentedly in that station of life to which it has pleased God to call me. If a seat in Parliament were made compatible with my circumstances, it would not be so with my inclinations, habits, and pursuits; and therefore I must remain Robert Lackland.

“ You will not suppose that I despise 300*l.* a-year, or should lightly refuse it. But I think you will feel, upon reflection, that I have decided properly, in refusing to sit in Parliament under any circumstances. R. S.”—Vol. v. pp. 273—275.

In a letter of thanks to Sir R. H. Inglis, for the share which he had taken in the business, Southey enters more fully into his private feelings, his habits of quietness and retirement, which, he conceived, unfitted him for a parliamentary career, and his

attachment to his family, which made him unwilling to tear himself away from that peaceful circle, and to adventure himself on the stormy sea of public life. How entirely he had learnt, by this time, to submit to the guidance of Providence, in humble contentment with the lot assigned him, is simply but touchingly told in the following passage of this letter :

“That my way of life has been directed by a merciful Providence, I feel and verily believe. I have been saved from all ill consequences of error and temerity, and by a perilous course have been led into paths of pleasantness and peace; a sufficient indication that I ought to remain in them. Throughout this whole business I have never felt any temptation to depart from this conviction. I may be wrong in many things, but not in the quiet confidence with which I know that I am in my proper place. *Inveni portum; spes et fortuna, valete!*”—Vol. v. p. 278.

The same conscientious feelings which prevented Southey, at the age of fifty-three, from accepting an estate and a seat in Parliament, decided him, at an earlier period of his life, when he was struggling for existence, and anxious to procure remunerative literary employment, to decline a most advantageous offer. He was at the time an ill-paid contributor to the “Annual Review”—the “Quarterly” was not then in existence—and was invited, through Sir Walter Scott, to write for the “Edinburgh Review,” in which his poetical works had been somewhat roughly handled by the unmerciful and unappreciating Jeffrey. To this invitation he replied :

“I am very much obliged to you for the offer which you make concerning the ‘Edinburgh Review,’ and fully sensible of your friendliness, and the advantages which it holds out. I bear as little ill will to Jeffrey as he does to me, and attribute whatever civil things he has said of me to especial civility, whatever pert ones (a truer epithet than severe would be) to the habit which he has acquired of taking it for granted that the critic is, by virtue of his office, superior to every writer whom he chooses to summon before him. The reviews of ‘Thalaba’ and ‘Madoo’ do in no degree influence me. Setting all personal feelings aside, the objections which weigh with me against bearing any part in this journal are these :—I have scarcely one opinion in common with it upon any subject. Jeffrey is for peace, and is endeavouring to frighten the people into it: I am for war as long as Bonaparte lives. He is for Catholic emancipation: I believe that its immediate consequence would be to introduce an Irish priest into every ship in the navy. My feelings are still less in unison with him than my opinions. On subjects of moral or political importance no man is more apt to speak in the very gall of bitterness than I am, and this habit is likely to go with me to the grave: but that sort of bitterness in which he indulges, which tends directly to wound a man in his feelings, and injure him in

his fame and fortune (Montgomery is a case in point), appears to me utterly inexcusable. Now, though there would be no necessity that I should follow this example, yet every separate article in the 'Review' derives authority from the merit of all the others; and, in this way, whatever of any merit I might insert there would aid and abet opinions hostile to my own, and thus identify me with a system which I thoroughly disapprove. This is not said hastily. The emolument to be derived from writing at ten guineas a sheet, Scotch measure, instead of seven pounds, Annual, would be considerable; the pecuniary advantages resulting from the different manner in which my future works would be handled, probably still more so. But my moral feelings must not be compromised. To Jeffrey as an individual I shall ever be ready to show every kind of individual courtesy; but of Judge Jeffrey of the 'Edinburgh Review' I must ever think and speak as of a bad politician, a worse moralist, and a critic, in matters of taste, equally incompetent and unjust."—Vol. iii. pp. 124, 125.

But not only was he unwilling to be associated, however remotely or indirectly, with what, in his heart, he disapproved; even where he approved, he was what some, no doubt, would call needlessly fastidious about his independence, being of opinion that a public writer ought to be, like Cæsar's wife, free from the slightest suspicion of interested motives. In answer to an overture made him in 1816, he thus writes:

"Upon mature deliberation, I am clearly of opinion that it would be very imprudent and impolitic for me to receive any thing in the nature of emolument from Government at this time, in any shape whatsoever. Such a circumstance would lessen the worth of my services (I mean it would render them less serviceable), for whatever might come from me would be received with suspicion, which no means would be spared to excite. As it concerns myself personally, this ought to be of some weight; but it is entitled to infinitely greater consideration if you reflect how greatly my influence (whatever it may be) over a good part of the public would be diminished, if I were looked upon as a salaried writer. I must, therefore, in the most explicit and determined manner, decline all offers of this kind; but at the same time I repeat my offer to exert myself in any way that may be thought best. The whole fabric of social order² in this country is in great danger; the Revolution, should it be effected, will not be less bloody nor less ferocious than it was in France. It *will* be effected unless vigorous measures be taken to arrest its progress; and I have the strongest motives, both of duty and prudence, say even self-preservation, for standing forward to oppose it. Let me write upon the State of Affairs (the freer I am the better I shall write), and let there be a weekly journal established, where the villainies

² "What think you of a club of Atheists meeting twice a week at an ale-house in Keswick, and the landlady of their way of thinking!"—*To C. W. W. Wynne, Esq., Sept. 11, 1816.*

and misrepresentations of the Anarchists and Malignants may be detected and exposed."—Vol. iv. pp. 209, 210.

It is not difficult to recognise in these various indications of an independent character at a more advanced period of life, the same deep sense of personal responsibility, the same anxiety to keep his course of action in the world in harmony with his internal convictions, which prevented him in his earlier years from entering the ministry of the Church, or engaging in any career unsuited to the character of his mind, or inconsistent with the principles he cherished. The wild enthusiast who was ready to sacrifice all for the Utopian visions which loomed across the Atlantic from the banks of the Susquehanna, had mellowed down into the Christian philosopher, the contemplative Statesman, who having learned to understand and to appreciate the means devised by an All-wise Providence for curbing and correcting the sinful nature of man, and adapting it by a salutary discipline to higher and eternal purposes, was not only satisfied with his own lot in this state of probation, but anxious to exert the powers with which he was endowed, and to employ the influence which they gave him, for the maintenance of principles, and the furtherance of measures, calculated to help forward what may be called the Divine education of the human race. It is in this point of view that Southey's writings possess the highest interest. His merits as a poet, as a historian, as a literator and literary critic, place him undoubtedly in the first rank in the world of literature; but a higher value belongs to him than that which is attainable by the mere artistic or scientific display of the powers of the human mind, however exalted; and it is to this aspect of his literary character that we are particularly desirous of inviting attention. Rich as the volumes before us are in materials for the personal and literary history of Robert Southey, an interest of a far superior kind attaches to the opinions which he publicly advocated with so much spirit, and which we find here expressed with all the unreserved freedom of private correspondence, on the great political and religious questions of the age. It is impossible to turn over the leaves of this posthumous collection without feeling that Robert Southey realized, in the fullest sense, the twofold character of the *vates* of old, being at once poet and prophet. Some of his more striking vaticinations we shall now transcribe, as peculiarly apposite to the state of public affairs at a moment when the nation appears destined to reap the bitter fruit of years of infatuation.

We begin with the question of manufacturing prosperity or Free Trade, the perils of which the philosopher of Keswick saw

afar off. More than twenty years ago, in the year 1830, he writes :—

“ I suspect that in many things our forefathers were wiser than we are. Their guilds prevented trades from being overstocked, and would have by that means prevented over-production, if there had been any danger of it. The greedy, grasping spirit of commercial and manufacturing ambition or avarice is the root of our evils. You are very right in saying that in all handicraft trades wages are enough to allow of a very mischievous application of what, if laid by, would form a fund for old age ; and I quite agree with you that tea and sugar must be at least as nutritious as beer, and in other respects greatly preferable to it. But there is a real and wide-spreading distress, and the mischief lies in the manufactories : they must sell at the lowest possible price ; the necessity of a great sale at a rate of small profit makes low wages a consequence ; when they have overstocked the market (which, during their season of prosperity, they use all efforts for doing), hands must be turned off ; and every return of this cold fit is more violent than the former.

“ There is no distress among those handicrafts who produce what there is a constant home demand for. But if we will work up more wool and cotton than foreigners will or can purchase from us, the evils of the country must go on at a rate like compound interest. Other nations will manufacture for themselves (a certain quantity of manufacturing industry being necessary for the prosperity of a nation), and this, with the aid of *tariffs*, may bring us to our senses in time.”—Vol. vi. pp. 86, 87.

Another similar prophecy is a quarter of a century old ; it is dated April 26, 1826, and addressed like the former to Mr. John Rickman :—

“ With regard to the general question of Free Trade, I incline to think that the old principle, upon which companies of the various trades were formed for the purpose of not allowing more craftsmen or traders of one calling in one place than the business would support, was founded in good common sense. And as a corollary, that if some more effectual stop is not put to the erection of new cotton mills, &c., than steam-engine will blow up this whole fabric of society. Three years ago I was assured that at the rate of increase then going on in Manchester, that place would, in ten years, double its manufacturing population. When we hear of the prosperity of those districts, it means that they are manufacturing more goods than the world can afford a market for, and the ebb is then as certain as the flow ; and in some neap tide, Radicalism, Rebellion, and Ruin will rush in through the breach which hunger has made.”—Vol. v. p. 250.

Nay, still further back, in 1812, Southey himself refers to the

opinions which he had expressed five years before, reiterating the gloomy anticipations which he was even then led to form :—

“ Look to the remarks upon the tendency of manufactures to this state in ‘*Espriella*,’ written five years ago. Things are in that state at this time that nothing but the army preserves us : it is the single plank between us and the Red Sea of an English *Jacquerie*—a *Bellum Servile* ; not provoked, as both those convulsions were, by grievous oppression, but prepared by the inevitable tendency of the manufacturing system, and hastened on by the folly of a besotted faction, and the wickedness of a few individuals. The end of these things is full of evil, even upon the happiest termination ; for the loss of liberty is the penalty which has always been paid for the abuse of it.”—Vol. iii. p. 335.

At the period when the Reform Bill was in agitation, his letters are full of allusions to passing events, and of exclamations of wonder at the blindness and rashness of the statesmen who then laid the foundation of our and their own present embarrassments. In May 1831, he writes to Grosvenor Bedford :—

“ Those who gave Earl Grey credit for sagacity, believed, upon his own representations, that time had moderated his opinions, and that he would always support the interests of his order. Provoked at the exposure of his whole Cabinet’s incapacity, which their budget brought forth, he has thrown himself upon the Radicals for support, bargained with O’Connell, and stirred up all the elements of revolution in this kingdom, which has never been in so perilous a state since the Restoration.

“ The poor people here say they shall all be ‘ made quality ’ when this ‘ grand reform ’ is brought about. ‘ O it is a grand thing ! ’ The word deceives them ; for you know, Grosvenor, it ‘ stands to feasible ’ that *reform* must be a good thing, and they are not deceived in supposing that its tendency is to pull down the rich, whatever may be its consequences to themselves.”—Vol. vi. pp. 146, 147.

And in June 1832 :—

“ The King, I am told, will make as many peers as his ministers choose ; and nothing then remains for us but to await the course of revolution. I shall not live to see what sort of edifice will be constructed out of the ruins ; but I shall go to rest in the sure confidence that God will provide as is best for his Church and his people.”—Vol. vi. pp. 175, 176.

And in the following year 1833, he sketches out the result of the course then entered upon with a degree of accuracy which, at this moment, cannot fail to tell with striking effect :—

“ It seems as if in our own country the experiment was about to be repeated of improving the vineyard, by breaking down the fences, and

letting the cattle and the wild beasts in. The crisis is probably very near at hand: I see my way much more distinctly into it than out of it. For the last two years it has been evident that O'Connell has formed an alliance offensive and defensive with the political unions. He relies upon them either to frighten the ministers out of their coercive measures by a demonstration of physical force, embodied, mustered, and ready to take the field; or, if they fail in this, he expects them to hoist the tricolour flag, and march upon London whenever he gives the signal for rebellion in Ireland. Brandreth's insurrection in 1817, the projected expedition of the Blanketeers a little later, and the Bristol riots, were all parts of a widely-concerted scheme, which has only been from time to time postponed till a more convenient season, and is now thoroughly matured, and likely to be attempted upon a great scale whenever the leaders of the movement think proper. I am not without strong apprehensions that before this year passes away, London may have its Three Days.

"But earnestly as such a crisis is to be deprecated, I do not fear the result. It may even come in time to save us from the otherwise inevitable overthrow of all our institutions by the treachery and cowardice of those who ought to uphold them. The Whigs will never give over the work of destruction which they have so prosperously begun, till the honest Destructives are armed against them, and threaten them with their due reward. The sooner therefore that it comes to this, the better."—Vol. vi. pp. 203, 204.

The following passage from a letter written when the death of George IV. was hourly expected, will form a suitable transition from this to another subject which no less painfully occupied his thoughts:—

"The poor King, it is to be hoped, will be released from his sufferings before this reaches you, if, indeed, he be not already at rest; it was thought on Monday that he could not live four-and-twenty hours. God be merciful to him and to us! He failed most woefully in his solemn and sworn duty on one great occasion, and we are feeling the effects of that moral cowardice on his part. The Duke expected to remove all parliamentary difficulties by that base measure, instead of which he disgusted by it all those adherents on whom he might have relied as long as he had continued to act upon the principles which they sincerely held; rendered all those despicable who veered to the left about with him, and found himself as a minister weaker than either the Whigs whom he sought to propitiate, or the Brunswickers (as they are called) whom he has mortally offended.

"William IV., it is believed, will continue the present ministers, but act towards them in such a way that they will soon find it necessary to resign. Then in come Lord Holland and the Whigs, in alliance with the flying squadron of political economists under Huskisson. Beyond this nothing can be foreseen, except change after change; every

successive change weakening the government, and, consequently, strengthening that power of public opinion which will lay all our institutions in the dust."—Vol. vi. pp. 102, 103.

The view of the effects of the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill, which is touched upon in the foregoing extract, was not, even at that time, an opinion of recent growth. As far back as the year 1807, when, on many points connected with religion, his views were as yet in a transition state, his mind apprehended with great clearness the character of the Romish Church, and the ultimate consequences of the efforts which it was even then making for the reconquest of "the Isle of Saints." He thus writes to his friend Wynn:—

"You do not shake my opinion concerning the Catholics. Their religion regards no national distinctions—it teaches them to look at Christendom and at the Pope as the head thereof—and the interests of that religion will always be preferred to any thing else. Bonaparte is aware of this, and is aiming to be the head of the Catholic party in Germany.

"These people have been increasing in England of late years, owing to the number of seminaries established during the French Revolution. It is worth your while to get their Almanac—the 'Lay Directory' it is called, and published by Brown and Keating, Duke Street, Grosvenor Square. They are at their old tricks of miracles here and every where else. St. Winifred has lately worked a great one, and is in as high odour as ever she was.

"I am for abolishing the test with regard to every other sect—Jews and all—but not to the Catholics. They *will not tolerate*; the proof is in their whole history—in their whole system—and in their present practice all over Catholic Europe: and it is the nature of their principles *now* to spread in this country; Methodism, and the still wilder sects preparing the way for it. You have no conception of the zeal with which they seek for proselytes, nor the power they have over weak minds; for their system is as well the greatest work of human wisdom as it is of human wickedness. It is curious that the Jesuits exist in England as a body, and have possessions here: a Catholic told me this, and pointed out one in the streets of Norwich, but he could tell me nothing more, and expressed his surprise at it, and his curiosity to learn more. Having been abolished by the Pope, they keep up their order secretly, and expect their restoration, which, if he be wise, Bonaparte will effect. Were I a Catholic, that should be the object to which my life should be devoted—I would be the second Loyola.

"Concessions and conciliations will not satisfy the Catholics; vengeance and the throne are what they want. If Ireland were far enough from our shores to be lost without danger to our own security, I would say establish the Catholic religion there, as the easiest way of civilizing it; but Catholic Ireland would always be at the command of the Pope,

and the Pope is now at the command of France. It is dismal to think of the state of Ireland. Nothing can redeem that country but such measures as none of our statesmen, except perhaps Marquis Wellesley, would be hardy enough to adopt; nothing but a system of Roman conquest and colonization, and shipping off the refractory to the colonies.

“England condescends too much to the Catholic religion, and does not hold up her own to sufficient respect in her foreign possessions; and the Catholics, instead of feeling this as an act of indulgence to their opinions, interpret it as an acknowledgment of their superior claims, and insult us in consequence.”—Vol. iii. pp. 75—77.

It may easily be imagined what his feelings were, when, with these convictions, in which he never wavered for a moment, he saw during the space of twenty-two years the insidious march of Popery, gaining, under favour of a blindness almost judicial on the part of the great majority of British Statesmen, one step after another, till at last in 1829, the leader of the Popish faction proved strong enough to induce the hero of a hundred fights to an ignominious surrender. Southey's reflections at that miserable crisis in our history are thus recorded by himself:—

“We have been betrayed by imbecility, pusillanimity, and irreligion. Our citadel would have been impregnable if it had been bravely defended; and these are times when it becomes a duty to perish rather than submit; for

“ ‘When the wicked have their day assign'd,
Then they who suffer bravely save mankind.’

If we have not learnt this from history, I know not what it can teach.

“And now, you will ask, where do I look for comfort? Entirely to Providence. I should look to nothing but evil from the natural course of events, were they left to themselves; but Almighty Providence directs them, and my heart is at rest in that faith. The base policy which has been pursued may *possibly* delay the religious war in Ireland? possibly the ulcer may be skinned over, and we may be called on to rejoice for the cure while the bones are becoming carious. But there are great struggles which must be brought to an issue before we shall be truly at peace; between Infidelity and Religion, and between Popery and Protestantism. The latter battle must be fought in Ireland, and I would have it fought now: two or three years ago I would have prevented it. Fought it must be at last, and with great advantage to the enemy from the delay; but the right cause will triumph at last.”—Vol. vi. pp. 24, 25.

Twenty-two years more have since elapsed, and one part of the prophecy with which the foregoing extract concludes, is at this moment in course of startling fulfilment. Well might Southey say, that the battle between Infidelity and Religion, and between

Popery and Protestantism, "must be fought at last, and with great advantage to the enemy from the delay." God grant that the latter part of his prediction, that "the right cause will triumph at last," may prove equally true, and that its accomplishment may be at hand.

One more extract on this important subject, in the course of which Southey glances at two kindred questions, we must make room for, on account of the singular clearness with which Southey discerned beforehand, both the connexion which they had with each other, and the evil consequences that would arise from their so-called "settlement" in conformity with the tide of popular opinion. In February 1823 he writes:—

"The arguments lie in a nutshell. The restraints which exclude the Catholics from political power are not the cause of the perpetual disorder in Ireland; their removal, therefore, cannot be the cure. Suppose the question carried, two others grow from it, like two heads from the hydra's neck, when one is amputated:—a Catholic establishment for Ireland, at which Irish Catholics *must* aim, and which those who desire rebellion and separation will promote,—a rebellion must be the sure consequence of agitating this. The people of Ireland care nothing for emancipation,—why should they; but make it a question for restoring the Catholic Church, and they will enter into it as zealously as ever our ancestors did into a crusade.

"The other question arises at home, and brings with it worse consequences than any thing which can happen among the potatoes. The repeal of the Test Act will be demanded, and must be granted. Immediately the Dissenters will get into the corporations every where. *Their* members will be returned; men as hostile to the Church and to the monarchy as ever were the Puritans of Charles's age. The church property will be attacked in Parliament, as it is now at mob-meetings, and in radical newspapers; reform in Parliament will be carried; and then farewell, a long farewell, to all our greatness.

"Our constitution consists of Church and State, and it is an absurdity in politics to give those persons power in the *State*, whose duty it is to subvert the *Church*."—Vol. v. p. 137.

During the ten years which followed, the course of events ran parallel with the anticipations here expressed, and a remarkable letter addressed in November, 1833, to the Rev. J. Miller in reference to a paper of "Suggestions for the promotion of an Association of the Friends of the Church," out of which eventually the "Oxford Tract" movement grew, contains the following striking passage:—

"Among the many ominous parallels between the present times and those of Charles the First, none has struck me more forcibly than those which are to be found in the state of the Church; and of those,

this circumstance especially—that the Church of England at that time was better provided with able and faithful ministers than it had ever been before, and is in like manner better provided now than it has ever been since. I have been strongly impressed by this consideration; it has made me more apprehensive that no human means are likely to avert the threatened overthrow of the Establishment; but it affords also more hope (looking to human causes) of its restoration.

“The Church will be assailed by popular clamour and seditious combinations; it will be attacked in Parliament by unbelievers, half-believers, and misbelievers, and feebly defended by such of the ministers as are not secretly or openly hostile to it. On our side we have God and the right. *Οἰστέον καὶ ἐλπιστέον* must be our motto, as it was Lauderdale’s in his prison. We, however, are not condemned to inaction; and our hope rests upon a surer foundation than his.”—Vol. vi. p. 222.

The shallow pretext under which all the havoc made in the Church is justified, that the Church is “public property,” has perhaps never received a more forcible answer, than in a letter written about the same time to the Rev. Neville White:—

“Public property the Church indeed is; most truly and most sacredly so; and in a manner the very reverse of that in which the despoilers consider it to be so. It is the only property which is public; which is set apart and consecrated as a public inheritance, in which any one may claim his share, who is properly qualified. You have your share of it, I might have had mine. There is no respectable family in England, some of whose members have not, in the course of two or three generations, enjoyed their part in it. And many thousands are at this time qualifying themselves to claim their portion. Upon what principle can any government be justified in robbing them of their rights?

“Church property neither is, nor ever has been, public property in any other sense than this. The whole was originally private property, so disposed of by individuals in the way which they deemed most beneficial to others, and most for the good of their own souls. How much of superstition may have been mingled with this matters not. Much of this property was wickedly shared among themselves by those persons who forwarded the Reformation as a scheme of spoliation; and in other ways materially impeded its progress. Yet they did nothing so bad as the Whig ministry are preparing to do; for they, no doubt, mean to give to the Romish clergy what they take from the Irish Protestant Church.”—Vol. vi. pp. 205, 206.

Let it not be supposed, however, that the external dangers of the Church alone excited Southey’s alarm for her safety. He was by no means blind to the perils which threatened her from within:—

“When Church reformation begins, if revolution does not render it

unnecessary, I fear we shall find many Judases in the Establishment. It was more by her own treacherous children that she was overthrown in the Great Rebellion than by the Puritans. But this must ever be the case."—Vol. vi. p. 154.

Who these Judases were, in his opinion, he tells us pretty plainly in another passage, written in 1830 :—

"I am inclined to think that the Church is in more danger from the so-called Evangelical party among its own clergy than it would be from lay-assistance. These clergy are now about to form a sort of union,—in other words, a convocation of their own, that they may act as a body. They have had a Clerical breakfast in London. The two Noëls, Stewart, who is brother-in-law to Owen of Lanark, and was here with him some years ago, and Daniel Wilson were the chief movers. There have been two reports of the speeches in the 'Record' newspaper, and a Mr. M'Neil (*heu! quantum mutatus!*), who very sensibly objected to the whole scheme, had the whole meeting against him."—Vol. vi. pp. 93, 94.

Nor was he blind to the dangers impending from other and opposite quarters. To one of these he thus alludes in 1838 :—

"The publication of Froude's Remains is likely to do more harm than — is capable of doing. 'The Oxford School' has acted most unwisely in giving its sanction to such a deplorable example of mistaken zeal. Of the two extremes—the too little and the too much—the too little is that which is likely to produce the worst consequence to the individual, but the too much is more hurtful to the community; for it spreads, and rages too, like a contagion."—Vol. vi. p. 271.

We hardly think the suppression of the name in the second line of this extract fair. Is it one of those names, to which we are, at this time, indebted for the spread of the contagion predicted with such wonderful accuracy? Be this as it may, the prophetic sagacity of the Seer of Keswick is attested yet in another direction :—

"James II.'s conduct in obtruding a Romish president upon Magdalen, was not worse than that of the present ministry in appointing Dr. Hampden to the professorship of divinity. If they had given him any other preferment, even a bishopric, it would have been only one proof among many that it is part of their policy to promote men of loose opinions; but to place him in the office which he now holds, was an intentional insult to the university. In no way could the Whigs expect so materially to injure the Church, as by planting Germanised professors in our schools of divinity."—Vol. vi. p. 291.

We have purposely so selected our extracts, that they shall convey a lesson and a warning to each one of the many adversaries

by whom the cause of God's Church and of His truth is at the time menaced. And let none of those to whom one or other of the remarks we have quoted may apply, think that he may turn the edge of the reproof by objecting that Southey was a political writer who could not be expected to take a more than superficial view of the deep questions which he handled with such incisive force of language. We may again appeal to his letters for proof that his thoughts on these subjects were the fruit of long observation and profound reflection, and that he meditated on them under a deep sense of their eternal importance :—

“ Our occupations withdraw us all too much from nearer and more lasting concerns. Time and nature, especially when aided by our sorrows, prepare us for better influences; and when we feel what we want, we seek and find it. The clouds then disperse, and the evening is calm and clear, even till night closes.

“ Long and intimate conversance with Romish and sectarian history, with all the varieties of hypocritical villany and religious madness, has given me the fullest conviction of the certainty and importance of these truths, from the perversion and distortion of which these evils and abuses have grown. There is not a spark of fanaticism left in my composition: whatever there was of it in youth, spent itself harmlessly in political romance. I am more in danger, therefore, of having too little of theopathy than too much,—of having my religious faith more in the understanding than in the heart. In the understanding I am sure it is; I hope it is in both. This good in myself my ecclesiastical pursuits have certainly effected. And if I live to finish the whole of my plans, I shall do better service to the Church of England than I could ever have done as one of its ministers, had I kept to the course which it was intended that I should pursue. There is some satisfaction in thinking thus.”—Vol. v. pp. 250, 251.

It would be easy to multiply proofs of the closeness of the bond by which Southey's public labours and his soul's inmost life were happily linked together in one harmonious effort to discover, and after he had discovered it, to believe, to obey, and to maintain the truth. But our task is done. We have traced the discipline by which Southey's mind was led into that line of thought, at once independent of all external bias, and accordant with the truth, which gave, and continues to give, him a claim, such as few men ever have had, to be reverentially listened to as a watchman and prophet in Israel. Of him it may with exceeding truth be said, that “ being dead he yet speaketh.”

ART. VI.—1. *Charge of the Bishop of London in Nov. 1850.*

2. *Charge of the Bishop of London in 1842.*

3. *A Farewell Letter to his Parishioners. By the Rev. W. J. E. BENNETT, M.A.*

4. *Letters of D. C. L., Reprinted from the "Morning Chronicle."*

5. *A Plea for "Romanizers," so called. A Letter to the Bishop of London. By the Rev. ARTHUR BAKER.*

IN ordinary times, and under ordinary circumstances, we should scarcely have thought that it fell within our legitimate province to consider, at any length, the causes or the consequences connected with the retirement of any individual clergyman of the English Church from a position he formerly occupied. But there are circumstances of such a special nature connected with the resignation of the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, that we feel we should be wanting in our duty to the Church of England if we were not to take some notice of them. Since the delivery of his Charge, in November last, and especially since his acceptance of Mr. Bennett's resignation, the Bishop of London has been the object of the most unsparing attack and misrepresentation from a particular section of the Church. In all quarters connected with that section, with one honourable exception, that of the "English Churchman," the changes have been rung, *usque ad nauseam*, upon the "weakness," the "vacillation," the "inconsistency," the "intolerance," and the "despotic tyranny," of the Bishop of London. The "Theologian and Ecclesiastic," in its February number, told its readers, in an article called "The Panic and its results," that the Bishop of London had gone "beyond his power, at the mere bidding of a hired mob," to silence an obnoxious clergyman;—that he "wanted a victim, wherewith to appease Exeter Hall," and had therefore sacrificed Mr. Bennett. The "Guardian," fearful, doubtless, of compromising its position by an open attack, has omitted no opportunity of sneering at the bishop's conduct. A writer of very great ability has been advocating Mr. Bennett's cause, and vituperating the Bishop of London, in a series of very remarkable letters in the "Morn-

ing Chronicle," under the signature of D. C. L.;—and, as climax, Mr. Bennett himself has thought it consistent with his duty to the Church, and with his vow of canonical obedience to his bishop, to publish a "Farewell Letter to his Parishioners," of some 250 pages, in which, from the beginning to the end, *ab ovo usque ad mala*, he has done all in his power to hold up his diocesan to public contempt—in which he compares himself to St. Chrysostom, banished from Constantinople by the intrigues of the Empress Eudoxia, aided by the *unrighteous Bishop Theophilus*¹—in which he represents the Church of England as "lying on the water a helpless water-logged wreck," out of which he is cast "by the force of the waves," while "the stormy winds do rend her deep and wide" (p. 228);—in which he tells his parishioners that they "must not expect that human nature, with its many infirmities and constant needs, will long bear up against the ever-recurring wants of spiritual love and longing for the things of God, *which it is in vain searching for in the Church of England*—I mean in the Church of England, *as now interpreted*, in the diocese of London" (p. 227). That Mr. Bennett will himself regret the publication in a very short time, quite as much as we can do, we have not the least doubt, but *littera scripta manet*. It is very much easier to make unjust charges, than it is to destroy the effect of them, when once they have been made; and therefore we consider it our bounden duty, for the sake of the truth, for the sake of the Bishop of London, who has done heretofore such good service to the Church of England; for the sake of the Church of England, which now, more than ever, requires a continuation of those services; for the sake of Mr. Bennett's successor, placed, as he will be, in a most trying situation; and, especially, for the sake of Mr. Bennett's late parishioners; we think it, we say, our bounden duty, to show by a reference to *facts* which are beyond controversy, and to *dates* which cannot be falsified, that the Bishop of London simply *accepted*, much against his own will, the reiterated resignation of Mr. Bennett; that Mr. Bennett, and Mr. Bennett alone, is responsible for his separation from the churches and the parishioners of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and St. Barnabas, Pimlico; and moreover, that, inasmuch as Mr. Bennett refused to yield to the oft-repeated wishes of his diocesan, the bishop was bound to take the course he has taken, not simply by his love for the Church of England, but by his duty to that special portion of it, of which the "Holy Ghost hath made him an overseer." There are three principal questions to be considered

¹ The italics are ours.

is this matter. First, the resignation itself; who is responsible for it? Secondly, was the Bishop of London justified, or not, in interfering at all with Mr. Bennett? And, thirdly, we shall examine into the truth of the personal accusations which Mr. Bennett has brought against the bishop, and especially as those accusations are connected with the celebrated Charge of 1842. Perhaps it is unnecessary to state that this paper is written without the slightest communication, direct or indirect, with the Bishop of London. It is the result, simply and solely, of a feeling that his lordship has been most grievously misrepresented; that he has, in no way whatever, deserved to lose the confidence of any sound English Churchman; that the personal accusations brought against his lordship by Mr. Bennett are unfounded; that he has, throughout this unhappy business, been most ungratefully treated by that particular section of the Church to which we before referred—that section which has recently furnished, which, unhappily, is still furnishing, and, we much fear, will continue to furnish, recruits to Dr. Wiseman and the Church of Rome.

Let us then proceed to inquire, in the first place, who is responsible for the resignation of Mr. Bennett, and his consequent separation from his parishioners. The Bishop of London is charged with taking advantage of a conditional promise of resignation on the part of Mr. Bennett, as if it had been unconditional, and also with driving Mr. Bennett from his living, in consequence of the persecution of the mob; in fact, of meanly truckling to "popular clamour." A reference to the correspondence will show the injustice of these accusations; and we pray the reader's particular attention to the dates of the letters from which we shall quote, for they are of the very greatest importance in this question. On the 15th of July, 1850, Mr. Bennett thus replies to the Bishop of London, in answer to a letter of remonstrance respecting the practices at St. Barnabas:

"If you think, upon reading what I have said, that the picture of my mind is not that which could justify my remaining in the cure of souls in your lordship's diocese, I am ready and willing to depart. On the one hand, I hope it will be clearly understood that, conscientiously, I cannot forego any of the principles which, in this letter, I set forth and advocate; and, if I remain in the cure of souls, by those principles I must be permitted to abide. On the other hand, *as I consider myself morally and spiritually bound not to oppose your lordship in those matters which, as a diocesan, you have a right and a duty to regulate*², I am willing and ready to withdraw from a position, in which the possibility of such an event might arise."—p. 84.

² The italics are our own.

Here, at all events, is a plain avowal that there *are certain matters of ritual observance*, respecting which the bishop and Mr. Bennett differed in opinion, which it is at once "the right and the duty" of the bishop to regulate; and yet the bishop is now charged, by Mr. Bennett and D. C. L., with despotism and intolerance, for presuming to enforce his opinion on these very questions. After this letter was received the bishop went abroad, on account of the state of his health. On his return, on the 16th of October, he thus replies to Mr. Bennett:

"You tell me that you cannot conscientiously forego any of the principles set forth in your letter. My remonstrance to you was directed against certain practices—practices in behalf of which you offer no valid defence, and which you surely cannot consider of vital importance. If I restrain you from these practices, which I feel bound to do as far as I can, I cannot think that your conscience will be seriously aggrieved, or that a sufficient *casus* will have arisen for your leaving the ministry, to which you have hitherto been so zealously devoted."—
p. 89.

Now we ask any unprejudiced person to say what is the meaning of this answer. The bishop plainly writes in the kindest possible spirit. He thinks that the practices to which he objects, such as the "Invocation of the Trinity before the sermon," and others of a similar nature, involve no *principle* whatever, and therefore, of course, that the giving them up cannot involve any *sacrifice* of principle. Will it be credited that Mr. Bennett, commenting on these words some four months afterwards, fastens on the Bishop of London a charge of "hypocrisy!" It is well nigh incredible, yet so it is.

"If I could be brought," he says, "*externally* to accord with the bishop in not doing certain things, then he does not mind my *internally* holding principles in opposition to them. What kind of hypocrites should we all be, if this were carried to its legitimate conclusion?"—
p. 89.

We mention this as a fair specimen of the way in which, throughout this "Farewell Letter," the bishop has been treated. We wonder if it occurred to Mr. Bennett to charge his diocesan with "hypocrisy," when he first read the passage in question. We venture to say it is a construction which no really fair-minded person would dream of putting upon it. In reply to this letter on the 30th of October, Mr. Bennett, having stated that he "cannot, after conscientiously considering all the bearings of the matter, withdraw or alter any thing that he has said or done," thus continues:

"Therefore my conclusion is in this difficulty, as it was in my previous letter of July 15, that I ought, if called upon, to resign my living. I would then put it to your lordship in this way—I would say, 'If your lordship should be of continued opinion, seeing and knowing me as now you do, that I am guilty of unfaithfulness to the Church of England, and if your lordship will after that signify your judgment as bishop, that it would be for the peace and better ordering of that portion of the Church which is under your episcopal charge, that I should no longer serve in the living of St. Paul's, I would then, *the very next day, send you a formal resignation.*'"

Now we confidently ask, can any thing be plainer than this? and this, remember, written when every thing was quiet—*before* Lord John Russell's letter—*before* the slightest disturbance at St. Barnabas. "This all occurred," as D. C. L.³ truly says, "before the bishop's charge, and before, therefore, the worship at St. Barnabas had been in the slightest degree molested by popular violence." The admission is very important from such a quarter. We only wonder it had not occurred to D. C. L.'s mind in writing subsequent letters. We ask again, can any thing be plainer than Mr. Bennett's language? He leaves every thing to the discretion of the bishop. He says nothing about the "Canons and laws of the Church," *until after the bishop had acted on this permission*, and then he thinks it consistent to use this language.

"Of course, if the bishop's view were the right one, his duty was not only to be desirous of bringing me to it, but of enforcing it. How enforcing it? Not by his *ipse dixit*, but by the Canons and laws of the Church. But the bishop only depends on his own private judgment on the matter. The law to him is what he *thinks* is the law. He desires to make the Church what he *thinks* is the Church, and then he calls upon me to obey it."—p. 133.

It may be well to say one word on "unfaithfulness" to the Church of England. D. C. L., in a letter written, we think, on the 20th of January in this year, makes it a grievous offence on the bishop's part, that he refused to state to the parishioners of St. Barnabas, in answer to an insolently-worded memorial, the reasons why he judged Mr. Bennett "unfaithful" to the Church of England. Why should he? Mr. Bennett had left the matter entirely in the bishop's hands. He had twice tendered his unconditional resignation, contingent only upon the bishop's thinking proper to accept it; and we say, therefore, that to quibble about the term "unfaithfulness to the Church of England" is simply a

³ Letters of D. C. L. p. 31.

specimen of very dishonest special pleading⁴. We must say, moreover, with pain, that, if any body had doubted Mr. Bennett's "unfaithfulness," they have nothing to do but to read his "Farewell Letter," and if they have any *real love* for the Church of England, they will at once be fully convinced of it.

But even yet the bishop is most unwilling to accept the *resignation*. He thus writes on the 16th of November:

"I am under the necessity of stating my decided opinion, that a continuance of the practices, *against which I have in vain remonstrated*, is inconsistent with your duty as a minister of the English Church, and I now again call upon you to relinquish them. As it is not without the most mature deliberation that I make this requisition, so it is not without the most lively concern that I find myself driven to have recourse to it. I pray God to direct you in this matter."—p. 107.

Now, surely, every one will see that Mr. Bennett stood pledged, upon the receipt of this letter, to send the bishop, "the very next day," his formal resignation. This letter was a delicate way of leaving Mr. Bennett himself to resign, if he could not alter his conduct. The bishop in effect says:—"I can see no possible reason for your resignation; but my duty is plain, and I must leave you to take which course you think best." Therefore, we say again, that Mr. Bennett was bound to submit to the bishop, or to resign. He did neither the one nor the other. Whether, "having had the advantage of mature reflection, and the counsel of others," he repented of his former promise, we know not, but certain it is, he did *not* send his "formal resignation." Then came the riots at St. Barnabas. The bishop very naturally, and we venture to say, very properly—Mr. Bennett having, be it ever remembered, steadily refused to obey his admonitions—presses for a speedy reply to his letter. Still Mr. Bennett does not resign. He makes, instead, a series of proposals to the bishop, to which it was most unreasonable to expect him to accede. Upon the 27th of November the bishop, declining to accept these proposals, thus concludes his letter:

"Upon the whole, if you are not prepared to comply, *simpliciter*, and *ex animo*, with the requisition contained in my letter of the 16th

⁴ Since the above was written, Messrs. Adams and Badely have fully confirmed this view of the question. In answer to a case laid before them by the parishioners of St. Paul's, they say:—"Upon the second question, we are of opinion, that the bishop cannot in any manner be compelled to state *certatis* his reasons for considering Mr. Bennett unfaithful to the Church of England. The bishop appears to us to have complied substantially with the conditions required by Mr. Bennett in order to his resignation, but it is clear that the parishioners cannot insist upon any further explanation from the bishop."—*Morning Chronicle*, Feb. 26.

instant, I must call upon you to fulfil your offer of retiring from a charge which I deliberately think you could not in that case continue to hold, without great injury to the Church. I am willing to allow a reasonable time for your compliance."—p. 114.

Upon the receipt of this letter, Mr. Bennett does at last send his "formal resignation."

And now we ask any reasonable man, whether we have not plainly established two facts? First, that the offer of resignation came, in the first instance, from Mr. Bennett; and, secondly, that it was accepted by the bishop with the greatest possible reluctance, and only after Mr. Bennett had himself left him no other alternative. And yet Mr. Bennett tells his parishioners that he has been "suddenly torn away from them, and the intercourse of pastoral affection abruptly terminated!" He ventures to arraign his diocesan for "taking the changing gale of the popular will for his guidance, rather than the Rock of Ages, which alone is the type of the Church, whose children we are" (pp. 140, 141); although he knew perfectly well that his resignation had been twice, as D. C. L. has admitted, offered to the bishop "before there had been the slightest indication of popular violence!" Therefore do we say, in closing this branch of the subject, that Mr. Bennett has himself, and himself alone, to blame for his separation from his parishioners. If he was not prepared "to stand the hazard of the die," he should have thought twice before he determined "to stake his all upon a cast." If the bishop was right, he should have obeyed him; if wrong, he should have opposed him; supposing, that is, respect for episcopal authority and for past kindness, had not restrained him from so doing; but he had no right, as a Christian clergyman, to force his resignation upon the bishop, and then to accuse his lordship of treachery, intolerance, despotic tyranny, and truckling to "popular clamour," because that resignation was, at last, accepted.

But we have to consider, in the next place, the question, whether the Bishop of London was justified in interfering at all with Mr. Bennett—in other words, whether Mr. Bennett ought to have been allowed to carry out the principles by which he professes to have been guided without any intervention of episcopal authority. We say Mr. Bennett's "*principles*," because it is the term which he himself usually employs, although we agree with the Bishop of London in thinking that there was in reality no "principle" involved in the original question at issue between his lordship and Mr. Bennett, except that of obedience to the Church of England, and respect for episcopal authority. But be

this as it may, we will proceed to consider the question,—Was it the duty of the Bishop of London to interfere with Mr. Bennett, or to allow him to carry out his principles and his practices, to any extent he pleased? But we must pause first, to notice the curious development which the “Farewell Letter” unfolds to us. By his own immediate followers Mr. Bennett is regarded as the veteran champion of what it pleases him to call “Catholicism.” He is a Churchman who has spent all his energies in the cause of, so called, “Catholic principles.” D. C. L. thus describes him:—

“Among these clergymen, one of the most conspicuous was Mr. Bennett. Strongly impressed with the ceremonial character of the English ritual, and having a strong conviction of the binding force of the *literal injunctions of the Rubric*, he steadily carried his own principles into practice in the church of St. Paul’s, Knightsbridge.”—p. 29.

But now how will our readers be surprised (we think D. C. L. must have been a little surprised also,) to find that, up to 1840, Mr. Bennett had really no “church”—we beg pardon—no “Catholic” principles whatever? He was, *credat Judæus*, by his own showing simply a “good Protestant.” Let us hear his own account of himself:—

“In reviewing my opinions of Church matters at that period,” [1840, when he first came to St. Paul’s district,] “I do not think there was in me *the slightest bias towards any ritual observances*, saving those which are well known, as carrying out the common ordinary decorum of what is usually called the ‘Protestant’ Church of England. On the contrary, towards the Church of Rome, I perfectly well remember, that I showed to the full extent all the prejudices and abhorrence which good ‘Protestants’”—[the sneer is Mr. Bennett’s, not ours,] “which good ‘Protestants,’ as such, so faithfully cherish. As an instance of which, I full well remember preaching a sermon, on the 5th of Nov., in which sermon *I indulged to such a degree in all the vituperations of the doctrines of Rome*, that the sermon was printed by desire of the congregation.”—p. 2.

In another place he describes himself as “a parish priest, young in the administration of the Church’s work (for St. Paul’s, remember, was the first and only living to which I had been presented).”—p. 6. He does not state whether it was also his first parochial charge. And how do our readers think Mr. Bennett became a sound “Catholic?” Not as some, by education; not by the sheer force of conscientious conviction; not by studying the principles of the Prayer Book, and comparing those principles with the theology of the primitive Fathers, and of Holy Scripture; but simply, strange to say, *by virtue of the*

Charge of the Bishop of London, in 1842. He had been slightly inoculated by the "Oxford School," during the two preceding years, but the Bishop of London's Charge was plainly, as he says, the real cause of his "Catholic" zeal.

Let us again quote his own words (p. 139): "There was a principle of pastoral guidance, firmly built up in me by the very teaching, which both as a duty and a pleasure, it was my part to embrace—I mean that of the bishop of our diocese." Again, he says, that the bishop "had set him upon the road to begin, under his auspices," the inculcation of the principles he taught at St. Barnabas. Whether this be correctly stated, we shall inquire hereafter; we simply wish to present our readers with Mr. Bennett's mental portraiture in 1840-42, as he has himself drawn it in 1851, for no purpose, that we can perceive, except that of casting all the odium he possibly can upon the Bishop of London.

Now let us take D. C. L.'s description of the bishop. He says, "I have a deep and sincere respect for that prelate." (Strange, by the way, that he who proceeds to vituperate another, generally begins by expressing his "deep and sincere respect" for the object of his vituperation!)—

"He has, for more than twenty years, presided over a diocese with a population as large as that of a kingdom; and during this time his industry in multiplying churches and schools has been indefatigable; his munificence in promoting these, and all other good works, unbounded; and very lately, he has made a noble stand for an article of the Christian faith!"—p. 28.

And yet, in spite of all this, D. C. L. thinks it becoming to attack the Bishop of London, quite as fiercely as the Bishop of Manchester, by way of evincing a "Churchman's" gratitude! Surely, then, if the bishop and Mr. Bennett came into collision upon matters of ritual observance, taking Mr. Bennett's own view of himself, and D. C. L.'s description of the bishop, one would naturally think, reasoning *à priori*, that the bishop was quite as likely to be in the right, as his professed disciple, and, by his own showing, most obedient follower, the incumbent of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge. Now let us see how the case really stands. Mr. Bennett thus describes the "principle" on which he has acted since, as he says, the bishop's Charge of 1842:—

"The principle mentioned in the earlier part of the correspondence, was the propriety of adhering to the old Catholic rites and usages of the Church, prior to the Reformation. I sincerely believe that to be the spirit of the English Church, as the necessary link, by which it is tied to ancient times."—(p. 184.) Again, he says—"The desire of restoring things ancient to the Church in England, is equivalent to a desire of

becoming reunited to the rest of Christendom."—(p. 151.) In another place he says—"I cannot bring myself to think that the Church of England is the only Church in the world that would deny these customs." By adopting them, as one means with others, "a gradual assimilation with the rest of the Catholic Church would be made; the prejudices of all the different sects and schisms would be conquered; and Catholic unity would be restored."—p. 82.

Mr. Bennett's theory, therefore, may briefly be stated thus. He considers every priest at liberty to introduce any practices, which have been used, at any time, in the Church, which are not *distinctly forbidden* by the English Prayer Book; the object of such restoration being the revival of Catholic unity.

The bishop's objection to this theory is twofold. First, that the theory itself is not in accordance with the spirit of the Church of England; secondly, that it is a most dangerous theory to put in practice at the present time, because all such usages are, as a matter of fact, derived *now*, however *Catholic* they might once have been, from the peculiar ritual of the Church of Rome; in other words, that they have (and the *suspicion* that they have it, is the bishop's most deadly offence) a "Romanizing" tendency. Let us examine this question. A little reflection will, we think, show, that the Bishop of London is perfectly right in both particulars. The statute law of the English Church, to use an expression of Mr. Sewell's, is the English Prayer Book. This, as far as circumstances do not limit the possibility, every English clergyman is bound to obey. But then, surely, he can have no more right to go beyond this, unless custom sanctions his doing so, than he can have, intentionally, to fall short of it. But the theory referred to above goes far beyond this, and there are two reasons why it is objectionable. First, its carrying out involves a palpable absurdity; secondly, it is contrary to the *spirit* of our Prayer Book. Just suppose, for a moment, that every clergyman acts up to this principle, according to his own individual taste, where shall we stop? One may wish to revive the primitive Agapæ, with, as a necessary consequence, all their attendant irregularities. Another may have a fancy for infant communion. Another for reviving the primitive ceremonies connected with adult female baptism, of which Dingham gives us so graphic an account. One gentleman, the Rev. Arthur Baker, of whom, though we differ from him *totò corde*, we wish to speak in terms of the highest respect, because his letter to the Bishop of London is written in an honest, manly, straightforward spirit, has openly expressed *his* wish to restore the practice of "extreme unction;" the practical difficulty being, to get any "holy oil" which has been blessed by a bishop of our

communion! We ask again, therefore, where shall we stop? Once allow permission to introduce novelties at pleasure, and you can put no limit to individual fancy or caprice. We say confidently, "Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines." Act up to the Prayer Book as much as you please, but if you *wish* to go beyond it, to introduce practices not sanctioned by custom, then consult the bishop of the diocese, and let his decision, in all cases, be final.

But we say, moreover, that Mr. Bennett's "restorative theory," which is not, as D.C.L. speciously observes, a question respecting the "interpretation of the rubrics of the Church of England" (p. 39), but a question, rather, respecting matters on which the rubrics are wholly silent, contradicts the *spirit* of the English Prayer Book.

However much Mr. Bennett may dislike the term "Protestant," we presume even he will not venture to deny, that the Church of England is a "Reformed Church." Now, from what was she reformed? Let us consult the preface to our Prayer Book. It says: "And although the keeping or omitting of a ceremony, in itself considered, is but a small thing, yet the wilful and contemptuous transgression, and breaking of a common order and discipline, is no small offence before God—the appointment of the which order *pertaineth not to private men*;"—(would not priests, as such, come under this appellation?)—"therefore, no man ought to take in hand, nor presume to appoint or alter any public or common order in Christ's Church, except he be lawfully called, and authorized thereunto." Take one more passage. "This our *excessive multitude of ceremonies* was so great, and many of them so dark, that they did more confound and darken, than declare and set forth Christ's benefits unto us." We submit that these two quotations demolish at once Mr. Bennett's theory. No one, surely, can say that any priest, as such, can be "lawfully called and authorized to alter any public or common order in Christ's Church." It is quite clear also that, if every priest had this power, and acted upon it, we should have no possible security against being burthened with the same kind and number of ceremonies, from which, as her own Prayer Book teaches, the Church of England was cleansed at the Reformation. It is useless to bring, against this view, the oft-quoted rubric about the "ornaments of the Church in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI." As far as the Bishop of London and Mr. Bennett are concerned, that rubric is simply *nihil ad rem*. The question between them was not about "ornaments," but about ceremonies and ritual observances. Whether he liked it or not, the bishop *did* consecrate the Church of St. Barnabas, and *he has never once required Mr. Bennett to alter any*

thing connected with the "ornaments" of that Church. He has simply required him to discontinue certain "practices," not authorized by the Rubrics; practices, as we have shown, based upon a theory utterly untenable in itself, and contradictory to the spirit of the Prayer Book of the Reformed Church of England. Mr. Bennett may wish for an alteration of the statute law of his Church—he may wish that he had liberty to introduce any usages he pleased, whether from the Romish, or the Primitive Church; but, so long as our Prayer Book remains unaltered, so long as ours is a "Reformed" branch of the Catholic Church, so long will the preface to that Prayer Book, and the spirit of that Reformation, alike condemn the introduction, into our service, of any practices, which cannot plead either rubrical injunction, prescriptive usage, or episcopal sanction.

"Oh, but," it is replied, "these usages are the marks of our Catholicity; they are the signs of our holding the Catholic faith; they are the links by which the English communion is united to the Holy Church throughout all the world. Restrain me, or any other priest, from introducing those usages, and you remove at once the ties by which we are associated with the rest of Christendom." We answer, first, that, unless D. C. L. has made an erroneous statement, before the *Farewell Letter* was published Mr. Bennett had offered to relinquish every individual practice to which the bishop had objected, except that of standing before the altar during the consecration of the elements; that is to say, Mr. Bennett first steadily refuses to make any alteration whatever; he forces his resignation upon the bishop; he exposes the bishop to a running-fire of misrepresentation, of abuse, and of insult, from D. C. L., and various other quarters. He then offers to relinquish all the practices in dispute, except one; and then, because the bishop does not think proper to be forced into altering his determination, Mr. Bennett is to be held up to his parishioners as a martyr to Catholic principles; his theory of "restoration" is to be the mark of the Catholicity of the English Church; and the Bishop of London is to be exposed to public contempt, as an intolerant despot, as destroying, at once and for ever, the claims of the English Church to be a true and living branch of the Church Catholic, because, forsooth, the Bishop of London wished to restrain one of his clergy from certain practices, all of which, save one, and that, on the face of it, a very doubtful point, that very clergyman has, when it was too late, offered to relinquish!

We say, moreover, on this point, that there are two kinds of "Catholicity," primitive and mediæval, one from which, another to which, if we may so speak, we were reformed, in the sixteenth

century. So long, therefore, as the Prayer Book of the English Church remains unaltered—so long as we retain all the grand fundamental verities of the Christian faith embodied therein—so long shall we continue to be a true and living branch of the Catholic Church; so long can there exist no possible reason for introducing into our ritual any mediæval observances, other than those which are sanctioned by the laws of the Church of England, or by prescriptive custom.

“But,” it is said, “these usages and observances will restore Catholic unity. They will take away from us the reproach, under which we now justly labour, of being isolated from the rest of Christendom. They will tend to restore the ‘unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace;’” and loud is the outcry raised against the Bishop of London, because his lordship has ventured to imagine that the revival may, possibly, have a somewhat different effect; that, instead of restoring “Catholic,” they may possibly, and probably, tend rather to restore “Romish” unity; that their ultimate development will bring us back, not to primitive, but to “Romish” Catholicism. “Even the bishops themselves,” says Mr. Bennett, “make the idea of Catholicity equivalent to Popery. Our own bishop perseveres in fasting upon me the charge of ‘*copying Rome.*’ He has told me that I adopt this and that rite because ‘*it is Roman;*’ that we are leading men to ‘*precipices,*’ and the like” (p. 172). The imputation of “Romanizing” is, in fact, regarded, by certain parties, as the very acme of “bigotry;” the restraining from such practices is the very quintessence of “persecution;” is said to be “driving men over into the ranks of the enemy.” But we say, first, can it be forgotten, ought it to be forgotten, that of those English priests who have put the “restorative theory” into practical operation, the greater number have already gone, *not simply “step by step to the very verge of the precipice,” but actually headlong over into the gulf beneath it!* From Mr. Newman down to Mr. Dodsworth, *facilis descensus Averni*, and, still later, down to the mover of the resolution of sympathy with Mr. Bennett, passed by the London Church Union on the 10th of December, these men have *gone over to the Church of Rome*. Are we then gravely to be told, that our bishops are “bigoted and intolerant,” because, seeing others of their clergy pursuing a similar course, they are apprehensive of a similar result, and endeavour, by a timely warning, to guard against it? We know full well that *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*, is very frequently unsound reasoning, but surely there is here an *à priori* argument on the side of those who do so reason. Surely if one, standing by the side of a river, saw twenty persons bathing—if he saw ten, after venturing to a certain spot, sink to rise no

more, he would not be deemed impertinent if he ventured to warn the rest of their danger; and, moreover, would not be amenable, on any just grounds, to the charge of "persecution," if, supposing him to possess authority, he exercised it by way of prevention. The case of the secessions to Rome is surely very parallel to this. At all events, we put this alternative—either they who have seceded did so deliberately, with their eyes open, or they were led on "step by step." In the one case, they were "double-distilled" traitors to the Church of England. In the other, the Bishop of London acts most faithfully to his clergy, and to his Church, if he does all he can do to prevent the recurrence of a similar catastrophe. And as to the charge of thereby "driving men over to the ranks of the enemy,"—it is an expression which no true-hearted English Churchman would dream of employing; it is one, we firmly believe, that has done very great mischief at the present crisis. What does the expression mean? Simply this, that, whenever an English priest grows discontented with his position, he naturally, as a matter of course, begins to think about secession to the Church of Rome; in other words, that there is, really, no essential difference between the principles of the two communions. For our own part, we are convinced that no possible combination of circumstances can justify "secession" from our own Church, much less "apostasy" to the Church of Rome. We believe that the principles of the two Churches, so far as they differ, are necessarily antagonistic to each other, and that no sound Anglican priest, whatever difficulties he may find in the one, would ever dream, for an instant, that he would better his condition by going over to the other. Bishop Ken once bore an honoured name among English Churchmen—Bishop Ken was a "Nonjuror," but he never became a Romanist. Let us once cleanse ourselves from this, not surely undeserved, suspicion; let us once persuade our people, that *nothing shall ever drive us to Rome*, and sure we are that one grand cause of our present difficulties will speedily be removed— "heaviness may endure for a night, but joy will come in the morning."

But we say, secondly, that, whether the "restorative theory" be or be not sound in itself, this, of all others, is not the time for putting it in practice. What is our present position? The Church of England is fighting a battle, not, as recently, for the maintenance of the Christian faith, but for her very existence. Enemies, strong and mighty, beset her on every side. We ask Mr. Bennett, and D. C. L., Is this a time, when our bishops are called "possessors by act of Parliament of their episcopal revenues," their spiritual character and func-

being ignored altogether?—Is this a time when he, who is Cardinal Wiseman, who, “with bated breath and whisper-umbleness,” endeavoured to cajole the English nation in his “Appeal,” thus addressed “the faithful” in his “Lenten rail” this time last year?—“May we not clearly see the agitation and uneasiness of men’s minds in regard to that semblance of *weh ris* this country, which has deluded many till now? in number it is slipping more and more from their hands, in rick as they have clasped it the closer, and clung to it more lately? Are there not multitudes to be seen upon it, like the *gic shattered vessel*, who have refused timely to escape, that rel all the insecurity of their position; feel how disjointed, and ing piecemeal, is the framework they had once thought so and how, with helm abandoned, compass broken, and skill by even it is reeling and drifting, the world’s sport, towards any reef, and a waste shore? *As establishment of work’s whigs contended to wrestle with its Maker, and is sinking to Him.*”—Is this a time, when that avowedly “*Romish*” the “*Tablet*” says, as it said on the 28th of last Nov., ing of that unhappy young man, Lord Fielding:—“*Men oozy to speak a thing as the Established Religion, but that of god with every sign of loathing and hatred; tenderness and y, towards individuals are not qualities which a system of tra ought to call in to act towards itself.*”—Is this a time, one calling himself “an English clergyman,” dares to print language as this?—

or myself, then, I trust I may say, that I fully recognise the n of Rome as the mother and queen of Churches; that I do not, ngly, reject any part whatever of her authoritative teaching, or in any practice expressly sanctioned by her; that, as far as I am evented by positive restriction, I make her system my guide r public and private; and that I ardently and unceasingly desire nited to her, not only, as I believe myself to be now united, ly, but openly and visibly, and to be able to pay in positive sets mage which I now offer in will and intention. I use *Romish* of devotion in preference to others. I recite the Breviary office it mutilation or alteration. I reverence the Saints of the Roman lex, I delight in assisting at the celebration of the Divine mys after the Roman use. I really am not conscious of a single eccle- d taste, or religious aspiration, that does not tend *Romards* than in the opposite direction.”

his a time, we again ask, to talk, in a tone of querulous and Appeal to Rome? A Letter from an English Clergyman to a Roman Friends

whining lament, about restoring "Catholic unity!" to hold up to the scorn of our bitter enemies the "isolation" of the Church of England! Doubtless, she *is* "isolated," but whose is the guilt of that isolation? Not ours, but theirs, who would impose upon us unscriptural terms of communion, who ignore our existence as a Church, who call us "heretics and schismatics!" Is this time, then, to subject one, who has so nobly served the Church of England as the Bishop of London, to a charge of "persecution," because he endeavours to restrain his clergy from introducing ritual observances, which, no where ordered by our Prayer Book, may, possibly, once have been *Catholic*, but are now, beyond all doubt, exclusively *Romish*? Catholic unity is a good thing; but Scriptural truth and Anglican independence are far better, if they cannot all be had together. We call that man a patriot, who defends *his own country* in the hour of danger; and so, we say, has the Church of England, in this her hour of difficulty and trial, an *exclusive* claim upon the love and gratitude, and allegiance, of all her faithful children. We say, that any priest or layman of the English Church, who, in his yearning after "Catholic unity," forgets the special claims of his own spiritual mother, acts as rashly and as wickedly as he, who, for the sake of a common humanity, should lavish his substance upon strangers, and leave those, whom God has committed to his charge, to starve and perish in the streets. It is idle and weak to cry, "Peace, peace! when there is no peace." It is madness to call upon us to lay down our arms, with the sound of the enemy's trumpet ringing in our ears. It is treachery for us to "labour for peace," while all around shows that they are "making ready for battle." Let us hear one on this point, from whom we differ much, but whose words *once* had some weight with Mr. Bennett.

"About the future history of our Church," says Dr. Pusey, "I have felt the less anxious, because I felt, as your lordship too feels, and has expressed, that God's good hand was with her. I have never planned any thing, as some have at times planned, nor worked (as some would wish) directly for her reunion with the rest of Christendom, because I always felt that a healthful restoration of unity must be God's doing, in His time and way; to be prayed for, not planned. *I have said so to others, who seemed to be impatient for this, and to aim at what was impossible.* I have ever hoped that the Church of England, whom God has, by His providence and in its history, so marvellously distinguished from the Protestant bodies on the Continent, or among the Dissenters, had a special destiny and office in store for her, in His All-merciful designs. And in this great restoration of our Church, when younger men have seemed to me to turn their eyes too narrowly to one portion

l's work, I have both publicly and privately pointed out what has impressed upon myself, how that work embraces every part and of the Church."

there is one other argument, advanced by Mr. Bennett, those who hold similar views with him, in favour of the "re-ve theory," which it is necessary briefly to notice. It is "Beware how you oppose the introduction of any ante-ation usages; for, in so doing, you are running counter to ctice of some of the most esteemed and saintly divines of nimumion." Bishop Andrewes, they say, did this in his pri-riapel—Archbishop Laud introduced that practice—Bishop another,—and so on, with a host of other names, whom it is r indeed from our wish to disparage in the smallest possible . We have a twofold answer to this position. First, that as we venerate the private characters of these divines—as we feel the obligation to them, under which every Eng-hurchman must lie, still we cannot consent to allow that lual practice is to be permitted to weigh, for a moment, t the language and spirit of the English Prayer Book. We therefore, that the Bishop of London was perfectly justified ing to Mr. Bennett, when objecting to that gentleman's t publicly to introduce into his parish the system of pray- the dead:—"The authorities which you have adduced in t of the lawfulness of prayers for the dead, have no weight ie, *in opposition to the plain and acknowledged judgment of urch of England*." Of course the bishop did not mean to ; Mr. Bennett insinuates, that he has no respect for the ns of the divines Mr. Bennett had quoted, considered in stract; but simply that, inasmuch as the practice of "pray- the dead" was deliberately, for a good and sufficient rea-pudiated at the Reformation, and at every subsequent re-of our Prayer Book, therefore it is not a practice sanctioned English Church. Surely this is perfectly sound reasoning. ne thing to bring a "catena" of Anglican divines in sup- f a disputed point of *rubrical interpretation*, in confirmation isputed doctrine; another, and quite a different thing, to lvidual opinions up "in opposition to the plain and acknow- judgment of the Church of England." But we say, more- hat we have no objection to allow an appeal to the great s of the seventeenth century, provided that appeal be a fair rovided Mr. Bennett will carry out their teaching fairly

⁶ Letter to Bishop of London, p. 254.

⁷ Farewell Letter, p. 51.

and honestly. We submit that it is most *unfair* to bring forward one part of their teaching so triumphantly, and to ignore another part of it altogether; to talk, as Mr. Baker talks, of "sheltering themselves under the revered names of Bishops Andrewes, Laud and Butler, who have suffered persecution, one even death, *in the same good cause*." We beg to remind Mr. Bennett and Mr. Baker, that the great divines, to whom they refer, were one and all, *the staunchest defenders of the Church of England against the aggressions and the usurpations of the Church of Rome*. They were, one and all, the great upholders of Catholicism; but then it was primitive, not mediæval. They clung to Catholic truth, but they sternly denounced Romish error. *They never dreamed, for a moment, in their yearnings after Catholic unity, of giving up, for the sake of it, the "Protestant" character of the Church of England.* We beg to ask, what course would Andrewes, and Laud, and Hooker, and Bramhall, and good Bishop Hall, and saintly Jeremy Taylor, and a host of others like them, what course would *they* have adopted, had they been alive now! Would *they* have forsaken the Church of England in this her hour of difficulty and danger? Would *they* have lauded to the skies the practice of the Church of Rome, while exposing, with gross exaggeration, the weakness and the deficiencies of their own spiritual Mother? Would *they* have described the Church of England as "a house where there is no food supplied, *but what is scanty and scarce*; and, indeed, *what little there may be, tasteless and innutritious*?" Would *they* have foreshadowed secession, by telling English Churchmen that "men cannot abide long where *all is doled out grudgingly and sparingly, and they withal hungering and thirsting after the heavenly manna and the well of life!*" No, they would have buckled on their armour anew. They would have been among the foremost to "protest," against Romish arrogance and Papal aggression. They would have been the first to contend, for the rights, the liberties, and the independence, of the Church of England. We say that, when Mr. Bennett and his followers will imitate their *practice* in this respect, then will they have a right, and not till then, to appeal to them on other points. Let him defend the Church of England against Cardinal Wiseman, as Bishop Andrewes defended it, in the *Tortura Torti*, against Cardinal Bellarmine. Let him challenge the Jesuits of the present day, and refute them, as successfully as Archbishop Laud refuted the Jesuit Fisher. Let him crush the Romanists of our time, as Bishop Jeremy Taylor crushed them

° Letter to Bishop of London, p. 36.

° Farewell Letter, p. 227.

in his "Dissuasive from Popery." Let him, like Bishop Hall, raise the cry, "No peace with Rome," so long as Rome persists in attacking us. Then will he be consistent in appealing to the writers we have mentioned; then will he be doing his duty to the Church of England. But, in the name of common justice, let not Mr. Bennett, and others like him, gloss over the difference between the two communions; let him not endeavour to revive "Romish" practices and "Romish" observances, and then pretend to support his innovations by appealing, forsooth, to "the great divines of the seventeenth century!" Let him rather ponder over the language of a thorough English Churchman.

"I dare not conceal from myself or others, that far from believing Rome to be a lawful refuge for those who are disquieted as to the constitution and prospects of our own Church, it is that one communion of all that professes to have a primitive origin and regular descent, to which, if the Church of England were to fail, or I be cast out of it, I could never go myself, God helping me; nor can I conceive how any Christian man, brought up in our own or any other orthodox reformed communion, having his eyes open, and being guided by the word and Spirit of God, could ever pass. But if men will allow themselves to be drawn, step by step, into the belief that it is a home for them when their own may become unfit for them to abide in, *this latter condition will soon appear to them as if it were really so, and the step will be surely taken*."

And here we would make a brief remark upon a very singular observation of Mr. Baker, respecting Archbishop Laud. He has adopted, as the motto of his letter, an answer of the archbishop on his trial to this effect:—"His Grace answered, that if they had proved he had laid any plot for reconciling the Church of England with the Church of Rome, *with the maintenance of idolatry, it were a damnable plot indeed*; but if Christian truth and peace might be established all over Christendom, he should think himself happy if he was able to establish such a reconciliation, whatever he suffered." Mr. Baker has the following remarks upon this quotation:

"With reference to the passage which, for its appositeness, I have chosen for a motto, I should wish particularly to guard against seeming to acquiesce in the popular opinion of formal *idolatry* in the Roman system. I do not suppose such to have been the intention of Archbishop Laud; but simply, that if, in reconciling the two communions,

¹ "I went on—but kept my way, still stedfast, as I thought; basing my teaching on the divines of the seventeenth century."—p. 141.

² Letter in the "Guardian," Nov. 13, 1850, signed, Arthur Acland.

idolatry were necessarily involved, any attempt to effect it would, of course, be a matter of deadly sin."—p. 139.

Now the best interpreter of the real meaning of the archbishop on this point will be, we presume, the archbishop himself. In his "Conference with Fisher the Jesuit," Laud thus alludes to the "image worship" of the Church of Rome:

"I have, I think, too much reason to give that the modern Church of Rome is *grown too like to Paganism in this point*. For it wrought so far upon Lamas himself, who bemoaned the former passage, as that he delivers this doctrine: 'That the images of Christ, the blessed Virgin, and the saints, are not to be worshipped as if there were any divinity in the images, as they are material things made by art, but only as they represent Christ and the saints; for else it were idolatry³.'"

How does Laud reply to this most glaring sophistry?

"So then, belike, according to the divinity of *this casuist*, a man may worship images, and ask of them, and put his trust in them, 'as they represent Christ and the saints;' for so there is divinity in them, though not as things, yet as representers. *And what, I pray, did or could any Pagan priest say more than this?* For the proposition resolved is this: 'The images of Christ and the saints, as they represent their exemplars, have deity or divinity in them.' And now, I pray, A. C., do you be judge, whether this proposition *do not teach idolatry?* and whether the modern Church of Rome *be not grown too like to Paganism in this point?* For my own part,"—he says, in a noble passage, which we recommend to the especial notice of those who quote Archbishop Laud as a supporter of what they call 'Catholic unity';—"for my own part, I heartily wish it were not so, and that men of learning would not strain their wits to *spoil the truth, and rend the Church of Christ by such dangerous, such superstitious vanities, for better they are not, but they may be worse*. Nay, these and their like, have given so great a scandal among us, to some ignorant, though, I presume, well-meaning men, that they are afraid to testify their duty to God, even in his own house, by any outward gesture at all; insomuch that those very ceremonies which, by the judgment of godly and learned men, have now long continued in the practice of this Church, *suffer hard measure for the Romish superstition's sake*. But I will conclude this point with the saying of B. Rhenanus: 'Who could endure the people,' says he, 'rushing into the church like swine into a sty? Doubtless, ceremonies do not hurt the people, but profit them, *so there be a mean kept, and the bye be not put for the main*; that is, so we place not the principal part of our piety in them.'"

We hope, after this, that, at any rate, Archbishop Laud will not be quoted, as an authority, by any who are willing, if not

³ Works, ii. 311. Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.

desirous, to restore what they call "Catholic unity," at the cost even of merging the fundamental doctrines of the Church of England in the "paganism" and "superstition" of the Church of Rome. Rather would we earnestly implore such persons to consider attentively the well-nigh dying words of the martyr archbishop.

"This I will say with S. Gregory Nazianzen, '*I never laboured for peace to the wrong and detriment of Christian verity, nor I hope never shall.*' And let the Church of England look to it; for in great humility I crave to write this (though there was no time to speak it): that the Church of England *must leave the way it is now going, and come back to that way of defence which I have followed in my book, or she shall never be able to justify her separation from the Church of Rome*."

Thus wrote Laud against the Puritans. May we not say of Mr. Bennett, and of every one who holds his views,

"Mutato nomine, de te
Fabula narratur?"

But we come now to the most painful part of our subject, the consideration of the personal accusations, which Mr. Bennett has thought it becoming to bring against his diocesan. And this, in truth, so far as the Bishop of London is concerned, is the most important part, and for this reason. Comparatively few persons can, we believe, be found, who do not admit that Mr. Bennett ought to have yielded to the injunctions of his diocesan. But when he turns on the bishop, and accuses his lordship of having lured him on, and encouraged him in his course by his Charge of 1842, and then of having treacherously deserted his obedient disciple, the accusation is more likely to be believed, because few persons will take the trouble to prove its injustice, by a reference to the Charge itself. We remember, for instance, soon after Mr. Bennett's letter appeared, that a well-known radical daily journal wound up a rabid article by saying,—we quote from memory, "What can we expect from our clergy, if their bishops encourage them, as the Bishop of London has encouraged Mr. Bennett in all his practices?"—the journal in question having, of course, only Mr. Bennett's own statement as proof of its assertion. The same thing has, doubtless, happened in other quarters, and it is, therefore, very important that the matter should be placed in a proper light. We shall endeavour to place it in that light, by taking not simply Mr. Bennett's own statement, but by examining closely the celebrated Charge of 1842.

⁴ Trouble and Trial, &c. quoted in Preface to "Conference," p. 26.

There are three principal accusations of a personal nature, advanced by Mr. Bennett against the Bishop of London. First, that of having led him on by the Charge of 1842, and then of having meanly refused to support him in carrying out his own principles and injunctions. Secondly, of double dealing, in the case of his former curate, Mr. Spencer; and, thirdly, of breach of confidence in the publication of the correspondence. We will deal with each of these charges separately. Let us on the first point, see what is the substantive accusation:—

"I did contend," says Mr. Bennett, "because I simply thought it my duty; because I wished to *obey the Bishop's Charge of 1842*." Again: "Once having received this teaching, and schemed out my course of pastoral duty thereupon; that he should turn his back upon himself in after years, and either modify, compromise, or deny that which he had set me upon the road under his auspices to begin, was not to be laid to my charge as a fault, who remained steadfast unto the end; but, one would have thought, rather, to his charge, who took the changing gale of the popular will for his guidance, rather than the Rock of Ages, which alone is the type of the Church whose children we are" (p. 25). Again: "We have been keeping that bar (of Catholicity) at St. Barnabas, as long and as well as we could; we have stood there faithful and fearless, and were intending to do so for many long years, God giving us grace. But now, you (the Bishop) have pulled the bar down, driven the guards away, and you have widely scattered all to the four winds by your cold and heartless Protestantism. Now men, indeed, will fall over. They *will* very soon fall over by hundreds and by thousands. But whose fault will it be?" [Sic]—(p. 182.) And, once more, "Put me back to the year 1842, in your imagination: Picture to yourselves a clergyman just entering upon his first cure of souls—fully agreeing in the views of his bishop then authoritatively set forth—fully determined to carry those views into operation, and to work in his Divine Master's vineyard for the advancement of His Church, knowing that all he did and said bore the clear stamp of truth in itself, *a priori*, and now, in addition, presented an immediate authority in the bishop's own words. What was he to do?"—p. 23.

Now, on this head, we desire to make two observations.* First, that Mr. Bennett has greatly misrepresented the principles of the bishop's Charge of 1842; secondly, that, as a matter of fact, whatever those principles were, Mr. Bennett did not carry them out. And let it be distinctly remembered, that we are now speaking of that Charge simply as between the Bishop of London and Mr. Bennett. Any thing which may have occurred in other quarters has nothing whatever to do with the present question.

* The italics are Mr. Bennett's.

We will prove to demonstration that, so far as Mr. Bennett was concerned, he might have carried out, if it had so pleased him, the *real* principles of that Charge, unchecked by the slightest opposition on the part of its author—that the bishop only interfered, as he was bound to do, when Mr. Bennett endeavoured to go, or rather, as a matter of fact, did go, beyond what he found there laid down. Mr. Bennett says, in effect, to the bishop, “I carried out your injunctions *to the letter*, and, in return, you have sacrificed me to popular clamour.” All we have to do then, is, to prove that the accusation, on the face of it, is simply untrue. We will prove this by an examination of the Charge itself—by a reference to Mr. Bennett’s actual practice, and also to his own statement in his “Farewell Letter.” “I think I can prove to you,” says Mr. Bennett, “if you will only follow me with care, that in every essential feature of the Charge, I have been a faithful and consistent follower of what was set before us as our rule of action. We will endeavour to be as careful as possible, and, if we mistake not, shall be able to prove just the contrary.”

Mr. Bennett then lays down as the leading feature of the Charge, an endeavour to restore “Catholicity”—that is, of course, what he himself considers to be “Catholicity.” “I thought I understood,” he says, “that the spirit breathing through the whole of it, the general tone and *animus* of it, was a love of Catholicity, a desire for a return to a purer and more Catholic form of worship than was then prevalent in the churches of London” (p. 6). He subsequently endeavours to establish a direct contradiction between the Charge of 1842, and that of November, 1850. The one is, as he says, a “Catholic,” the other, a “Protestant” Charge. The one, according to him, refers to the authority, not merely of our dear Mother, (p. 6)—that “local Church of which we are members and children”—but *far deeper than this*, to the authority of the “Early Church,” the “Primitive Church,” the “Church, *not only interpreted by her present Rubrics and Canons*, but the Church before the Reformation.” The other is based altogether, according to the same showing, upon a mere cold, naked, negative “Protestantism.” It would exceed our present limits to follow Mr. Bennett through all the passages he has quoted in support of his view. We will, therefore, simply state the impression conveyed to our mind, after a very careful perusal of the Charge of 1842, as to the principle the bishop wished thereby to inculcate among his clergy. That principle may be briefly described as obedience, *not*, to the “Early Church,” as such; *not* to the “Primitive Church,” as such; *not* to the “Church before

the Reformation" as such, but *obedience to the doctrine and discipline of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, as they are embodied in our Liturgy, Canons, and Articles.* The Bishop, in effect, says:—"Do every thing which the *Church of England orders you to do*; obey her rubrics *implicitly*; carry out her injunctions *fully*; restore her *system*; but there you must stop: *introduce nothing* which is not sanctioned by the Rubric, by prescriptive custom of the *English Church*, or by episcopal authority."

We had marked some dozen passages in proof of this view, a view, let it be observed, essentially different from Mr. Bennett's own principle, and the bishop's, *as he has described it.* We must be content, however, with quoting a few of the most striking character. The bishop's Charge was delivered when certain members of the "Oxford School" were "verging, step by step," towards that "precipice" over which they have since unhappily fallen. What says his lordship on this point?—

"I acknowledge that I was not unwilling to pause, and be silent for a time, in the hope that those, who have been engaged in that controversy, would see the evils which must ensue to the Church from its continuance, and be led to modify, or at least to keep within their own bosoms, what I considered to be extreme opinions. That hope has unhappily passed away, and it now remains for me to perform the duty of pronouncing that deliberate judgment which the clergy of my own diocese are entitled to look for."

The bishop then states his desire "*to act as an interpreter of the Church's sense as to doctrine, and of her will as to rites and ceremonies*;" plainly meaning the "intention" and "will" of the Church of England. Again:—

"In our ministerial acts both of kindness and authority, especially the latter, we are to have respect to *the Church's laws and ordinances*; and beyond what *they* require (*sic*), we may not claim obedience. The limitation of our ministerial *authority*, by the laws of the *Church* to which we belong, extends also to every part of our ministerial *duty*. We are to teach, *as our own Church teaches*, in her 'Articles of Religion,' and to minister discipline *according to the laws by which she has prescribed and defined it.*"—p. 9.

Again:—

"With respect to those *ornaments* of the Church, about which there is a difference of opinion, *where the Rubric and Canons are not clear, the judgment of the bishop should be sought for.*"—p. 30.

⁷ Charge of 1842, p. 6.

And so with respect to ordinances and ceremonies, the language is equally precise :—

“ In this respect every clergyman is bound by the laws of his own Church. *What they enjoin he is to practise ; what they forbid he is to abstain from ; what they purposely omit he is not to introduce.* PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD, trine immersion in baptism, the kiss of peace in the Eucharist, the mixing of water with wine ; all these were undoubtedly ancient customs, if not all of primitive antiquity ; *but they are not recognised by our own Church, and they are, therefore, not to be practised by its ministers.* ‘ Let no minister of a parish,’ says Bishop Jeremy Taylor, ‘ introduces any ceremonies, rites, or gestures, though with seeming piety or devotion, which are not commanded by the Church, and established by law.’ ”—p. 32.

Once more :—

“ You are not to take as your rule and model in this respect the *early Church, nor the primitive Church,* but the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, *as she speaks in plain and obvious cases by her Rubrics and Canons ; in doubtful and undecided ones by her bishops.*”—p. 32.

And now we ask any candid and honest man, we care not whether he agrees with the bishop or not, carefully to consider Mr. Bennett's own principles, and the bishop's, *as Mr. Bennett has described them.* We ask him to reflect on the passages we have now quoted, and then let him say, first, whether there is the slightest similarity between the *acknowledged* principles of Mr. Bennett and the principles of the Charge of 1842? Secondly, whether Mr. Bennett has fairly described the principles set forth in the Charge? Would that we could imagine that he had quoted from memory. He tells us himself that he has not done so*. What, then, is the unavoidable inference?

There is, however, one passage from Bishop Fleetwood, which Mr. Bennett quotes with an air of great triumph, as fully justifying him in carrying out any practices which were in use before the Reformation. It will be necessary, therefore, briefly to consider this passage.

“ The ceremonies,” says Bishop Fleetwood, “ allowed in practice in the Church, though not enjoined by the Rubric, are such as were used in the Church *before* and *when* the Rubrics were made ; and being reasonable and easy, and becoming, were not enforced by any new law, but were left in possession of what force they had obtained by custom. He that complies not with these ceremonies, offends against no law, but only against custom, which yet a prudent man will not lightly do, when once it has obtained in general.”—p. 29.

* “ I think I still understand the *animus* of the Charge, now that I read it again at this distance of time,” p. 6.

We submit with regard to this passage, first, that it must not, in fairness, be taken by itself, but in connexion with the other parts of the Bishop of London's Charge; and, secondly, that it does not, in any way whatever, justify Mr. Bennett, or any other individual priest, in introducing into the service of the Church of England any ritual observances which are not authorized, either by the Rubric, by episcopal sanction, or by prescriptive custom. Bishop Fleetwood refers to ceremonies "*allowed in practice* in the Church, though not enjoined by the Rubric." He evidently alludes to such practices as turning to the east during the recital of the Creed, repeating "Glory to Thee, O Lord," before the reading of the Gospel, and other observances of a similar nature, but his words give no sanction whatever to the notion, that any individual priest is at liberty to introduce any ceremonies at his own will and pleasure, which are *not* "allowed in practice in the Church."

But let us consider, in the next place, the charge of "inconsistency" which Mr. Bennett, by a comparison between the Charge of 1842 and that of 1850, brings against the bishop.

"It is a remarkable fact," he says, "that, in the Bishop's Charge of 1842, the 'Church of England' is never once called the 'Protestant Church,'—not once; we find a great variety of titles, such as 'our Church,' 'our own Church,' 'the Anglican Church,' 'the National Church,' 'our Dear Mother,' and the like, but not once the 'Protestant Church.' Yet *now* how different the strain. In the Charge of 1850 we are told of the 'Protestant Church,' and of the 'distinctive doctrines of Protestantism;' and in the same address, although in 1842 it was our privilege to adhere and be attached to the 'Catholic Church;' *now*, in 1850, we are told, that in making an attempt to approach the 'Catholic standard,' we mean the Church of Rome, just precisely abandoning the notion that any thing can be Catholic but Rome."—p. 163.

We confess that we are somewhat at a loss to know what Mr. Bennett really means here. If he means to charge it as a fault upon the Bishop of London that, in 1842, he endeavoured to bring out and develop the "Catholic" element of the English Church; whereas, in 1850, he endeavoured to bring out the "Protestant" element, we can only say, that we think no person, who really loves the Church of England, will blame him for so doing, considering how many priests of our communion, in their attempt to approach what they called the "Catholic standard," have actually gone over to the Church of Rome. But, if Mr. Bennett means to insinuate that there is any *real difference* between the principles of the two Charges; if he means to accuse the bishop of not "protesting" as strongly, in 1842, against the

errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, as he has done in 1850, we simply say that the accusation is utterly groundless. We will quote one of two passages in proof of this assertion.

"With respect," says the bishop, "to all attempts to give to the articles of religion a greater latitude of sense than the words, upon the face of them, will bear, and especially all endeavours to make them look towards the errors of the Church of Rome, when they are unquestionably, as to the points of difference between the two Churches, *neither more nor less than a solemn and emphatic protestation against those errors, I will express my own opinion in the words of Bishop Jeremy Taylor.*" And again, "What real good is to be effected by any attempts to make our Reformed Church appear to symbolize with that from which she has been separated, in some of the very points which form the ground of that separation, *I am at a loss to imagine.* Desirable as is the unity of the Catholic Church, lamentable as have been in some directions the consequences of the interruption, earnestly as we ought, to labour and pray for its restoration, *we can never consent to re-instate it, by embracing any one of the errors which we have renounced.*"

Once more:—

"Against such a Church we are bound continually to lift up the voice of solemn remonstrance; and, far from being ashamed of the name of Protestant¹, we ought to show, that a sincere and immovable attachment to the Catholic Church, in its constitution, discipline, authority, privileges, and offices, is perfectly compatible with, or rather is itself a practical act of protestation against the errors and corruptions of the Papal Church. And surely the duty of so protesting is not to be lost sight of, at a time when that Church is boldly reasserting its pretensions amongst us, and affecting to look for the speedy return of our own Reformed Church into its maternal bosom. Its errors are not less opposed to Gospel truth, and holiness now, than they were at the time of the Reformation. The doctrines and practices which rendered necessary our separation from that Church, are still retained by her unchanged, unmitigated, unqualified; nor are the differences between us, in essential matters, less at the present moment than they were in the times of Cranmer or of Jewel, of Taylor or of Bull. We are far from presuming to assert the absolute perfectness of our own Church, but it is not *in retracting any of the steps, by which she has receded from the Church of Rome, that she is to be made more perfect*; nor by attempting to remodel her upon the doctrine and discipline, not of the primitive Church, but of the Church of the fourth or fifth century, infected as it was with the remains of Gnostic superstition, and the inventions of enthusiastic or ambitious men."—p. 37.

¹ Charge of 1842, p. 11.

² Mr. Bennett calls this, using the word Protestant "in an *apologetic strain*!"

We have thus then shown the real principles of the Bishop of London's celebrated Charge of 1842; and, also, how erroneously Mr. Bennett has represented those principles in his "Farewell Letter." Let us now see how *in practice*, according to his own showing, Mr. Bennett carried out the principles of the bishop's Charge. His very first act at St. Paul's was a practical disregard of his lordship's *wishes*, in introducing the choral service², he knowing, perfectly well, that the bishop greatly preferred the reading of the prayers to the practice of intoning them. Let it be understood that we are giving no opinion here, as to the abstract question, whether the prayers should be read or intoned! We are simply desirous of showing that Mr. Bennett was not so anxious, as he himself professes to have been, to comply with the bishop's wishes.

Again, there is nothing, as we have seen, to which the bishop more strongly objects in his Charge, than the practice of "praying for the dead." In 1849, Mr. Bennett issued "Suggestions for a Form of Prayer," in which he introduces a distinct prayer for the dead. The bishop remonstrates. In answer to this remonstrance, Mr. Bennett attempts to justify the practice in a very long letter. He afterwards abandoned it; but the mere fact of its introduction shows that he did *not* endeavour to carry out, as he says, *to the letter*, the principles of the bishop's Charge. Then came the erection of the church of St. Barnabas, wherein Mr. Bennett seemed determined to show how far he could carry out *his opposition* to the bishop's principles. The candles on the altar were lighted, which the bishop, in his Charge, *had expressly forbidden*, except in the time of evening service. The invocation of the Blessed Trinity was introduced before the sermon; the sign of the Cross was publicly made in various parts of the service; and divers other practices were introduced, altogether un sanctioned by the Church of England.

But we need not pursue this unhappy subject further; we will quote only one passage from the "Farewell Letter," and then leave our readers to judge for themselves, whether Mr. Bennett did, or did not, keep steadily in view, in his pastoral teaching, the principles laid down for his guidance in the bishop's Charge:—

"You will see," says Mr. Bennett, "that I constantly looked to this end: that I was aware some such end *must* sooner or later come. See how I considered and weighed it, in my letters to the bishop; *how I always foresaw that my holding the Catholic faith, and keeping Catholic practice, must inevitably lead me either to retire from my present charge or to disobey my bishop.* It seemed even then almost necessary for"

² See Charge of 1842, p. 34.

priest, such as myself, *who held a doctrine on so important a subject as prayer for the dead in opposition to his bishop, to cease from ministering in the same diocese.*”—p. 141.

Strange indeed it is, that the writer of the above can think it compatible with his own consistency, and with truth, to use in another part of his letter such language as this:—“But I did contend, because I simply thought it thy duty—because I wished to obey the bishop’s *Charge of 1842!*” (*sic*)—p. 25.

But we come now to the second of the personal accusations which Mr. Bennett has brought against the bishop, that of double dealing, in extorting information with respect to the practices at St. Barnabas from one of his curates. Let us see how the case stands. On the 1st of July the bishop writes to Mr. Bennett, that information had reached him respecting certain specified observances at St. Barnabas, requesting to know whether that information was, or was not, correct. One of these practices was the administration of the holy elements not into the hands of the communicants. Mr. Bennett suspects that the information on this point must have come from one of his curates, and it appeared, subsequently, that it did come from the Rev. C. C. Spencer, who had been for several years assisting Mr. Bennett at St. Paul’s, Knightsbridge, and was then his senior curate. Mr. Bennett complains bitterly of the bishop for forcing information against him from Mr. Spencer, and also of “the concealment of the name of the informer, of the underhand way in which the information is elicited, forced, pressed, and then, being so pressed, the use of language by which the source of the information is made to appear merely general.”—p. 77. Let us consider the case for a moment. We readily allow that, if the Bishop of London had, without any thing having previously occurred, sent for Mr. Spencer, or any other of Mr. Bennett’s curates, and extorted from them information against Mr. Bennett, such a method of proceeding would have been quite unjustifiable. Such, however was not the method of proceeding here. Mr. Spencer *was desirous of resigning his curacy at St. Paul’s*, and signified that desire to the Bishop of London. Now, let it be remembered, that, for several years, Mr. Spencer had been Mr. Bennett’s confidential assistant. Mr. Bennett himself thus speaks of him:—“I believe him to have been a most conscientious and diligent curate. I never, on any one occasion, had the slightest difference of opinion with him on any rubrical or ritual observance.”—p. 74. Surely, then, it was not unnatural, that the Bishop of London, finding that Mr. Spencer, from conscientious motives, could not continue his ministrations at St. Paul’s, should be desirous of ascertaining the reasons of his retirement. Considering what had

occurred with respect to the prayers for the dead, and other matters, it was perfectly reasonable that the bishop's suspicions should be excited, and that he should insist upon Mr. Spencer stating his reasons for retirement *in extenso*. Mr. Bennett thus speaks of Mr. Spencer in this respect:—"I believe he was merely, as a conscientious Protestant, frightened at the so-called 'innovations' of, as he thought, 'Popery,' and so had been desirous to be released from duties which had become to him irksome and painful."—p. 75. It is strange that Mr. Bennett did not perceive how completely these very remarkable words carry with them the condemnation of the writer. Surely, if he were introducing practices by which the conscience of his curate was so aggrieved that he could not continue his ministrations at St. Paul's, it was high time, not simply that the bishop should know what those practices really were, but should at once call upon Mr. Bennett to explain or relinquish them. Surely if one, who for years had acted with Mr. Bennett without a word of complaint, could continue to act with him no longer, there was ample justification, not simply for the bishop's suspicions, but for his interference also. We think, therefore, that Mr. Spencer has been very hardly dealt with in this matter, in being held up to the world as "an informer;" and, secondly, that the bishop was bound, by his duty to the Church of England, to insist upon Mr. Spencer stating his reasons why he could not any longer continue to act as Mr. Bennett's curate.

And now our painful task is nearly ended. We have only to notice the accusation which Mr. Bennett brings against the bishop of a breach of confidence in the publication of the correspondence. We must, however, take the liberty of saying, that this accusation, whether well or ill-founded, comes with a very ill grace from Mr. Bennett. Whoever has read his celebrated letter to Lord John Russell, must recollect certain passages therein which are scarcely compatible with the charge which Mr. Bennett now brings against his diocesan. We do not blame Mr. Bennett for the introduction of those passages under the very peculiar circumstances of the case; but surely he ought to have considered that there might possibly be an equal necessity for the publication of the correspondence between himself and the Bishop of London. But we say, moreover, that there really was no breach of confidence whatever committed. What are the facts? On the 11th of December the bishop thus writes:—"I presume that you have no objection to the publication of your letter of Dec. 4, together with mine of Dec. 9. I think it necessary for my own justification that *mine* should be published, and but fair that yours should appear with it."—p. 119. How does Mr. Bennett reply

to this letter? From the way in which he has spoken of the matter, one would expect to find him saying, "I do object altogether to the publication of the correspondence. My letters were never intended for publication, but were simply of a private nature, and therefore I object altogether to their being published." He says nothing of the kind. He makes no sort of objection. He replies: "*I do not think that the publication of one or two letters will by any means be sufficient. It is my intention, for my own justification, to publish the whole of the correspondence.*" We submit, therefore, first, that the Bishop of London *was* bound, for his own justification, to publish the correspondence in question; *was* bound to show, as the correspondence did show most clearly, to all whose mental vision was not, like D. C. L.'s, dimmed by prejudice, that he did *not* sacrifice Mr. Bennett to popular clamour,—to show, as dates do show plainly and unmistakeably, that Mr. Bennett's resignation had been actually offered, *and virtually accepted by the bishop*, long before any thing whatever had been heard of the "Russell riots." Secondly, that, by his reply to the bishop's note, Mr. Bennett has precluded himself from bringing, with any fairness, the charge of "breach of confidence;" and, lastly, that, even if the bishop had been content to be silent, the whole of the correspondence would, in fact, have speedily found its way to the columns of Mr. Bennett's and D. C. L.'s peculiar organ, the "Morning Chronicle."

And now then let us see what are the positions we have established in this paper. We have proved, first, that Mr. Bennett forced his resignation upon the Bishop of London. Secondly, that Mr. Bennett's principles, as he has himself described them, are not in accordance with the spirit of the Church of England as a "reformed branch of the Church Catholic;" and, thirdly, that the accusations of a personal nature brought by Mr. Bennett against the bishop are altogether groundless and unfounded. If any think that we have borne hardly upon Mr. Bennett, we can simply, in all sincerity, deny the charge, alike in fact and in intention. It was open to Mr. Bennett to have adopted one of three courses. He might, for the sake of his own principles, have refused to yield to the bishop's admonitions. He might, from a principle of canonical obedience, have quietly withdrawn from his pastoral charge; or he might have said to the bishop, "I have endeavoured conscientiously to do what I considered to be my duty. I think that I have been justified in the course I have taken; but I cannot consent to separate myself from all that I hold most dear. For the sake, therefore, of the flock among whom I have laboured, for the sake of the spiritual welfare of my

parishioners, I am content to bow to your lordship's decision, and leave you to alter any thing in my practice which is not sanctioned by the letter, as well as by the spirit, of the rubrics of the Anglican Church." If Mr. Bennett had adopted the first course, we should have respected him, while we differed from him. If he had adopted the second, we should have thought foul scorn of the man who could have said one word to embitter the pain he *must* have felt at parting with his church and people. If he had taken the third course, we should have honoured him as one "above all Greek, above all Roman fame"—as one who had gained the greatest of all victories, the victory over himself—as one, content to make any sacrifice, short of the sacrifice of truth, for the sake of that "beautiful flock," which God had committed to his charge. Mr. Bennett has done none of these things. He has forced his resignation upon the Bishop of London, and then vilified him for accepting it. He has professed to carry out the bishop's principles, while, in effect, he has acted in diametrical opposition to them. He offers to resign his living because the bishop will not allow him to carry out certain practices. He subsequently, when too late, offers to abandon all those practices save one; and then, that offer not being accepted, he holds up those very practices as essential marks of the "catholicity" of the English communion. He professes to feel indignant at the imputation of "unfaithfulness" to the Church of England; and then, by way of showing his fidelity to his spiritual Mother, he holds her up to the scorn and derision of her enemies, "as a wreck—as a stranded, helpless, waterlogged wreck." Therefore do we say, that this is just one of the cases in which justice and mercy are incompatible with each other—that if, for the sake of any personal considerations, we had avoided the examination of this most unhappy "Farewell Letter," we should have been guilty of treason to the Church of England, as well as of gross ingratitude towards that eminent Prelate, who has heretofore done the Church such good service, and against whom Mr. Bennett has thought fit to bring a series of most unfounded accusations.

And let no one suppose, because we have thought it our duty to vindicate the Church of England and the Bishop of London, against Mr. Bennett and the party who have supported him, that therefore it is our wish to yield, in the slightest possible degree, to the "clamours of the mob;" to give the smallest possible encouragement to any *unfounded* charge of "Romanizing;" to use that cry for party purposes; or to promote the growth of the "Puritan" element within the Church of England. If we had thought that the real principles of our Church were, in the

smallest degree, endangered by the circumstances connected with Mr. Bennett's resignation, we should have been among the first to say so. But we do not believe any thing of the kind. It is very easy for D. C. L. to talk about the evils of undue "concession" to episcopal authority; to assert that "the sticklers for extra constitutional powers on the part of our bishops" have "themselves created the precedent by which they will be scourged"—(p. 41). This is a very good *ad captandum* argument, but it is not based upon truth. We are no "sticklers" for "extra constitutional powers" in the episcopate, but we do wish to see a little decent respect shown to the episcopal office; we do desire to see a little gratitude for past services shown by those who call themselves English Churchmen. We do say, that the clamour which has been raised against the Bishop of London, in reference to Mr. Bennett, is disgraceful to those who have raised it, not simply as they are men who profess to venerate episcopacy, but as they are men possessing one spark of gratitude for a series of long and eminent services to the Church of England: And the Bishop of London's is not, we are sorry to say, an isolated case. If there is one bishop of the English Church who might have expected forbearance and kindly feeling from all quarters, it is the Bishop of Ripon,—and yet see how that Prelate has been treated. Because he has done his duty to the Church of England, by endeavouring to prevent a more glaring violation, both of the letter and spirit, of the English Prayer Book, than even Mr. Bennett's, all his past services are at once forgotten, and he is looked upon as a destroyer of the "Catholicity" of the English Church equally with the Bishop of London.

"Of course," says Mr. Bennett, "it must be plain to you, that nothing now is left. I would fearlessly prophesy that Protestantism, as it is in the Anglican Church, never will embrace either the young, the enthusiastic, or the ignorant; and now that it has won its *spolia opima* at the gates of St. Barnabas, in the province of Canterbury, and at the gates of St. Saviour's, in the province of York, it must be content to see the advance of the Church of Rome in reality."—p. 185.

We venture to "prophesy," with equal "fearlessness," that no such result need be apprehended. We rely, for the prevention of such a result, under God, mainly upon two grand principles, deeply-seated, we firmly believe, in the hearts of the people of England. The one is an earnest determination never to submit to the arrogant and unfounded claims of the Bishop of Rome. The other is an equally earnest love for the Prayer Book of the English Church. While these two principles are dominant, we have no fears for the safety of our Church; and we submit, that recent events prove, to a demonstration, that they are dominant

now. It may suit D. C. L. to talk about those "wretched secessions to Rome,"—it may suit Mr. Bennett, and others like him, to talk about the "cold, naked, Protestantism" of England,—to insinuate that all the English people care for is "No Popery." In truth it is not so; but there is one thing for which they *do* care, and that is, common honesty of purpose—common straightforwardness. It is not the "wretched secessions" to Rome which have influenced the people, half so much as the miserably *dishonest* way in which those secessions have occurred. Their disgust has very far exceeded their alarm. If priests of the English Church had taken that course, which they themselves would consider the only honourable course in secular matters,—if they had gone to their respective bishops, and signified that, *their minds being unsettled, they must cease, for the present, at least, to officiate as English clergymen*—if any number of priests had taken this course, we should have respected them as *honest men*, while we deplored their falling away. But when we see such gross violations of good faith as we have seen lately, we cannot wonder at the indignation so loudly expressed. When we see men presiding at public meetings of Churchmen, met together for the express purpose of defending the Church of England, going over—for Lord Fielding, we presume, was not "driven," to the ranks of the enemy;—when we see clergymen writing to the Bishop of London, in terms of unusual familiarity; then, knowing their diocesan's peculiar position, deliberately publishing the correspondence; and, *within three weeks*, joining the Church of Rome;—when, again, we see others, as members of a society formed for the defence of the English Church, moving resolutions of sympathy with Mr. Bennett, as English Churchmen, and, shortly after, joining the ranks of that body which looks upon English Churchmen as heretics and schismatics;—when, lastly, we see addresses from, so-called, English Churchmen, complaining, forsooth, of the manner in which the Papal Aggression has been met, *but saying not one word in condemnation of the barefaced hypocrisy and treachery of many of those who have recently forsaken the Anglican Church*;—can we possibly wonder, after all this, at the disgust and the indignation of every man of common honesty—of every man who has about him a single grain of genuine English principle? Can we wonder that suspicions should be raised against innocent men; against men who have not the smallest approximation to a "Romanizing"³ tendency; against men who

³ In applying the term "Romanizing," we desire to be understood as using the word, *by way of censure*, with a limited application. We firmly believe that the *principles*, say of Mr. Baker, and the author of the "Appeal to Rome," have alike, though not equally, a "Romanizing" tendency in their results fully worked out—

would scorn to "palter in a double sense;" would scorn to profess to be members of one communion, while in heart and affections they belonged to that the most opposed to it? We say, confidently, that these "wretched secessions" to Rome, are the *real* impediments to the full development of the Catholic principles of the Church of England; and not the "naked Protestantism" which Mr. Bennett so feelingly deploras. Once satisfy the people of England that, so long as Rome remains unchanged, they need have no fear of our going over to Rome—once take the ground, *in opposition to Rome*, which the "divines of the seventeenth century" took—not for the purposes of party—not in a rancorous and unchristian spirit—but as a matter of truth and duty—in defence of the doctrine and discipline of that Church of which we are sworn servants—and sure we are that the plain sound sense, the honest English feeling of the people will cause them to respect us, to sympathize with our endeavours to obey the law of the Church of England. They will feel then that *we can be trusted*; that we really mean what we say; that we love the Church of England for her own sake; that while, on the one hand, we will never consent to abandon one jot or one tittle of Catholic truth, we never will, by God's grace, connive at one particle of Romish error. It may be, nay we much fear it will be, that we shall have to deplore further losses, and perhaps a more widely-spread secession. There is a spirit abroad, at the present day, in a section of the English Church, a spirit of restlessness and disaffection, which, we much fear, will lead yet more to the Church of Rome. But we believe, moreover, and herein lies our greatest hope, we believe that there are thousands of good men and true, on whom the Church of England may count as "faithful unto death"—who, "come what come may," will never "leave her nor forsake" her—who will fight her battles, not simply because their lot is cast within her fold by Providence; not simply because she is "the Church of their baptism;" but because they believe her to be, with all her shortcomings, and all her deficiencies, the purest, the most Scriptural, the most Catholic branch, of the mystical body of CHRIST, now in existence—because they conscientiously believe that, if the DIVINE HEAD OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, we say it with all reverence, were now upon earth—in the Church of England, in preference to any other, would He take delight, as, more than any other, em-

but then there is this difference—the one is an honest man, desiring to bring about Catholic Unity by an assimilation of the two Communion, and is, as we think, sending men to Rome unwittingly. The other is a dishonest man, at heart a Romanist, by name and profession an English Churchman. The one is entitled to respect, while we differ from him; the other is entitled to nothing but scorn and abhorrence.

bodying in her system those great fundamental truths which He descended from Heaven to reveal to mankind. And it is because of this firm conviction ;—because we venerate our Spiritual Mother for her purity of doctrine, for her Apostolic descent, for her respect for Catholic truth ;—because we believe the great body of the “large party” are true to her real principles, disliking the pseudo-church principles of D. C. L. and Mr. Bennett, equally with those of Latitudinarians and Puritans—because, moreover, we believe that the great mass of the English people are true to her also—therefore do we speak so confidently with respect to the future. We repeat that we have no fears for the ultimate safety of the Church of England. Of her may we use the beautiful language of the poet :—

“ — non hyemes ILLAM, non fiabra, neque imbres
Convellunt : immota manet, multosque per annos
Multa virûm volvens durando sæcula vincit.
Tum fortes latè ramos et brachia tendens
Huc illuc, media ipsa ingentem sustinet umbram.”

Virgil, Georgics, ii. 293.

We know, indeed, full well the difficulties by which she is beset ; we know full well that mighty engines are at work against her. On the one hand, Romish insolence and Papal usurpation ; on the other, State aggression and sectarian bigotry ; are directing against her their strongest efforts : while, within her own pale, on this side D. C. L., and they who think with him, are endeavouring to rend asunder the links by which she is connected with the State ; on that, the Puritan faction are moving heaven and earth to blot out of her Prayer Book the enunciation of all those grand Catholic verities by which she is identified with the Primitive Church in its best and purest ages. Still have we no fear for the result, because we are convinced that the great bulk, alike of her clergy and her people, fraternise with neither of the extremes to which we have alluded. They are not prepared to surrender up the liberties of the English Church to the tender mercies of Lord John Russell and Dr. Cumming. They are equally unprepared to adopt the ultramontane theories, so to speak, of D. C. L. and Mr. Bennett. They will not recognise the supremacy of a Prime Minister, who, by his own conduct, sets at defiance the constitution and laws of the Church ; they are content, and thankful to recognise the supremacy of the Sovereign, so far as that supremacy is defined in our Canons, Articles, and Formularies. They are not prepared to rest satisfied with the existing condition of the relations between the Church and the State. They have no wish to dissolve those relations altogether, but simply to put them on a

proper footing. We say that recent events amply justify the view we have taken. There can be no mistake as to one point, that the people of England have no sympathy either with Romanists or with Romanizers. There is as little doubt either that they will not allow a finger to be laid upon that which, next to the Word of God, they value more highly than ought besides, the Anglican Prayer Book. Every one remembers the rumours that were current on this point just before the meeting of Parliament. But it has been discovered that, much as the people of England abhor Romish error, they equally love Catholic truth—that they will not allow any tampering with our time-hallowed Liturgy. Therefore do we say, that our prospects for the future are hopeful and cheering.

And let no one suppose, lastly, that in any thing we have said with respect to Mr. Bennett, we have any wish to discourage the widely-spread desire of giving increased solemnity to our Church ritual by the adoption of all the aids and appliances of "architecture and music and painting, and all other such handmaids of Christian worship." In truth, we have no such wish. On the contrary, we would employ *every* means which, as English Churchmen, we may consistently employ, to raise and cultivate a spirit of devotion amongst our people. We would have our churches built after the most beautiful models. We would have the ceremonial of our churches regulated with all that attention to decent splendour and sober pomp which characterized primitive worship; but then we must keep in view two principles, in subordination to which every thing should be done. The one is, that we regard these aids and appliances as means, and not as ends—that we beware of cultivating æstheticism to such a height that it degenerates into what we venture to call ecclesiastical foppishness;—the other, that we do all things in obedience to the letter, so far as circumstances will allow, and, in all cases, to the spirit, of the English Prayer Book. We must not indulge our individual fancies by the introduction of observances which our own Church has not sanctioned; which, harmless, it may be, and even beautiful, in themselves, are yet forbidden to us, partly because they are not authorized, partly because of the peculiar position in which we are placed, not from our own act or our own wish, but through the conduct of that rival Church by which they are employed habitually. We *must* have regard to the circumstances of our times, to the position in which we are placed. We *must*, if we do our duty as English Churchmen, beware of introducing any practices which are not sanctioned by

⁴ Farewell Letter, p. 224.

our Prayer Book, by episcopal authority, or by prescriptive custom. We *must* take care that we give our people no *real* occasion to ask us, "Art thou for us or for our adversaries?" And let us not fear that, by adopting such a course as this, we "rend asunder the body of CHRIST," by refusing to conform to Catholic usage. In carrying out the principles of the Church of England, in inculcating her doctrines, and in obeying her discipline, we do, in fact, conform to a Catholicity of the best and the purest kind. If the mediæval and modern Church of Rome has chosen to overlay that Catholicity by a series of doctrinal and ritual innovations, they, and not we, are responsible for the violation of Christian fellowship and brotherly concord. Let us not, above all, repine, in a spirit of querulous lamentation, at the supposed deficiencies of our Church, while we forget the real blessings which she affords to all her faithful children. Let us rather do all we can in "quietness and confidence," in faith and patience, to "lengthen her cords and to strengthen her stakes."

"If," to use, in conclusion, the language of one who has engaged much of our attention in this paper, language, we regret to say, as necessary in 1851 as in 1842,—

"If, instead of such lamentations, alarming our people, and unsettling the minds of our younger brethren in the ministry, we would admonish, comfort, and encourage one another, to be faithful to our dear Mother; and use, in the spirit of diligence and love, all the means and appliances of good which she places in our hands; setting ourselves, as a united band of Christian soldiers, with composed and stedfast resolution, to resist the inroads of Popery on the one hand, and of irregular enthusiasm on the other; if we had but grace to realize, in our own lives and persons, the plain precepts and directions which she has given for our guidance, recommending them, by our example, to the consciences and affections of all men, we should discover that there is much less need of alteration than is supposed; and at all events, we should know, for a certainty, in what direction that alteration should be attempted."

* Charge of 1842, p. 38.

ART. VII.—1. *Parochial Work.* By the Rev. E. MONRO, M.A.,
Incumbent of Harrow Weald, Middlesex. Oxford and London:
Parker. 1850.

2. *The Working Classes; their Moral, Social, and Intellectual Condition; with practical suggestions for their Improvement.*
By G. SIMMONS, *Civil Engineer.* London: Partridge and
Oakey. 1849.

WHEN, engaged in the controversy with Rome or with other alien powers, we contemplate our Church's theory and ideal, the purity of her faith, the certainty and the Catholicity of those doctrines she insists upon, the beauty of her liturgy, the high tone of moral truthfulness which is her especial characteristic; and when we contrast all these with the false glare and vulgar splendour, the unhappily gross superstition, the sad practical idolatry, the painful recklessness with regard to truth and fact, of the largest of foreign communions,—we certainly feel justified in claiming a high station for our Spiritual Mother amongst the existing Churches of Christendom. Her special excellencies are many and undeniable: her charitable and Catholic spirit, her wise temperance and moderation, her gentleness and truthfulness, her high sense of honour, all endear her to our hearts; we cannot but feel that she has succeeded, on the whole, in impregnating the educated classes subjected to her influence with at least the first principles of Christianity, and further, in breathing a high tone of morality, and, we may add, a general spirit of orthodoxy, into our national literature. Mighty champions has she sent forth to combat infidelity—nay, to subdue it: thanks to her exertions the mind of the country is orthodox in the main to this day,—that is, it acknowledges the general truth of Revelation, in contradistinction to the public opinion of the educated in other countries, as represented by their press, and in all the principal branches of literature.

Now, all this, of course, constitutes a very strong claim on our reverence and regard; and that reverence and regard it is accordingly our delight to tender: but there is another side to this flattering picture, and it is to that side, as we opine, that we ought specially to direct our attention. When employed in rebutting the sarcasms of a Newman, or repelling the calumnies of a Ward,

a recapitulation of our Church's excellencies may surely be permitted to her sons; but when this duty of self-defence is fairly discharged, and that mainly for the sake of weak or wavering brethren whose faith might need to be confirmed, it becomes Churchmen to look their own deficiencies fairly in the face: first, if they can, to ascertain them accurately; and then also to suggest, if possible, some practical remedy or remedies.

Now, we do think, that a little honest observation and candid reflection must lay bare to Churchmen's eyes certain leading defects in our present system of operations, which too sadly counterbalance our peculiar excellencies, and which seem to prove that we have almost or quite as much to learn from others as they may gain from us; that there is a very great work to be wrought; and that, if it be not set about quickly, it may probably never be discharged at all. For the time has surely gone by, if it ever existed, for mere paper-theories or ecclesiastical conventionalism: as a Church and a nation, this seems, in our judgment at least, the very crisis of our destiny. To state the actual difficulty in few words,—we have yet very much to do—to gain the hearts and to awaken the consciences of the poor.

The practical unreality which too often prevails amongst us, the coldness and formality and yet the absence of system, the want of due sympathy betwixt clergy and laity, the state of spiritual lethargy into which our working classes to a great extent have fallen, the sad hollowness and worldliness;—but we seem to be waxing harsh and bitter, and this we assuredly wish not to be; feeling and mourning over our own infirmities, it is our duty surely to be charitable even to those brethren whom we blame, whom we still love and for whom we pray: so let us simply record that it seems to be confessed on all hands, that our practical deficiencies are very great; that our hold is too weak, either on the intellectual perceptions, or on the hearts and consciences of our people; and that, instead of indulging in mutual reproaches for the past, our best course will now be to develop, if possible, such practices and such a discipline, for the future,—as may yet *restore* the spirit of devotion to the hearts of the community.

The sad state of great masses of our population has now engaged the attention of earnest thinkers for some time past. A passing word of reference may be permitted us here to the most valuable labours of that noble-hearted man, Mr. Mayhew, in this direction, which can scarcely be acknowledged with sufficient warmth of eulogy. Both of the remarkable works now lying before us, the titles of which we have placed at the head of this article, supply us with very alarming statistics in connexion with

the condition of the poor; especially the second of them, by Mr. Simmons. We do not purpose, however, to devote very much of our time or space to "a twice-told tale" on this occasion. We are entitled, unfortunately, to assume this awful fact, that masses of heathen darkness and corruption do exist in all directions around us, which must be broken up and pervaded with Christian light, if this country is to be saved from imminent danger of destruction. But more than this; it is also too true, that those of our poor who *are* brought, in a measure, under the influence of our parish clergy, are often deficient (we fear this must be confessed) both in moral conscientiousness, and in the spirit of devotion; and thus, it is only too evident, that some far-searching remedy needs to be applied.

Mr. Monro, whom we are happy to congratulate on the success of many of his labours, and whose recent volume of sermons on "the Ministry," has at once arrested our attention by its far-searching boldness, and has thrilled our conscience with alarm; in the very admirable work before us (admirable for its earnest Christian spirit and practical wisdom, though we cannot concur with it on all points), draws, upon the whole, a very melancholy picture of the state of the English poor; mainly, we may observe, with reference to the agricultural districts, with which he should appear to be best acquainted. He represents them as generally lethargic, slow of comprehension, and even dull of heart, almost totally destitute of doctrinal knowledge, and devoid of all self-conscientiousness, *i. e.* knowledge, whether of their own faults, or of their virtues; but, on the other hand, endowed, in many instances, with a strong moral sense, partly by nature, partly by baptismal grace, and also possessed of a good deal of honourable purity of will, and sometimes of no little self-devotion.

Mr. Simmons, in his very curious work, gives a still more unfavourable account of the poor in our towns and cities, of their habits of life, and their moral and religious, or rather immoral and irreligious practices; and despite his own strange, and, we must add, often mischievous notions (an odd compound or medley of Penny-Cyclopædia-wisdom, Bright and Cobden radicalism, and Bible-Protestantism), his work well deserves to be studied for its general accuracy and honesty of purpose, as well as for sundry by no means despicable suggestions, respecting the best means of interesting and exciting the sympathies of the working classes, by promoting lawful amusements, founding a steady, popular and Christian literature, &c. &c. Such, however, is scarcely our present theme: suffice it here to verify the fact, that Mr. Simmons pronounces, if possible, a severer judgment, from his point of view, than even that of Mr. Monro.

Our own limited experience has led us to the conclusion, that the hearts and minds of the male adult population pertaining to the working classes, in our towns and cities, are, to a great extent, hostile both to our Church and to our clergy, and indifferent to religion altogether. Of course there are many exceptions, God be praised for it! but we do believe the following to be only too accurate a description of this class in the main.

“Next come the general labourers. These are a very large body of men, and are they who have no trade, very few having been apprenticed to any, or, if so, they have left, ere it was half completed. Their families frequently consist of several children, who ramble in the courts and streets in dry weather, the eldest girl taking charge of the little one, while others, perchance, go to school: the boy waits upon the father with his dinner, and, at the age of eleven or twelve, has to get his living as a shop-boy, or in some such menial office. *The large majority of this class scarcely ever acknowledge a Superior Being* (save when some missionary or friend to religion visits them), *rising up in the morning, and lying down at night, in forgetfulness of the God who made them.*”—*Simmons's Working Classes*, p. 6.

The mere record of such a fact as this, and assuredly a fact it is, should make us tremble. Mr. Simmons goes on to describe the general habits of improvidence of the poor, their carelessness and wastefulness, their total lack of moral discipline, their indulgence of angry tempers and frightful passions in the quarrels between husbands and wives, and also between neighbours, arising, we may observe, in many instances, from the altercations of children, in the first place;—their habitual use of the most violent, and, indeed, horrible expressions, a seemingly growing evil, quite independent of their practice of cursing and swearing on all occasions; their usual liability to the sin of drunkenness; their debased condition, in fine, in almost every respect. Rarely, alas! we can bear witness, do the men of the working classes in our towns and cities find their way to our churches; nor do they frequent dissenting chapels, ordinarily speaking; they lounge away the Lord's Day, spending part of it in their beds, part perhaps, at the public-house, or, yet more often, at the corners of the streets; and sometimes, as Mr. Simmons remarks, at the tea-tollers' meeting, which in its way usually does them much harm, cultivating their pride, and other evil instincts, and teaching them to despise those amongst the clergy who will not fall in with their peculiar views. Mr. Monro's view of the existing state of things is thus forcibly expressed; he says,

“To do more than sketch the evil which exists to be remedied would exceed our present space. It is the alarming and astounding

fact, of millions of baptized Christians living in cities and villages around us, either in utter ignorance of the religion they profess, or the victims of a deep-rooted and withering infidelity. By the side of the splendid palaces of luxury and ease in the metropolis and other large cities, and within a stone's throw of their doors, are alleys and darkened streets, where, in garrets and cellars, whole families are grouped in squalid poverty, filth, and disease; and, what is far worse, in a state of ignorance of their awful responsibilities and future destinies, which would appal a Hindoo."—pp. 5, 6.

Further on, he speaks of gin-palaces and gambling-houses outnumbering churches; and of the former pouring forth floods of light, whilst the latter stand dark and silent against the starry sky. He tells us also, that Socialist schools are opening in all directions, and that the work of evil is rapidly progressing; and then also he maintains (p. 18), "We feel with too much truth, that comparatively few, even of our respectable poor, really pray,—the weightiest matter this, we think, of all." He adds, that the evening devotion of most poor men, if any, consists of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed used ignorantly as a prayer, the well-known invocation,—

"Matthew, Mark, Luke and John,
Bless the bed which I lie on,"

and intercessions, learnt in childhood, and repeated still mechanically for fathers and mothers, and others now departed. Thus Mr. Monro affirms, strangely enough, that "half of the devotions of our English poor consist of prayers to the saints, or intercessions for the dead;" which are all, he maintains, matters of mere form, to which no meaning whatever is attached. He then proceeds to dwell upon the sad misapprehension prevalent as to the nature of the Eucharist, which treats it rather as a seal of holiness than as a means of grace; an undeniable fact this, which no English clergyman, we presume, would offer to contest. And then he goes on to assert (with too much truth, we fear,) the absence of definite notions as to the effects of Holy Baptism. As far as our own experience is concerned, however, we are not disposed to admit that the poor generally consider Baptism to be little more than registration; we should rather say, that they retain an undefined notion that it secured the salvation of their children; and certain it is, that in case of sickness they are always most anxious to have them baptized,—that is, the mothers are. It may be contended, that this merely arises from their anxiety to secure Christian burial for their children; but we confess we do not think so. Mr. Monro, who appears to lay great stress on the efficacy of sponsorship, (greater, we own, than *we*

are inclined to lay, at least amongst the working classes, whom we believe this institution to be practically but of little value, and, in fact, one of our greatest existing unrealities,)—Mr. Monro, we say, apparently suspects the poor of evil motives in desiring the private baptisms of their children; but we see not what evil motives they can be supposed to entertain in this matter. They are naturally glad to escape from the task of finding sponsors, who expect to be treated with tea and cake on the occasion, and consider they have conferred a great obligation, though they afterwards have nothing to do with their godchildren, and would, indeed, be thought impertinent if they ever presumed to interfere. Now, private baptism is confessedly as efficacious as public; the use of water and the ordained blessing secure the validity and grace of the Sacrament. For our own part, knowing as we do how often baptism is neglected *altogether*, at least in large towns, by parents and children, we should not be over-backward in complying with the request of mothers to baptize their children privately, where there was any appearance of danger; always enjoining them, of course, to bring them subsequently to the Church; and we cannot but think that Mr. Monro would act both wisely and charitably in adopting the same course of action, at least if he resided in a large town or city. In the country, it is obvious that the clergyman has generally more thorough cognizance of his parishioners, and more direct influence over them, so as to be almost certain to secure the child's public baptism if he wills it, in some way or other. But, we repeat, even where religion was at a low ebb, we have still witnessed some apparently lingering reverence for Holy Baptism; we have heard mothers express great distress of mind when they thought their children in danger of dying unbaptized through their neglect, and declare that they had passed nights without sleeping in consequence: this is, therefore, we should say, one of the few lingering remnants of sacramental faith still left among our people.

But to resume, Mr. Monro further affirms, that there is a dread ignorance of the true nature of sin, even amongst the more respectable of the labouring classes; and that more especially with reference to the sin of fornication. And to the truth of this assertion our own experience, as far as it goes, compels us to bear witness. As undoubted, we should say, is that general disregard of truth which constrains us to receive the statements of the poor, too often at least, with distrust and incredulity. Their irreverence, we fear, is too patent to need insisting on. Their ignorance of religious doctrine, too, is assuredly most lamentable. We are scarcely prepared to affirm, with Mr. Monro (pp. 24, 25),

that even "among adults," who "have the appearance of being religious and devotional," many will be found who "will be utterly unable to mention on what their hope of pardon is founded;" because, we believe, that they have a very positive notion, at least thus far, that CHRIST has died for sinners, and that therefore sinners will be saved if they believe in Him, however late they turn to Him, even on their death-beds. Mr. Monro, indeed, admits, in effect, as much as this, though he seems to question it. But what, we may ask, is this, when separated from any work of the Holy Spirit, from any attempt to love and serve the Saviour?

But, after all, we are doing what we said we would *not* do: we are dwelling on the disease, which is admitted on all sides, instead of endeavouring to suggest a remedy, or rather some remedies for this disorder; for surely there must be many, and of various kinds. Mr. Monro's great practical recipe is *Personal Directions*, properly guarded and understood: he says,—

"Public ministrations and general preaching alone can never do the work. They are as little calculated to meet the case of the individuals they attempt to affect in the mass, as the thousands of a passing day are cognizable by the historian. The historian is not a biographer, and the minister in his general ministration cannot be the adviser of particular souls. The moment these thinking and yearning spirits become aware of a sympathy which recognises and feels for them, they will be attracted to it as needles to a magnet; and, once led to open their minds, clouds of darkness would pass away, and the character become relieved of a burden, which had dwarfed, stunted and withered it. Men do not wish to be as they are. They have no natural hostility to the Church or her clergy: they simply do not adhere to them, because other bodies and other men have offered them that sympathy which their natures rightly yearn for. These remarks belong as much to the population of the agricultural district as to that of the crowded city-parish."—p. 51.

Now we agree with Mr. Monro that one of our chief wants is spiritual intercourse betwixt pastors and people; and we also agree with him that this should be carried on by the means of personal interviews, for the express purpose of seeking and affording spiritual guidance and consolation; but we desire it to be understood, that we are by no means advocating the use of the Confessional, as advisable. Indeed, we do not conceive Mr. Monro to do this either: we believe, judging from the plain facts before us, that such an use is fraught with dangers; that it would be injurious to the best points in our national character, and would operate upon the whole largely for evil. It seems probable, we say, that Mr. Monro's views coincide upon

this subject with our own, though he has not definitely expressed his whole idea: he wishes the clergy, however, to set apart certain evenings, from six to nine o'clock, for the purpose of direct personal intercourse with their people, whom they could receive, according to his view, apparently, either in their studies or their vestries; not, as we understand, for a technical confession, but rather for the resolution of doubts and scruples, the confirmation in good, and the yielding of practical advice, and also the use of united prayer from priest and penitent against that special form of temptation to which the latter feels himself peculiarly subject.

But now let us proceed to inquire whether this is practically possible. *Can or will the poor be induced to come to such interviews?* Not generally, as we believe, without the adoption of some preparatory discipline, tending to awaken a religious feeling in the first instance, and to alarm the conscience. We cannot believe that the poor can be expected to come formally to the house of the clergyman, for the avowed purpose of seeking spiritual counsel at certain hours, and nothing else—at least not in the great majority of instances: but we do believe that the way might possibly be paved for the eventual adoption of such spiritual intercourse; and that, as it seems to us, after this fashion. Of course what follows must be merely suggestive; thrown out mainly for consideration; we, who write even, cannot consider ourselves positively bound to what we may suggest on this most difficult subject, and still less could we attempt to lay down any definite system on the authority of this periodical. Such, however, happen to be the notions which have occurred to us.

First, then, we imagine, that to attain the wished-for end, our churches might not only be opened twice a-day, or thrice, or even four times; but that rather, *they might be kept open throughout the day*; and, what is of equal moment, that worshippers might be positively induced to attend for their private devotions.

Now, we do not conceive this practice to be at all impossible of execution, at least in towns, if it were set about in the right way. Perhaps some readers may be inclined to doubt the propriety of such a custom altogether, remembering the injunction, "But thou, when thou prayest, enter into thy closet!" But, surely, in the first place, this was not intended for an absolute command, but rather as a warning against ostentation; and, then, let it be remembered that our Lord Himself prayed daily in the temple—and also that His Apostles did so after His ascension: and then, let it be considered, if this consideration be needful, (which it scarcely can be,) that the poor man, in the vast majority of instances, has no "closet," no place whereunto to retire, there

to collect his thoughts, examine his conscience, and humble himself before his God, *unless* the church be opened to him.

But assuming the lawfulness and advisability of this practice, how might it be carried into execution? First, churches might be kept open throughout the day, from that hour in the morning when the poor go forth, or, rather, from half an hour previous, to somewhere about nine o'clock at night; and further, such expedients might be adopted as would be calculated to bring home to the minds of people the conviction, that they were *expected* to come there, and pray: for otherwise, constitutional backwardness and bashfulness, not to speak of lower hindrances, would keep away all but a very small number. This end might be prosecuted, partly by speaking on the subject, partly by circulating special forms of prayer in parishes, short and devotional, to be put to such uses; but, perhaps, still more effectively by affixing such "forms" to various kneeling-boards in the church; (all which kneeling-boards should be rendered comfortable, and, as it were, inviting:) especially desirable would be forms of self-examination, which should leave much for the penitent to do himself; (all of us ought to be "penitents:") also skeleton-forms of prayer, so to speak, in which the filling up should be left to him or her who prays.

We confess that the mere saying of the Church's Common Prayer, morning and evening, though in the highest degree desirable, does seem to us, upon the whole, of less practical importance than the organization of an effective practice of private prayer, both for ourselves and others, and also of private self-examination. This is, we must think, the one point in which the aspect of our religious life is most lamentably defective; and until we can manage to surmount this difficulty, we fear that we shall not be able to succeed in Christianizing our heathen masses, or in bringing those who are already orthodox in intention, under a sound system of discipline.

To our apprehension, we might almost venture to say, that there is something rather formal in the mere opening our churches regularly twice a day for half an hour each time, in order to say so many set prayers together, and then at once departing, as if God were no longer present there. Undoubtedly there is a great blessing in Common Prayer, and it is the special prerogative of our dear Church to possess this, almost or quite in its perfection: never may she forfeit that divine heritage! But, we must ask, does not a faithful Christian enjoy the communion of saints in his own chamber also? Does he pray there alone? Most assuredly he does not. He prays with the whole Church Catholic, in heaven and on earth. And this communion, we maintain, should

be and would be especially realized in private prayer, and sacred meditations, and self-examination, within our churches; many, whose thoughts would be distracted elsewhere, would be comparatively serious and collected there; there, "where the Lord's honour dwelleth," it surely must *become* us more especially to open our hearts to God, and to breathe out all those *individual* complaints and entreaties for which we can find less scope at least in the public service of the Church.

The yoke of our present system seems to us, as a fact, to weigh most heavily upon our poor. To them our Common Prayer—being, for the most part, unconnected with those due private devotions which should prepare them for it—becomes, too frequently at least, a form of words,—as it were, a certain amount of work to be gone through, and little more. Of course there are many exceptions in this case also, God be thanked for it! Where there is little intellectual appreciation, there is sometimes much honest intention and devotional feeling, and there, we doubt not, a blessing is always reaped; but we do fear that masses of our population do not rightly appreciate our services.

The Roman Church, we may remark, has almost forfeited the privilege of common worship; she teaches her clergy to mutter at least five-sixths of her services in a foreign tongue, and an almost inaudible tone of voice, whilst her worshippers are left, for the more part, to follow their own devices, and ask for whatever may seem good in their own eyes, uniting only at moments in certain acts of faith and adoration. Her ideal of common worship seems to be variety in unity; each for himself, not to speak it irreverently, and the priest for all. Now this end is, of course, far easier of attainment than that very high ideal at which our own Spiritual Mother aims, of making the whole congregation, priest and people, "one heart and one voice." We fully admit, and strongly assert, our theoretical and abstract superiority in this respect, and are most anxious to maintain it undisturbed; but we do not believe that it can become a living reality, as far as the masses are concerned, until these latter have been first taught to pray privately, and from their hearts, for themselves; and this habit would be promoted by prayer within our churches. For the mere entering a church, with a religious purpose, when no service is going on, must have the effect of bringing home to all minds the *reality* of prayer. There, more immediately in His presence, who would dare to trifle? who would not feel that he must not mock God by a sham? Such an one would know that if he does not pray *then*, there would be no one to pray for him; that this is no mere prescriptive form, in which he may join outwardly for decency's sake, without thinking much about the

matter. If he comes there to pray at all, he will surely pray indeed. We do not believe that we can teach people, ordinarily speaking, the true spirit of prayer for the first time, by making them kneel down, and join in words together. Surely such collective prayer is the highest form of Christian worship. And yet—such is the strangeness of our practice—we seem to begin with it, in our churches and in our schools also, where little or no inquiry is made as to private prayer; but children are made formally to join in gabbling, we can scarcely call it saying, the public confession, as fast as they can speak. It does seem desirable to us that the poor man should understand *this*,—that he is not *always* necessitated to join in the highest act of Christian worship, and that for half an hour together (an act for which he may not be *then* intellectually or spiritually prepared), every time he ventures to enter the house of God. To insist on this seems to us almost to necessitate formalism; yet such is our present, almost invariable, practice. We should suggest, then, to the clergy, Open your churches. First, of course, tell your people plainly for what purpose you do so: venture also to tell them that they are not actually obliged, not morally necessitated, to come to morning and evening prayers every day; though, of course, such attendance, where possible, is most expedient; and that even without this they would be justified in entering God's house for a little quiet reflection or secret prayer at any time. But be able to inform them also, if you wish them to act on your suggestion, that they will find simple forms of prayer placed about the church to assist them in such devotions; and, further, encourage them to come by the examples of your own family and those over whom you may possess immediate influence.

It would then remain, that at fixed hours, and more especially, as Mr. Monro suggests, on certain evenings, the clergyman should be known to be in his vestry, and ready to receive all who there came to him for advice and consolation.

And now, *once there*, how should they be dealt with? This is, of course, a most solemn, a most difficult question. Once more, then, we remind our readers, that we desire to speak humbly in this matter, and suggest rather than affirm; yet we must record our opinion, that such applicants should rather be received as friends than penitents; rather as seekers of spiritual advice and consolation than as candidates for the confessional. For what we would wish to see developed, is a general habit of free spiritual intercourse betwixt clergy and people; and we cannot but think, that any attempt to introduce the forms and practices or the spirit of the confessional, would indefinitely retard this wished-for end, and otherwise work much mischief. The English people

have a just horror, in our opinion, of the ordinary and technical use of confession. We admit its lawfulness, and even expediency, in extraordinary cases, but we are not dealing with these. We wish to awaken the consciences of the English poor; to teach them to think and feel for themselves: we see not how this end is to be attained by compelling them at once to repeat the whole catalogue of their past sins to a fellow-mortal, with the view of obtaining that pardon at his hands which it is admitted *can* be obtained elsewhere,—which, as we believe, in common with all our Church's greatest lights, is just as truly conveyed to the faithful recipient by the Church's public absolution; the main difference between the public and private act being, that the latter enables the penitent more easily to apply it to himself, assists, and in a measure inspires, his faith. But without questioning the efficacy of either private confession or private absolution as a spiritual discipline in case of need, long before men come to think of this, they must be taught to know what sin is, and to pray against it. Our English poor, as we have already observed, are peculiarly deficient in self-consciousness; it is this, then, that we are so anxious to see instilled into them; they have many admirable instincts: we agree with Mr. Monro, that their moral constitution by nature is far superior to that of most of their continental brethren: they have generally an innate sense of right and of fairness; they are averse to any thing unmanly or inhuman; the sight of blood generally pacifies instead of exciting them; they have a great undefined respect for law, and all lawful authority; sometimes they have even much devotional feeling, only it is ill-directed, and unaccompanied by clear doctrinal views; much reverence for God's Word, much affecting simplicity of thought and action; but for all this they are sadly ignorant, and for the most part sadly lethargic in spiritual matters; they need every way to be individually aroused and awakened.

Well, then, now let us fancy a poor man to have found his way into the clergyman's vestry, under the circumstances above suggested. What would be his state of mind? would he not probably suffer from a general undefined sense of sin? would he not be likely to be, as it were, paralysed by a conviction of moral helplessness; a feeling, which if it were not assisted and relieved, would render his repentance, at the best, only a kind of blind "feeling after God?" Now here it seems to us, that he would need most to be spoken to encouragingly and lovingly, to be exhorted to definite daily self-examination, and provided with a few plain rules for that purpose; to be recommended also to express meditation upon such truths as the wonderful love of CHRIST,—His boundless condescension,—His death upon the

cross,—and finally to be prayed with briefly but earnestly, with peculiar reference to his chief temptations, in his stammering allusions to which he should be more than met half way, and treated, as we have said, usually speaking, more as a friend than as a penitent.

We have dealt with this most important subject very cursorily and imperfectly, and we are fully aware of the difficulties which surround it; but still we trust that we have succeeded in showing that there need be nothing formal or Romish in the spiritual intercourse we have suggested.

And now to advance to another very important consideration. It is obvious that much of the time of the clergy must be occupied by the adoption of such a discipline as this; yet not so much perhaps as might at first sight be anticipated: it is astonishing what can be achieved by order and regularity. We are of opinion, then, that it might become expedient to set apart four weeks in the year for the more especial practice of this discipline previous to the chief communions; and we venture to suggest that, possibly, in addition, the Saturday evening of the clergyman might be thus employed. This, we opine, in villages at least, would prove, ordinarily speaking, sufficient. In large churches in towns, likely to be more especially frequented, clergy might relieve one another.

The first necessity of all seems to us to be, to teach people really to pray, and also to practice self-examination; in comparison with this pressing absolute need, spiritual intercourse, however important, seems only secondary, or, if primary, primary only thus far, because its great object is to promote the more essential end.

On the conduct of our daily services we might say much; but this, perhaps, is scarcely the place. We may observe, however, that the use of hymns appears to us to be exceedingly desirable. Our present version of the singing Psalms, though poetically by no means despicable, as it is often represented to be, but rather on the whole highly meritorious, and in some instances exceedingly beautiful, is nevertheless deficient in a spiritual apprehension of the Psalmist's deeper meaning: those Gospel prophecies and utterances in the Psalms themselves, which are, most strictly speaking, Christian, have been unhappily slurred over for the most part, instead of being brought out, as far as possible, distinctly. It cannot be denied that their use, as it exists, is on the whole cold and undevotional. Therefore do we wish to see a revision of the singing Psalms, not an entirely new version; but supposing even that we could attain to perfection in this respect we should still consider hymns almost indispensable. They are not only the natural utterances of devotional feeling, but they are also useful in the highest degree, as assisting those who sing them

to realize the peculiar truth or doctrine, or the especial memory celebrated. We may return to this subject on another occasion: meanwhile we would only say, that we do not think the exclusive use of ancient hymns desirable; they are too generally wanting in distinctness, and too diffuse; not, we think, adapted to the actual needs of our people. One such hymn—as

“JESUS CHRIST is risen to day”—

to our English apprehension, is worth a volume of more mystical and foreign strains. Of course, there are some very beautiful hymns from ancient and mediæval sources, which we would gladly see retained, but even then for the most part they need to be adapted to our use; and certain it is, that we shall never see our English congregations singing with all their hearts and souls, unless we provide them with short, simple, popular hymns,—not irreverent, like those of Watts and Wesley, despite their many beauties,—not cold and formal, like those to be found in too many modern Church-of-England collections,—not too individual, and beyond the grasp of the masses for whom they are designed, like many of the mediæval compositions—but devotional, affectionate, especially breathing much love and reverence for our BLESSED LORD, and, finally, truly lyrical.

ART. VIII.—1. *Papal Aggression. Speech of the Right Hon. Lord JOHN RUSSELL, delivered in the House of Commons February 7, 1851.* Longmans.

1. *Vindiciæ Anglicanæ: England's Right against Papal Wrong; being an Attempt to suggest the Legislation by which it ought to be asserted. By One who has sworn "faithfully and truly to advise the Queen."* London: Seeleys.

THE absence of fixed principle, and the apparent or real inconsistency which has for so many years been amongst the most marked characteristics of British legislation and British statesmanship, are some amongst the results which naturally flow from the progress of the democratic power. In proportion as democracy gains the ascendancy in States, the policy of their Governments reflects most faithfully the uncertainties, sudden changes, weakness, and passions of the popular mind; steadfast and consistent course of policy becomes difficult, and the interests of the whole community are sacrificed to appease democratic agitation.

The events of the last few months have forcibly exemplified the uncertainties of political professions and parties in the present day. The scenery of the political drama has been shifted with such rapidity, the mutations of character and principle have been so sudden and so marvellous, that it is enough to bewilder the mind. It almost exceeds belief; and yet the world has seen and heard it all.

When Lord John Russell indited his celebrated "Durham" letter, he had not perhaps calculated the amount of impetus which it was to supply to the popular feeling in England. He had not probably anticipated the extraordinary popularity which that production was destined to bring him, in placing him before the English people as the vindicator of the religion of England, at once, against the open aggression of the Papacy, and against the subtler agency of Tractarianism. He did not expect—for no one could have expected—the mighty outpouring of national feeling and principles which then followed; the mingling of all elements, even of those which had hitherto been most opposed, in that vast hurricane of national wrath which swept over England; and which, in its fury, was almost ready to tear down good as well as evil, and to destroy the Church of England, in the hope of crushing the aggressions of the Church of Rome. In short,

England was for the moment on the verge of frenzy, in its rage at the Papal aggression, and its concomitants.

In the excitement, the whole "Liberal" party were hurried along the tide of national feeling, and, for the first time within the memory of man, were found in opposition to the Romish cause. This was the first strange mutation of principle. Whigs and Radicals might then be heard denouncing the Papal power and the Papal religion with the energy of an Eldon or a Winchilsea.

The next consequence was one which, we own, was wholly unexpected by us. A Bill was actually introduced into Parliament by Lord John Russell, embodying and carrying out the wishes of the people of England to a certain extent. Nay, it even went so far as to extend the prohibition of the assumption of Episcopal titles to Ireland, as well as England, in opposition to the recommendations of a considerable portion of the "Liberal" party.

And if Lord John Russell's Bill was, to a wonderful extent, framed in accordance with the wishes of the English people, his speech in introducing it was still more evidently so. We could hardly credit the evidence of our senses in perusing various parts of his speech. It was *admirable!* It was exactly such a speech as a great statesman would have made forty or fifty years ago. It was tolerant, but firm, high-principled, and statesmanlike. Lord John Russell evinced a thorough perception of the dangerous and aggressive policy of the Church of Rome. He spoke of the necessity of placing adequate checks on that insidious and desperate foe. He felt that it was not to be dealt with like other forms of religion,—that it was to be kept down, on a principle of self-protection, but only so far as self-protection required. He traced with a masterly hand the political interferences of Rome in other countries and our own, even at the present day; and he showed that he was well aware of the only mode of dealing with Romanism,—he warned the prime Agent of Rome in its aggression to retire from this country, with the intimation, that if the hint were not attended to, measures of a more stringent character might be introduced, and a deadly struggle for the subversion of Romanism would ensue. It was perfectly refreshing to peruse such passages as the following,—we except, of course, the somewhat uncalled-for allusion to the efforts made to maintain the religious liberties of the Church of England against ministerial aggressions :—

"In the course of last year, the nomination of an archbishop in Ireland by the Roman see was made in an unusual manner. It was generally understood, and has never been contradicted, that those who usually elect to the office of archbishop on the part of the Roman

'Catholics in Ireland had sent three names to Rome, but that instead of any one of those learned ecclesiastics being chosen who had been proposed for that office, a clergyman who had been long resident at Rome, who was more conversant with the habits and opinions of Rome than with the state and circumstances of Ireland, was named by the Pope to assume the office of archbishop in Ireland.'—pp. 6, 7.

"No sooner did that ecclesiastic arrive than he showed very clearly that it was not his intention to follow the usual practice that had been observed by Archbishop Murray and others, of putting themselves into communication, in relation to any matters necessary to be transacted between them, with the Irish Government. Presently we found that a Synod had been called at Thurles, which soon after assembled. It was stated that at that Synod a question was raised whether or not an address should be issued to the people of Ireland, and that that motion was carried by a majority of 13 to 12, being a majority consisting of that very person who had been sent over from Rome, whose views were foreign to the state of Ireland, and who prompted that determination. An address was accordingly issued.

"Well, if that address had been confined to matters of the internal discipline of the Roman Catholic religion; if it had been shown that, with respect to matters of internal discipline, there was a variety of practice in different parts of Ireland, and that the Synod had met for the purpose of regulating those matters, however unusual, and entirely without precedent the assembling of a Synod might be—for no such meeting had taken place since the time of the Revolution—I could have understood its object. But a great portion of that address was taken up with two subjects. The one was the danger of the system of education in the colleges established by the Queen in conformity with an Act of Parliament. It stated that, however good the intentions of the Legislature might be, those colleges were established in ignorance of the inflexible nature of the Roman Catholic Church; and it pointed out that they could not but be attended with danger to the faith and morals of those who were of that Church. Another part of that address was taken up with descriptions of the state of that part of the poorer portion of the Irish peasantry who had been evicted. And I must say that no language was omitted which could excite the feelings of that peasant class against those who were owners of land, and who had enforced the process of the law against their tenants.

"I am not going, at the present time, to enter into any defence of the Queen's Colleges in Ireland; nor am I about to discuss the question whether the Irish landlords have acted with discretion and humanity in the use of their legal rights; but I point this out to the House as a most important circumstance, that on the question of education, that on questions of the occupancy of land, the Synod, which consisted entirely of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics, from which all laymen were excluded, thought it proper on this, their first meeting, to hold forth to the Irish people and tell them what should be their duty and conduct on those two subjects. I must ask the hon. member for

Sheffield whether this is a matter of entirely spiritual concern? Whether this House and the Government of the country can be entirely indifferent, when they see that an archbishop has been thus named, purposely of course instructed, and aware of the intentions at Rome, and that the first proceeding he carries into effect is to hold forth to odium an Act of Parliament passed by this country for the purpose of educating the people of Ireland, of giving better instruction to the higher and middle classes; while likewise exciting to hatred of the owners of land a great portion of the population of that kingdom. This, I think, is an instance, at all events, that we have not to deal with purely spiritual concerns; that that interference, which is so well known in all modern history of clerical bodies, with the temporal and civil concerns of the state, has been attempted—not as a system, but as a beginning,—as a beginning, no doubt, to be matured into other measures, and to be exerted on some future occasion with more potent results.”—pp. 7—9.

It will be observed in the preceding passage, that the Synod of Thurles had, as we suspected, a great share in awakening the apprehensions of the Government on the subject of Popery. The alarm once given, there were plenty of indications of the spirit of Romanism in the present day.

“Until very lately a law had been in force in Piedmont, which had not been for many years the usual law of most of the States of Europe. It was, that ecclesiastics should only be amenable to the ecclesiastical tribunals, and that certain places should possess what was called the right of asylum. It appears, that the Sardinian government and the Sardinian parliament assembled at Turin, changed the law in these respects, and made it similar to that which prevailed in other parts of Europe. They declared that, with regard to all temporal matters, clergymen should be tried before the temporal and civil tribunals of the land, and that the right of asylum should be taken away. One of the ministers, who was a party to making that law, was soon afterwards taken dangerously ill, and when he required the sacrament, and made his confession, he was asked whether he would repent of the consent which he had given to the new law which had been passed? Instead of doing so, he made a declaration, which was not satisfactory to the Archbishop of Turin; and the consequence was, that he died without receiving the Sacrament of the Church, as a person who was without the pale of the Church. That was an instance of the interference of spiritual power and spiritual censure, for the purpose of controlling, of directing, and of terrifying a minister of the crown and a member of parliament, on account of his conduct as a minister and a member of the parliament to which he belonged.

“Now, I beg the House to observe these things, because they are not altogether foreign to us. They may not be intended here this year or next year; but we are told in the writing to which I have alluded, that the doctrines of the Court of Rome are inflexible—that their maxims

are unchangeable. They may not think it expedient to introduce such a practice into this country now; but they retain in their hands the power of applying to secular purposes those maxims, those censures, those most formidable and awful spiritual powers which they possess."—pp. 10—12.

"I had lately occasion to read that most able treatise upon the subject of what is called the liberties of the Gallican Church, or more properly, as the author most justly states, the liberties of the Gallican State in respect of the Church, written by M. Dupin, the President of the Legislative Assembly of France. Long before he held that post, or any public post whatever, he was distinguished for his great logical power and his great legal learning, and was regarded as an authority in all matters to which his attention had been given or his studies directed. At the beginning of his work upon the liberties of the Gallican Church he makes an observation to the effect, that though Rome has for the present relaxed many of her pretensions, she never entirely loses sight of them; that she is a power which has forgotten nothing, and learned much—that she is a power which has neither infancy nor widowhood; hence she can struggle with temporal states at all times with means of which those temporal states often are not possessed; that therefore it requires the utmost vigilance and the utmost attention to watch against the aggressions of the Church of Rome, and to preserve the temporal liberties of any country with which she is connected."—pp. 16, 17.

The spirit of the following remarks was admirable.

"I go, next, to what *was*, I am sorry to say, *was* the law of Austria, —that great Roman Catholic Power. The laws which were made by the Emperor Joseph were of the most stringent description with respect to the introduction of Papal Bulls and Papal appointments and censures. He declared that the civil power was supreme and sovereign, that nothing ecclesiastical could be attempted without the *placet* of the Emperor, and that no appointment could be made that had not his confirmation; that no intercourse could take place between the bishops of Austria and the Pope without the knowledge and sanction of the ruling powers, and that every document which proposed to inflict spiritual censures and excommunication should be submitted to a mixed body of clergy and laity, and should not be valid without their concurrence. This shows, then, with regard to another great Roman Catholic Power, what has been the jealousy, what have been the results of experience, with regard to the encroachments of the Church of Rome."—pp. 20, 21.

The following conclusion was drawn from the practice of foreign states.

"From what I have said, the inference may be drawn that there is no country in Europe, however great or however small, no country which values its own independence, upon which the Pope would have attempted to pass *this insult* which he has offered to the kingdom of

England. In some instances, the matter is regulated by treaty between the two Powers; in other instances, it has been proposed to introduce bishops into Protestant countries, and, when it has been refused, the Court of Rome has at once desisted from its intention."—p. 22.

The language in the following passage, in reference to the Papal aggression, was exactly such as a minister of the Crown ought to have employed.

"The document issued with reference to his appointment by Dr. Wiseman declares at once—'We govern, and shall continue to govern, the counties of Middlesex, Hertford, and Essex.' And in the case of five other counties the same pretensions were set forth.

"Now, Sir, I cannot see in these words any thing but an assumption of territorial sovereignty. It is not a direction that certain persons should govern those who belong to the Roman Catholic communion situated within a certain district, and that over them alone they were to exercise their spiritual functions. Those English counties are territories subject to the Queen's dominion; and the only excuse that is offered for the assumption of Rome is, that there are certain forms belonging to all documents, and that it is according to the forms of the Church of Rome that the assumption of dominion over Middlesex, Hertford, and Essex belongs to the agent who has been sent there. That may be. I do not deny their knowledge of their own forms; but their is another form with which I have been acquainted. It is, 'Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen.' That form appears to me totally inconsistent with the other. Take which of them you like."—pp. 23, 24.

"I must now refer for a few minutes to that which has been done in former times in this very country,—and that in Roman Catholic times,—with respect to the power of the Pope of Rome. I find that, in those times, our Roman Catholic ancestors were as jealous as we can be in these days of the encroaching power of the Pope. I find, even in the days of William the Conqueror, that the Sovereign would not allow any sentence of excommunication to be proceeded with in this country without his authority. I find that in the time of Edward I. a person who had procured an excommunication against another person was proceeded against in the King's courts, that the judges declared that his procuring that excommunication without the assent of the King was no less than high treason; and that it was only on the supplication of his councillors that the King refrained from having that sentence executed."—p. 25.

"It is believed, and I think not without foundation, that one reason for the change from vicars-apostolic, under which titles the Roman Catholics have enjoyed the free exercise of their religion, and with which for 200 years they have been satisfied; and, to make them bishops with a new division of the country, is not merely to place them in the same degree with the Protestant bishops, but it is also for the purpose of enabling them to exercise, by the authority of those names, a greater control over all the endowments which are in the hands

of certain Roman Catholics as trustees in this country. I don't think it would be fitting that we should allow that control to be exercised by virtue of any of those titles which we propose to prohibit.

"If, therefore, the House should give me leave to bring in a Bill upon this subject, I propose to introduce a clause which shall enact that all gifts to persons under those titles shall be null and void; that any act done by them with those titles shall be null and void; and that property bequeathed or given for such purposes shall pass at once to the Crown, with power to the Crown either to create a trust for purposes similar to those for which the original trust had been created, or for other purposes, as shall seem best to the Crown. I do not think a power less extensive than that would enable us to reach the justice of the case."—pp. 35, 36.

The concluding portion of this speech was precisely in the tone which, if it had been adhered to, would have made Lord John Russell triumphant over all opposition.

"Much will depend upon the temper in which the present measure may be regarded by Rome, and much upon the direction which may be given to him who has taken upon himself the responsibility of representing at Rome the opinions of the Roman Catholic clergy, and of inducing the Pope to assent to the issuing of this document. That individual has it in his own power to remove a great part of the objections which have been felt in this country. If he has been given by the Pope a title which it belongs to the Government of Rome to confer, and has been honoured by an election which has placed him in the band of the Sacred College, I should think that if he has any regard for the welfare of this country—if he has any regard for the peace and stability of the Roman Catholic community—the best course he can take will be to renounce the title which he has assumed in this country, and rather do that which I believe it was his original intention to do, and which he assured me it was his original intention to do—namely, reside at Rome.

"But if other counsels should prevail, and if he should be able to instil notions of ambition, or of revenge, into the Court of Rome, we may then, probably (though we can well know the end), look for a long and arduous struggle. With respect to that struggle, the part which I shall take will be guided by that principle which has hitherto always guided my conduct on this subject. I am for the fullest enjoyment of religious liberty; but I am entirely opposed to any interference on the part of ecclesiastics with the temporal supremacy of the realm.

"Whenever I have seen in other bodies,—whenever I have seen in my own Church,—a disposition to assume powers which I thought were inconsistent with the temporal supremacy that belonged to the State, I have not been slow in urging myself, and inducing others to urge, strong and prevailing objections to any such measure. For instance, I may say, that in the course of the very last year, when the proposal was made—which was plausible in itself—to give to the bishops of the English Church a power which I thought would give them a control over the temporal well-being, and property of the clergy

of the Church, that proposal, because we saw in it a dangerous principle, was resisted, and successfully resisted, by my colleagues, in the place where it was proposed. But, if that is the case with regard to Protestants, who have expressed the utmost attachment to freedom, if that is the case with regard to a Church which, like the Church of England, is, I believe, of all established Churches the most tolerant of difference of opinion, the most consonant with the freedom of the institutions of a country like this,—if that is the case shall I not far more strongly object to any attempt on the part of the Church of Rome to introduce her temporal supremacy into this country? I cannot, Sir, forget that not alone in ancient times, but in the most recent times, opinions have been put forth on the part of that Church totally abhorrent to our notions of freedom, civil or religious.

“It was a very recent Pope who said, ‘that from the foul spring of indifference had sprung that absurd, and bold, and mad opinion, that freedom of conscience should be permitted and guaranteed to all persons in the State.’ It is quite as recently that there has been kept up in the Court of Rome a prohibition to study such works as those of Guicciardini, De Thou, Arnaud, Robertson, and even (such was the prevailing jealousy) of the Greek Lexicon of Scapula. When I see in these times so great an aversion to religious liberty; when I see so determined a watch over books which contain, not merely questions of doctrine, but which contain narratives that may be injurious to the reputations of popes, I own I feel a still greater dislike to the introduction of Ultramontane Romanist opinions into this country.”—pp. 38—41.

“I believe our powers of resistance to Rome, at the present moment, are augmented, because loyal Roman Catholics, attached to the Crown, attached to the Constitution of this country, can hold office, and can be admitted to seats in the Legislature. I feel we are much more powerful in entering upon this contest, because we have it to say that we have made no exclusion on the ground of religion; and that if we make any exclusion, it is in defence of the laws and of the authority of the constitution. Sir, I think, therefore, with those feelings, we may say, as the Parliament in old times, as the Parliament in Roman Catholic times said, if we admit those assumptions,

“‘So that the Crown of England, which hath been so free at all times that it hath been in no earthly subjection, but immediately subject to God, in all things touching the regality of the same Crown, and to none other, should be submitted to the Pope, and the laws and statutes of the realm by him defeated and annulled at his will, in perpetual destruction of the sovereignty of the King our lord, his crown and his regality, and of all his realm, which God forbid!’

“Sir, the Parliament, the Roman Catholic Parliament of that day, declared—

“‘That they will stand with the same Crown and regality, in those cases specially, and in all other cases which shall be attempted against the said Crown and regality, in all points, with all their power.’

“So say I; let us, too, stand against those attempts in all points, and with all our power.”—pp. 42, 43,

The views which Lord John Russell put forth in this speech are exactly those which an English Statesman even in the present day might, we think, have not merely put forth, but acted upon with security. Every one could have foreseen that the Romish priesthood would be most bitterly galled by the expression of such sentiments, and that the Romish members of the House of Commons would be compelled by their Church to oppose the most *desperate* resistance to any measure embodying those principles; and that they possessed and would certainly exercise the power of overthrowing the Ministry. It was in contemplation of this certainty, that we expressed our apprehension in our last Number that Lord John Russell would not introduce any measure in reference to the Papal Aggression, but would pursue the policy indicated in his Durham letter, and immolate the Tractarian party as a sacrifice to the popular indignation; leaving the Church of Rome untouched. We had not conceived it possible that any minister in these days could look beyond the mere possibility of the temporary overthrow of his ministry; and seek to found his future power on the abiding gratitude of the people of England. But, when Lord John Russell had introduced his Bill,—a Bill framed by a cautious, a moderate, and yet a very effective policy,—a policy which evinced *principle* at least, and principle of the most important and beneficial nature; it must, we think, have occurred to every thinking mind, that the Minister had *counted the cost* of his undertaking,—that he was prepared to follow it up in the face of the *desperate* opposition of the Romish party in Parliament; and even if the issue should be the overthrow of his Ministry. He must surely have foreseen that probability. He was fully aware of the character of Romanism, for his speech alone evinces a perfect appreciation of its spirit and influence. Therefore it could only be inferred that he was prepared to carry out his plan stedfastly and without flinching; and that he was prepared to make it effective practically, and to introduce further measures of repression when requisite. It might have been concluded, in short, that Lord John Russell was about to *trust* in the protestant feeling of England which he had evoked; that in the event of any embarrassment being caused to his administration by the popish representatives, he was prepared to make an immediate appeal to the English people by a dissolution of Parliament; and to put to them the question whether a score of Romanists in the House of Commons are to dictate to the people of England, and to force upon them the acceptance of the insult which had been offered to their religion and their laws. We imagined that we should see Lord John Russell, as the leader of popular feeling in England, at the head of the

most powerful party that had ever held the reins of government, at once "liberal" in his general tone of politics, "free-trade" in his fiscal views, and "Protestant" in his policy and legislation in religion. We think he might have occupied this position. His "free-trade" would have been excused in consideration of his Protestantism, and his "Protestantism" excused in consideration of his "free-trade." Protectionists, Peelites, Radicals, would have been compelled to give way to his ascendancy. He could have crushed Romish insolence in Ireland now, as easily as he subdued Romish rebellion there three years ago. Had he presented a stern and threatening aspect towards Rome—England and Scotland would have been delighted, and Ireland intimidated.

How different has been the result, it is needless to state. Lord John Russell has endeavoured to gratify at once two parties and principles, which are irreconcilably opposed, and one of which, at least, is animated by the most deadly hatred of the other. He has failed, as all men of weak and wavering policy must fail in times of struggle between great principles. A bubble, carried back and forward by the flux and reflux of the contending tide, until it bursts, is an emblem of those Statesmen who attempt, in times like the present, to please both parties at once. The vacillation of the Minister has rendered his policy equally unsatisfactory to all parties.

It is not our purpose to express either regret or satisfaction at the course which events have taken, but simply to state the impression as to their probable results, which they have left on us. Of the leader of the Whig party we have briefly spoken; it seems to us that he has lost such an opportunity as may never return to him again.

Of the Protectionist party we shall only say, that, sound as the principles of that body may be in reference to questions of social and fiscal policy, and accordant as their general tone of views on higher subjects may be with the national feeling in England, we apprehend that the exposition of the species of measures contemplated by the leader of that party in reference to the Papal Aggression, was by no means calculated to inspire confidence into the Church or people of England. To enter into parliamentary resolutions without any practical results, and to refer all further practical measures to the consideration of a committee which might not report progress, was understood by every one to be equivalent to "shelving" the whole question. This proposal would have been, in fact, less effective than the Bill of Lord John Russell, even after its alteration. Most certainly it can never be attributed to Lord Stanley, that he was "outbidding" Lord John Russell for the confidence of the Protestant people of Eng-

nd. Our concern, however, is rather with the bearing of the whole question on the Church of England and the Crown of England, than with its effects on political parties or combinations.

It seems to us, that amidst the pressure of local and temporal difficulties or expediences, the fact is being lost sight of, that the supremacy of the Crown is now completely at stake. That the Royal Supremacy—the supreme authority and jurisdiction of the Crown in religious matters over the people of this realm—has been infringed on by the Papal Aggression, is evident to all the world. The Romish priesthood and the Romish people have openly set the Royal Supremacy at nought, and denied its authority over themselves. They are, according to their reiterated declarations, subject to the Papal Supremacy only, and *not* subject to the Royal Supremacy. On this ground they maintain that the Papal Aggression is no invasion of the rights of the Crown, because the Crown has no rights over Romanists. Dr. Gillis, a Romish bishop in Scotland, has maintained that the Sovereign has no supremacy in *Scotland*, and therefore that a Romish territorial episcopate may be lawfully established there. The “Times,” and a certain political section, are anxious to exempt *Ireland* from any legislation against Romish episcopal titles, because the majority of the population there are Romanists. So that, according to this class of politicians, the Royal Supremacy may be *relinquished* in Ireland, or left without any protection against aggressions! In Ireland, the aggression of the Papacy is more direct than in England: the Pope appoints to the very same sees that the Crown nominates to. This is, according to the views of some politicians, perfectly right and proper. The Queen may appoint bishops, but the Pope may appoint bishops for the majority of the people, and the law of the land should recognise, in the fullest way, the position and jurisdiction of these Popish bishops.

Suppose these views carried out—and they have been, unfortunately, the leading principles of our statesmen for a series of years—What will be the result? The Supremacy of the Crown will be *relinquished*, as far as relates to one great portion of the population of the empire. The Crown will be prohibited from interfering in any spiritual or ecclesiastical affairs touching the Church of Rome. Of course there are *other* bodies which make a similar claim of exemption from the Royal Supremacy; so that the Supremacy of the Crown comes in the end to be, *not* a power co-extensive with the nation, but a power which is limited to those persons, whether more or less numerous, who prefer to adhere to the communion of the Church of England. In this case any one may cease in a moment to be subject to the Royal Supremacy,

and may thenceforth set it at defiance, by merely separating from the English Church. And yet there *was* a time when the Sovereigns of England actually held a supremacy over the whole nation, and regarded it as the brightest jewel in their Crown. All the nation was *once* subject to the Supremacy of the Crown. Parliament and the Crown exempt one-half the nation from that supremacy. What *principle* remains to prevent them from exempting the remaining half?

We deeply regret to see the Crown thus gradually shorn of its ancient rights and prerogatives, with their accompanying duties; but the Crown and its advisers, for a series of years, in yielding up the Royal Supremacy piecemeal to the Papal usurpation and Romish agitation, have, we fear, been gradually digging the grave of the Royal Supremacy, if not of the Crown itself.

We earnestly pray that these anticipations may never be realized; but we must confess our apprehensions that the result of the whole contest which we have lately witnessed, will leave Rome in substantial possession of the position she has usurped; that through the vacillation of our statesmen, and the instability of political parties, the Papacy will, for the present, at least, triumph over the strong and healthy national feeling of England. And in proportion as that Protestant feeling is overborne, we feel assured that the dignity and rights of the Crown will be lost. The Royal Supremacy has always depended on the spirit of resistance to Rome. It is chiefly as the type and emblem of national Protestantism that it has gathered around it the fidelity of Englishmen. Dissevered from its ancient associations, allied with Rome and Romanism, it would present nothing to attract national sympathies.

With reference to the Church, it seems to us that there could be only one just course to pursue towards her. Place her in the same position, as far as possible, in reference to her religious rights, liberties, and privileges, as other bodies are placed in. If she is to remain subject to the legislation of Henry VIII., in respect to the appointments to her bishoprics, and to the regulation of her synods, then she may claim, as a matter of common justice, that the Church of Rome shall be placed under the same regulations. Let the Prime Minister of the day have control over the appointment to Romish bishoprics¹, and let no Romish synods be summoned except by the Crown, and we can no longer have any ground of complaint that the English Church is *unjustly* treated. If the power of the Crown in spiritual matters over the Church of

¹ We must refer to the able and masterly pamphlet, entitled *Vindicia Anglica*, for important suggestions on this point.

England be no violation of religious liberty, it could be no violation of the rights of conscience if extended to the Church of Rome.

If it be right that Ministers, who may be of a different faith from the Church of England, or who may be influenced by persons of a different faith, should appoint the chief pastors of the English Church, and prevent her members from meeting in synod for the regulation of her spiritual concerns, it would be impossible to pretend that there would be any injustice in dealing in the same way with the Romish Church in England and Ireland. The Synod of Thurles also has proved that Romish Synods may be quite as inconvenient as English Convocations. A Romish hierarchy, though unendowed, may be just as much an *imperium in imperio*, and a hindrance in the way of Government, as an English Church possessed of its ancient liberties. If then, notwithstanding this, the Romish Synods are to be free and unfettered, and the Romish hierarchy unrestrained by any authority of the State, we ask, on what principle of justice can it be possible to refuse to the Church of England the same amount of liberty? To talk of the "rights of the Crown," in this case, would be perfectly absurd: those rights would have been relinquished in principle. There could be no breach of principle in conceding to one class of subjects what had already been conceded to another. Therefore, we conceive that ultimately the public will perceive, either that the very same power which the Crown exercises over the Church of England must be extended to that of Rome, or else that the same liberties conceded to the Church of Rome must to a considerable extent be conceded to the Church of England.

The mere circumstance that the Church of Rome is not endowed by the State, while the Church of England retains the ancient ecclesiastical endowments, does not seem to make any material difference; for, in the first place, if the Church of Rome is not endowed, it is because it has again and again refused endowment. Whenever it has been apprehended that the State was about to grant endowments, the Romish priesthood and laity have, in the most vehement way, disclaimed and rejected the notion or proposal, and condemned it in the strongest language. The Church of Rome has a perfect right to reject endowment, but it has no right to refuse to the State all right of control over its proceedings, in consequence. And, in the next place, there is no conceivable reason why the right of the State to interfere in religious concerns should depend on the question of endowment at all. The State possesses powers which it can make felt whether there be endowments or not. It has duties to itself and to religion which are not affected by the question of endowment. Therefore, to affirm that its power is absolute over

an endowed Church, and that it has absolutely no rights or powers over an unendowed one, is to maintain what will not stand the test of reason.

In concluding these remarks, we would say that Churchmen may, we think, leave the solution of these questions with some hope to the progress of opinion. For ourselves, we must confess our gratitude for the preservation of the Church of England from the imminent peril of alterations in her services, which, in the excited and irritated state of public feeling some little time since, would, we think, have been possible, had the heads of the Church given way to the popular feeling. Our trust and hope was, that whatever might be the complexion of the views held by the heads of our Church, they would concur in abstaining from changes of a dangerous character; and that hope has, we gratefully acknowledge, been fulfilled. Had the Evangelical party been so inclined, we apprehend that they might have succeeded in preparing the way for most fearful alterations by obtaining a Royal Commission. We cannot in any degree concur with those who imagine that any little efforts, made at the crisis by the "Tractarian" party, had any influence in averting this result. Such efforts would, we apprehend, rather have strengthened the hands of those who had sought for innovations with the view of expelling Tractarianism from the Church. We do not concur in some important points with the pious and learned Prelate who is at the head of our Episcopacy; but we are sensible of the deep obligation which the Church feels to his Grace for his well-timed dissuasive from alterations in the Prayer Book. We need not add, that, to the many other excellent and truly orthodox prelates who adorn the Episcopal bench, the Church may look with the fullest confidence that they will protect us from any interference with the formularies of the English Church. Amidst the great and increasing difficulties of the times, we feel that it is the duty of all true members of the Church of England to rally more closely around their bishops, and to endeavour to strengthen their hands, and to refrain from adding to the embarrassments by which they are surrounded. On various occasions, within the last few years, some of the bishops have been obliged to exercise their authority for the repression of innovations or practices more or less assimilated to those of the Church of Rome; and to many persons it may have appeared that their conduct was in those instances harsh, or uncalled for: yet we are bound to say that time has generally proved that they were right; and we confess our persuasion that, as a general rule, when a bishop resorts to extreme measures of repression against any clergyman of his diocese, the latter is, more or less, in fault. It is not to be supposed that, in

These days, a bishop will, without necessity, resort to strong measures of repression; more especially considering the great amount of toleration which is practically extended to diversities of taste and view. And we would further express our opinion, that whenever a clergyman becomes the subject of strong and general public animadversion for his mode of performing Divine service, it indicates in most cases a want of discretion or of charity on his own part. Either he has been hasty and presumptuous in his proceeding, or he has transgressed the regulations of the Church, and endeavoured to assimilate her services to those of Rome. This *generally* turns out to be the case on examination, and we find that our sympathies have been expended when they were really not deserved.

We cannot refrain from adding one more opinion founded on experience,—that if any clergyman be distrusted by his own parishioners as inclined to Romanism, or if his name be publicly circulated as about to join the Church of Rome, he possesses the power of putting an end to any such surmises, either in his pulpit or by his pen; and that if he does not avail himself of this power effectually and conclusively, he has no one but himself to blame. Let him only follow the directions of the Church in her first Canon, and preach four times a year against the Papal Supremacy and its concomitants, and he may afford to laugh to scorn any attempt to represent him in his own parish as a Romanizer. The difficulties of the times are so great, and suspicions are so inflamed by the continual secessions to Rome, and by the open tendencies to Romanism in a small section of the Church, that preaching occasionally against Romish error appears now to be as requisite as a confession of sound faith on the part of the clergy, as it is to inform the laity, and to protect them against the wiles of proselytism.

We cannot close these remarks without expressing an earnest hope that the Ministerial Bill may be successful. We are sensible of its inadequacy to grapple with the evil before us. We feel that it is utterly deficient, in not placing the clergy of the Church of Rome *under precisely the same restrictions as regards Synodical action* as the statute 25 Henry VIII. c. 19, imposes on the clergy of the Church of England. Still, it would be suicidal in the English people to reject the Bill. The bitter opposition of Romanists alone proves that it comprises a salutary principle. The opposition of such politicians as Sir James Graham, and other sycophants of Rome, proves that it is sound in principle. And therefore we say, with all our hearts,—May it prosper!

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS,

ETC.

1. *Lelio* and other Poems. By P. Scott. 2. A Scripture Catechism upon the Church. 3. *Cultus Animæ*. 4. An Old Country House. 5. The Calendar of the Anglican Church illustrated. 6. Passages in the Life of Mrs. Mary Maitland. 7. Kenneth. 8. Speculation. 9. The Seven Days; or, the Old and New Creation. 10. "It is Written." From the French of Professor Gamet. 11. An Analysis and Summary of Thucydides. 12. Dr. Beaven's Elements of Natural Theology. 13. Ancient Coins and Medals. By H. N. Humphrey. 14. An Essay on the Origin and Development of Window Tracery in England. By Rev. A. Freeman. 15. Faith and Practice. By a Country Curate. 16. Pütz's Handbook of Mediæval Geography and History. 17. Rev. W. Ewbank's Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. 18. Hazlitt's Edition of Shakspeare. 19. The Church in the World. By Rev. J. B. Smith. 20. Readings for every Day in Lent. 21. Narrative of Escape from a Portuguese Convent. By Rev. W. Carus Wilson. 22. The Rise of the Papal Power traced, in Three Lectures. By Rev. R. Hussey. 23. Lectures on the Characters of our Lord's Apostles. By a Country Pastor. 24. The Early Preaching of the Gospel. By Rev. W. G. Humphry. 25. Wilson's Short and Plain Instruction for the better Understanding of the Lord's Supper. 26. De Obligatione Conscientiæ, Prælectiones. A. Roberto Sandersono. 27. A Full Series of Practical Sermons. 28. Dr. Olshausen's Commentary on the Epistle to the Corinthians. 29. Rev. J. Sortain's Hildebrand. 30. Dr. Pusey's Letters to the Bishop of London. 31. Poems. By M. A. King. 32. Sermons of the late Dr. Shirley. 33. An Argument for the Royal Supremacy. By Rev. S. Robins. 34. Dr. Jarvis's Church of the Redeemed. 35. Poems. By Rev. E. H. Freeman and Rev. G. W. Cox. 36. Hymnarium Sarisburiense. 37. Lectures of Palestine. 38. Archdeacon Beren's Lectures on the Church Catechism. 39. Twelve Sermons. By Rev. R. Scott. 40. Rev. G. W. Lewis's Family Prayers. 41. Sermons. By Rev. R. D. Rawnsley. 42. The Life Everlasting. By Dr. Whitley. 43. Harcourt's Lectures. 44. The Chronicle of Battle Abbey. By M. A. Lower. 45. Dr. Hook's Ecclesiastical Biography. 46. The Chronological New Testament. 47. Stephen's Exposition of the XXXIX Articles. 48. Hints for Happy Homes. 49. Wilbraham's "Tales for my Cousin." 50. Rev. R. W. Morgan's Vindication of the Church of England. 51. Lectures of Albertus Magnus de Adhærendo Deo. 52. Joyce's Hymns. 53. The Way through the Desert. By Rev. R. Milman. 54. Science simplified. By Rev. D. Williams. 55. A Series of Texts. By Rev. W. Sinclair. 56. The Museum of Classical Antiquities. 57. Commentary on the Te Deum. By the Bishop of Brechin. 58. Thoughts on important Church Subjects. 59. No Need of a Living Infallible Guide in Matters of Faith. By Rev. A. Martineau. 60. Papal Infallibility. By Rev. G. S. Faber.—Miscellaneous.

1.—*Lelio, a Vision of Reality; Hervor; and other Poems.* By PATRICK SCOTT. London: Chapman and Hall.

It was only half a century ago that the power of poetical creation and original genius seemed to have passed away from us for ever. Like a fire which has burned down to a few half-glowing ashes, from the exhaustion of the materials that fed it, so it was here, or seemed to be. All the subjects which had inspired from age to age mighty bards, and found in numbers musical married to words

fire, the apt exponents of the human soul in all its higher moods, seemed to be used up.

But in none of its varied spheres has the grasp of the human intellect, and the amplitude of its resources, more completely been the vaticinations of critics and pedants, than in poetry. Scarcely had the waters reached their lowest ebb, than there was poured out on the desert one of those sudden and intermittent gushes, or rather floods, of inspiration, which spring every now and then, one knows not how, out of the ocean depths of humanity! There commenced a grander and a richer era of true poetry than, from the age of Elizabeth, has ever adorned the literature of our nation, fruitful from the first in mighty masters of song.

Yet, though these sudden recessions and returns of the poetical faculty are not reducible to strict laws, and no calculus can estimate its actions, or define its periodicity, yet we are not without the means of assigning some of its most important elements. We cannot, for instance, positively assert that mighty events and world-wide revolutions, albeit accompanied by that excitement of the passions which stirs the imaginative faculties, will engender, by any known law, or in any definable amount, the epic or lyric genius, to stamp on immortal verse the image of each striving age, as it comes and flies. We are in profound ignorance, in fact, of the principles on which the Author of all the gifts of genius measures them out, and gives and withdraws them as he wills.

But *this* we do know, that, without something in the character of the age to feed and sustain it, to surround it with an appropriate and living atmosphere, and, in endless action and reaction, to mould and to be moulded by its creations, great poetic genius cannot subsist or flourish. The times, for instance, most rich in heroic achievements and masculine energies, and they *alone*, can sustain and engender (so true a parentage there is between each era and its intellectual progeny) the lofty epic or soul-stirring lyric! In a period of deadness and dryness the poetic fervour expires—is dead and buried. And it wanes and wanes, and is subject to a thousand modifications through all the divisions of the scale which unite the extremes of lofty energy and intellectual stirring on one hand, and a low-souled prostration of thought and feeling on the other.

Moreover, experience would seem to show that, in fact, provided the tendencies of any given period be such as to set the thoughts and passions of men in vehement action and commotion, whatever those tendencies may specifically be, and however seemingly in contradiction to each other, out of the clashing and collision of soul and intellect mighty poetry will be evolved. Now

our present age is one utterly opposed in any theory anciently received, to genial inspiration. It is an age of exact science, the supposed antithesis to fancy, when not imagination, but the analytic calculus, spans and weighs the universe. It is an age of machinery, of manufactures—an age when the sublimities of old religion, and ancient reverence, and all that ennobles statesmanship, and clothes the image of the commonwealth, as embodied in its public forms, with awfulness, are supplanted by the low arithmetic of majorities, and the summation of pecuniary loss and gain!

But still the public mind is profoundly stirred, and the very discoveries of abstract science are at once so stupendous, and so directly appeal to the sense of the marvellous within us as to transcend, in their truth, the highest flights of poetical fiction: whilst the tendency of the critical philosophy of the age has produced an intense subjectivity, which explores and projects into tangible and literary forms all the mysteries of our inner being in their connexion with the Infinite, in whose mid-abyss we find ourselves, amongst all the exciting doubts and struggles of the speculative intellect which wrestles with the insoluble problem of our being.

There is much of this observable in the little volume of Mr. Scott. He is a self-contemplator! He is haunted by the strange inscrutable connexion between mind and matter! The spirit of the universe in its beauty, and its power, and its mystery, has descended into the depths of his soul! He is for ever darting forth into the infinite space of the metaphysics of the soul with no ordinary vigour and stretch of pinion. He speculates and Platonizes, and wings his way up towards the great mystery with an ease and power which unmistakeably define his true sphere. He is a philosophical poet! His province is the transcendental, which escapes sense, and mind just discerns.

He is not so much at home in the *humanities* of the Muse. When he touches the ground he does not derive strength, like the giant of old, but weakness from the contact! He is defective in breadth of experience and ethical discrimination. He is possessed, soul-filled with *one* thought, the opposition between sense and intellect, matter and mind, the mesothesis of whose poles he is always investigating? But his investigation is that of an imagination full of fire, impulsive, restless, and ungovernable. He is impelled, not by a calm philosophic love of truth, but an inward demon, by whom he is energized. He is a real *energumenos* under the fierce afflatus, and driven into the depths! One consequence of this is a true Dithyrambic furor, rolling along oftentimes in measures of the most living movement and long resounding harmonies. He is a great master, equal to any in modern times we have ever read, of the musical and rhythmical capacities

language. They are moulded at the will of the restless and
 ing thought, and respond like the strings of a harp to the
 er's touch!

it we must give some specimens of what we mean. Take the
 wing description, and attempt to body forth the *sense of power*,
 as the projection of a planet might dilate a capacious soul
 al.

Ingel. What seest thou, Lelio?

Lelio. Let me look again,
 For my sense swims upon a boundless ocean,
 Struggling against its own magnificence—
 I see the flashings of bright points that pierce
 The solid night, whence floats a spinning sound
 Of a low melody; while round me ripples
 Impalpable ether, whose conflicting waves,
 Breaking in flame the evanescent bloom
 Of blackest darkness, show nought near but thee
 Standing beside me in untenanted space!
 Behold! immeasurable shadow creeping
 O'er the clear void, and from a form that might be
 The form of man, could the weak eye take in
 Its limitless outline, stretches forth a hand,
 Within whose hollow rests a new-born world;
 The other arm extends a mantle o'er
 Its naked limbs, and showers all forms of matter
 And fire of mind upon its mighty surface,
 Heaving the pulse of a stupendous life!
 A little while those awful fingers poise
 The trembling globe, then hurl it flashing from them.
 Away it rushes through the lash'd air, waking
 Time into life, and night to light—away—
 Lifting its voice of giant joy, and shouting
 To the unbounded universe, to welcome
 A radiant brother of God's ancient stars!
 Fearfully wonderful!"—p. 30.

ake a noble image in the following lines:

Lelio. I see Time rising on the horizon
 Of a fresh world: his wet-clogg'd wings flap slowly
 Over unpeopled plains; but on he speeds,
 Seeing new life spring round him as he flies,
 And empires dawning in the early east."—p. 33.

ere is a lofty Platonic beauty, and a genuine intellectual
 leur in the following opening to the ode to beauty.

"Mother of many children, born in Heav'n,
 And denizen'd with man, divinest end

Of labouring reason ! unto thee 'tis giv'n,
 Beauty, thou sun of inner worlds, to lend
 A radiant shadow of thyself, and shed
 A glory upon earth from thy God-crownèd head !
 Man works by modes, and these may not attain
 A part in thee, and oft the fainting force
 And the dimm'd vision mark his upward course
 To thy far temple ; he but moves between
 The darkness of his toil, and the fair scene
 Which thou dost open on him, as the crown
 Of his endurance : sorrow, too, and sin,
 Are moulds to shape his spirit, the first frown
 Heralding nature's smile ; his infant soul
 Is perfected through media, and within
 Its chambers dwells the educating light,
 Till earth's fore-spent necessities shall roll

Their curtaining clouds away, and Beauty flood the sight !"—p

The two greatest efforts in the volume are the odes on
 "The Soul and its Dwelling," and "Life and Death." The
 noble poems, equal in some respects to Wordsworth's magni-
 ficent ode, wherein he speculates on the mysteries of the infant soul
 and the immortality which it enshrouds under its time vest
 and they are superior in a peculiar freshness and joyousness of
 soul, which riots in a vivid imagery, and a current of vigorous
 numbers that keeps time with the bounding of the living power.
 Take

"Wine, wine, who thirsts for wine?—p. 114.

"Gold, gold, imperial gold," &c.—p. 115.

There is a store of self-contained grandeur in the conclusion
 of this ode, which culminates, as it proceeds, into a Christian
 Scriptural greatness, and truth of holy sentiment.

"Seek him, he seeks not others," &c.—p. 119.

There is much tenderness and pathos in the opening of "Life
 and Death." Take, again, the passage,

"The finer spirit was sublimed, and cast
 The dusty sense beneath it, such a change
 As if the covering of earth were cleft,
 And to the pent divinity had left
 A freer germination, and a more
 Unlocal being, which appear'd to range
 Effortless and unstirring throughout space,
 Existing in, yet all unbound by place.
 On things he look'd not from without, for they
 In their own ultimate essence found a way
 Into his nature, and he understood
 By what he felt, and felt that all was good.

The deeper truth which inly we embrace
 In mystic union, doth not show its face
 To the world's learned gazer, who would pry
 Into its features with unseeing eye ;
 For to be thus revealed, it must disown
 All sensual intervention, whence alone
 —E'en by the aid it flies—it could convey
 Its voiceless meanings into ears of clay."—p. 127.

The whole is finely thought, and clothed in a pure, masculine, transparent diction.

The following passage from the same ode is of great power, and some touches of description of the highest order of imagination, and a genuine depth of conceptive power : *e. g.*

"Space seem'd engulfed in shadow as it past."

"He then upon the wing
 Of loftier vision rising, stood upon
 The chilly confines of the world, where shone
 A languid stream from the far solar spring.
 A floating halo swam around
 Stirr'd by the pulse of ether, with a sound,
 Low, deep, like whisper'd thunder, while the air
 Surged in small waves, to herald as it were
 The coming of some mighty thing, and bright
 With the cold splendour of a wintry light,
 A sphere roll'd by majestic, calm and vast—
 Space seem'd engulfed in shadow as it past.
 Around it lesser globes revolving play'd,
 Duskily sparkling, and its motion made
 Music not heard, but felt, most like unto

The singing of the heart when life and love are new!"—p. 129.

In some of the notes there are one or two exquisite translations from the Persian. A volume of such translations from Hafiz Saadi, executed in a similar style, would be an acceptable addition to our literature. Meantime, we would not advise Mr. Keble to waste his poetical abilities on such extravaganzas as these. Not but that a lively and excitable temperament, like that of Keble, may very fairly take its pastime in that light sea when it so often tempts him to amuse a familiar circle, but the reputation of a poet must be built upon more solid foundations.

Keble has likewise much to study in human life, in the movements of the passions, the innumerable combinations of the intellectual and the passionate and the sensuous, which lie between the two extremes of pure unfleshed intellect, and mind ensepulchred and embodied in flesh, which are the simple forms in which he is accustomed to contemplate human nature. We believe that

its typical of perfection is to be found in the crasis of both elements; wherein the sensuous is elevated and harmonized by those sweet and heavenly affections, and that mediating influence of the imagination, in which, sublimed by religious principle, and purified by the Spirit from above, the elements of our manifold nature find their ultimate unity.

II.—*A Scripture Catechism upon the Church, wherein the Answers are in the Words of the Bible.* Oxford and London: J. H. Parker. 1851.

USEFUL alike to those who would teach or learn, to those who hold, and those who doubt the truth. The work was much needed, and it is admirably done.

III.—*Cultus Animæ, or the Arraying of the Soul; being Prayers and Meditations which may be used in Church before and after Service, adapted to the Days of the Week.* Oxford and London: J. H. Parker. 1851.

IT is a painful state of things which makes us look with suspicion at every new work of a devotional character, and hesitate to give our approval till we have weighed almost every expression. Alas, that the unwary, the unwise, and the untrue should have brought us into such a position. But so it is: on every side there is peril; and what might pass unobserved in less dangerous and less traitorous times, must now be pointed out and exposed.

The little volume before us is, we are happy to say, devoid of all those evil tendencies to which we have alluded, whether Romanistic, Rationalistic, Pantheistic, or Puritanic: and it is well suited for devotional purposes. It might, however, be improved. The introduction, for instance, should be altogether left out, or re-written. The Scriptural associations of the days of the week are good, but others might be added with advantage. We should prefer the less frequent appearance of such familiar addresses as "Blessed Jesus," "Holy Jesus." Neither do we admire the following passages.

In one place, addressing our Lord, we find,—“till I, together with all who worship in the Communion of thy Church on earth, shall, in conformity with Thy beauties and perfections, be clothed with the state of glory, &c.” However high the authority for such expressions, we do not like them.

In another place we read,—“by my doings, even the best of them, I have deserved His wrath and eternal damnation,” which appears to us inconsistent with the dogmatic assertion of Scripture, “*He that doeth righteousness is righteous, even as He is*

righteous," and scarcely reconcilable with the teaching of the Twelfth Article; since it is difficult to comprehend how any thing can be "*pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ*" by which we "have deserved His wrath and eternal damnation."

In another place we have,—“Let me meet Thee now with repentance in my heart, and the fruits thereof brought forth in the actions of my life, *and with such spiritual wings, cemented with the blood of my Redeemer*, I may hope to flee from the wrath to come.”

IV.—*An Old Country House*. London: Newby. 1850.

THIS is one of the most finely designed and exquisitely executed novels which we have ever read. In fact, its merits are of a higher order than those which are generally expected or intended in such compositions. It is a book which none but a woman could have written, and yet which has all the power of the highest order of masculine intellect. The deep intense religion which breathes throughout every page and every line—the awful reality of the doom hanging over the godless house—remind us at once of the experimental divine, and the mighty dramatist. The exquisite elegance and grace must charm even the unbeliever. The character of the low-born, but truly noble Julia; her trials and her triumph, are music to our soul—music of the highest and holiest order.

V.—*The Calendar of the Anglican Church Illustrated. With brief accounts of the Saints who have Churches dedicated in their names, or whose Images are most frequently met with in England: the Early Christian and Mediæval Symbols; and an Index of Emblems*. Oxford and London: J. H. Parker. 1851.

THIS is a most interesting and valuable contribution to our ecclesiastical antiquities: and what is particularly desirable and, alas! seldom to be met with in such works, it is altogether free from any thing idolatrous or imbecile, such as cheers the truant on his way to Rome.

“It is perhaps,” says the Preface, “hardly necessary to observe that this work is of an archæological, not of a theological character; the editor has not considered it his business to examine into the truth or falsehood of the legends of which he narrates the substance; he gives them merely as legends, and in general so much of them only as is necessary to explain why particular emblems were used with a particular Saint, or why churches, in a given locality, are named after this or that Saint.”

The work begins with a short and very interesting dissertation on the Calendar of the Anglican Church:—

“Our reformers,” says the editor, “truly and reverently proceeded upon the principles of honouring antiquity. They found ‘a number of dead men’s names,’ not over eminent in their lives either for sense or morals, crowding the Calendar, and jotting out the festivals of the saints and martyrs.”

The Mediæval Church, as the Romanists still do, distinguished between the days of obligation and days of devotion. Now, under the Reformation, only some of the former class, the Feasts of Obligation were and are retained, being such as were dedicated to the memory of our Lord, or to those whose names are pre-eminent in the Gospels. Surely no method could have been better devised than such a course for making time, as it passes, a perpetual memorial of the Head of the Church.

The principle upon which certain festivals of devotion still retained in the Calendar prefixed to the Common Prayer, and usually printed in italics, were selected from among the rest, is more obscure.

A third class are, saints who are simply commemorated; and it is a very curious fact, and, as we believe, hitherto quite unnoticed, that these saints’ days, now considered as the distinctive badges of Romanism, continued to retain their stations in our popular Protestant English almanacks until the alteration of style in 1752, when they were discontinued. By what authority this change took place we know not; but perhaps the books of the Stationers’ Company might solve this mystery:—

“Poor Robin’s Almanack affords much matter for consideration. He shows that the tradition respecting the appropriation of the days to particular saints was considered by the common people as eminently *Protestant*,—that is to say, as part and parcel of the Church of England. . . . We have neither space nor leisure to pursue this inquiry; but we do earnestly wish that some one well versed in ecclesiastical history, for instance Mr. Palmer, would investigate the ‘Calendar;’ not with the view of ministering to antiquarian curiosity, or idle amusement; but as involving principles of the highest importance.”

After this well-written essay follow the months as they are printed in the Calendar of the Prayer Book, with two cuts of day-almanacks at the beginning, and the various symbols placed opposite the days to which they belong. Now comes the main body of the work. The months are taken in their order. The days are described and illustrated. The wood-cuts are beautiful in the extreme; the letter-press interesting and unexceptionable. This lasts from p. 30 to p. 148. Then follow the moveable

festivals, equally well done, which concludes the first part at p. 174.

Part II. contains brief accounts of the saints who have churches named in their honour, or whose images are most frequently met with in England. The only defect in this portion of the work is, the omission of the days on which the parish feasts are held in the localities where these churches occur. It would, we think, have been interesting, and might have led to further results. The labour, however, which this portion of the work must have caused the compilers can hardly be estimated: it has been well and accurately executed.

We now arrive at the Third Part, "ON EMBLEMS." These are divided into three sections:—1. Early Christian Symbols. 2. The Evangelistic Symbols. 3. Mediæval Symbols. The illustrations of 1 and 2 are rich and striking, and Part III. is most able.

"In addition to these early Christian symbols," says the editor on commencing this portion of his work, "there are certain symbolical meanings attached to the emblems which accompany the later saints, a careful consideration of which may frequently unravel the lessons they were designed to teach, before the vast accumulation of myth and marvel completely veiled them from view; indeed, it is almost certain, that many of the acts attributed to these holy persons are merely fictitious, and comparatively modern creations, the emblems with which they were allegorically represented giving rise to the legends which obtained so extensively during the middle ages; so that we must interpret the legend as intended to suit the emblem, not the emblem as verifying the legend."

The remarks which follow are just and valuable; and this section is equally well executed with the others. The indexes, too, are carefully compiled. In fine, the "Illustrated Calendar of the Anglican Church" is suited alike for amusement, for instruction—for a lady's drawing-room or a scholar's study.

VI.—1. *Passages in the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland.* In 3 vols. London: Colburn. 1850.

2. *Merkland; a Story of Scottish Life.* By the Author of "*Passages in the Life of Mrs. Margaret Maitland.*" 3 vols. London: Colburn. 1851.

THE success of the first of these tales led, we presume, to the speedy appearance of the second, which bids fair to eclipse its elder brother in the good graces of the public. They are very peculiar works, which our readers will comprehend, when we confess that we cannot make up our minds whether the author is a man or a woman.

The great merits of both novels are the perfect consistency of the characters, the graphic description of manners, the delicacy of touch, and the clearness of outline, and the intense and unmistakable earnestness and enthusiasm of the author. He or she is a most unflinching bigot; bigoted to the dogmas of Calvin—bigoted to the platform of Geneva—bigoted to all the provincialisms of race, customs, manners, prejudices, castes, classes, and other associations with which she or he is identified or interested. She venerates the covenanting zealots, those traitors of old time, pretty nearly as much as the Oratorians do St. Philip of Neri, and his wiles and guiles. She looks upon a mortal feud, or a class distinction, or any other of the tokens of the pride of man's heart, which adorn that singular hybrid system, sprung from the commingling of Christianity and heathenism, and bound together and cemented, as it were, by a species of pseudo-Judaism, with exactly the same reverence as is shown by a devout Romanist for the images and reliques of saints, real or imagined.

We do not, however, like him a bit the less for this—we honour a bigot, when he is a bigot in reality, and not in pretence.

The works before us have, however, other charms, of a yet higher order. They are warmed by vital Christianity, mingled, it is true, with Celtic paganism, and Swiss error, but still real, genuine, living. And this need not surprise us. Christianity is so holy, so life-giving, and our God is so merciful, and our sacrifice so availing, and the work of the Spirit so manifold and so mighty, that any portion of the truth, truly and fully realized, is capable of producing fruits so marvellous, as to make the mere child of this world exclaim—

“ On modes of faith let wrangling zealots fight,
His can't be wrong, whose life is in the right.”

A most unphilosophic blunder. Our consideration on the sight of the piety or righteousness of those who are in error, should not be that their errors are unimportant or non-existent, but firm in the consciousness of our own unassailable position and incontrovertible faith, founded on the Rock of Ages, and received by the Revelation of God. We should admire His boundless love, and joyfully acknowledge the work of His hands, and fearfully reflect with reference to ourselves, our brethren, and our Church, that “unto whom much is given, of him much shall be required.”

We earnestly pray that the writer of these tales may be brought to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus—may receive the whole counsel of God—may submit to the true Church. The blood of universal redemption can alone wash out the segregative prejudices which at present afflict her mind; and even “dis-

ressed needlewomen" will appear worthy of her sisterly sympathy, when she regards them as sprinkled with the dews of baptismal regeneration.

VII.—*Kenneth; or the Rear-Guard of the Grand Army.* By the Author of "*Scenes and Characters*," "*Kings of England*," &c. Oxford and London: John Henry Parker. 1850.

THIS is a charming tale, full of character and incident, and one which could only have been written by a dutiful child of our Church. The unobtrusive manner in which her absolute superiority is shown, whilst every credit is given to men of other tongues and other lands, forms its rarest and most intrinsic excellence. It is just the work to give to a young person of either sex, from ten to twenty; and yet, when we had taken it up to give it a critical survey, we found the greatest difficulty in laying it down again.

VIII.—*Speculation.* Oxford and London: John Henry Parker. 1850.

VERY different is this tale from the last. The story interesting, the principles sound, the teaching excellent. It would perhaps be more useful if the tone were not quite so didactic, especially at the opening of the volume. The more that instruction is needed, the less grateful is it—the "*orli del vaso*" require greater preparation when the patient is not only aching, but obstinate. We regret, too, the faults of style in the opening chapters: there is much that is ungraceful, and some that is scarcely English.

IX.—*The Seven Days; or the Old and New Creation.* By the Author of "*The Cathedral*." Oxford and London: John Henry Parker. 1850.

THE last new work of a celebrated author is always a subject of interest with the literary world; and it was with great curiosity, as well as pleasure, that we commenced the perusal of the volume before us. We opened it with a tremulous sensation of fear as well as hope; but as we proceeded the fear altogether departed, and the hope became full fruition. This is undoubtedly Mr. Williams's most entirely successful performance. His other poetical compositions, whatever their merits, have been very unequal: in fact, they have struck us as resembling an elaborate and intricate mosaic, some portions of which were made of gems, and others of less costly materials, put in to fill up the requisite spaces. Then again they have, with all their excellencies, various individual faults. "*The Cathedral*" is, with all its power, too cum-

brows. The "Thoughts in Past Years" have, with all the exquisite sweetness apparent in many parts, a certain appearance of uniform design without the full reality, which somewhat haulks us. And the "Baptistry," though a work which will live to the end of time, and decidedly our favourite, is, to speak the truth, at times decidedly *prosy*.

In "The Creation" Mr. Williams has grasped a mighty idea, formed an artistic plan, and nobly fulfilled that idea and executed that plan. There is, too, in the detail much less of that obscurity which at times defaces his writings, than in any thing else which he has ever submitted to the public. We are conscious, however, that no mere "Notice" can do justice either to the merit or the importance of this work, and we shall, therefore, at once conclude with two or three extracts, reserving a more careful examination for a future occasion.

Of the exquisite passage upon Sunday, we cite the following beautiful stanzas :—

" Why are the poor so bright in their array ?
 Because they are the children of the King.
 This is His court and His great holiday ;
 Therefore their best they to His service bring.
 Ye trees put on your bright apparelling ;
 Ye lilies of the valley lift your heads,
 Your sun spreads o'er you his own healing wing !
 Ye ladies and rich men in costly weeds
 The glaring world each day alike your lustre reads."

And again,—

" The Sundays of our life, like stars aloof,
 Ye seem to disappear, and then when fled
 Ye stay, and gather on Heaven's vaulted roof,
 And in the dead of night with noiseless tread
 Ye come, and stand around my trembling head,
 Like guests from other worlds, and drawing near,
 Ye would speak with voices of the dead,—
 ' Your lives are gather'd with us ; year by year
 Why were we sent ? and why did we to you appear ?'
 " Ye Sundays of our life, ye passers by,
 Yet in remembrance live, and put on light,
 Like witnesses which after death come nigh ;
 And, haply oft forgotten, to our sight
 Come forth again in weakness, or as night
 Of age draws on or death, neglected throng
 Of youth and childhood speaking now aright,
 And pleading how we thoughtless did you wrong ;
 How many thrilling nights and scenes to you belong !"

From the many fine passages before us we select the following, pressing as it does so powerfully our own sentiments towards Rome :—

“ But who shall speak thy wondrous goings forth,
 Like some sepulchral spectre of the night,
 Thou nam'd Aurora of the ill-omen'd north,
 With lustrous train sweeping the aerial height,
 Blood, gold and flame ; in men's bewilder'd sight
 Riding on the meteorous canopy
 To counterfeit the morning's blooming light,
 Like that false Church which Time's dark night shall see,
 Upon whose burning brow is written 'mystery.' ”

x.—“ *It is written.* ” or, *Every Word and Expression contained in the Scriptures proved to be from God. From the French of Professor GAUSSEN.* London : Bagster.

WE confess to taking up this volume with some degree of prejudice against it, in consequence of its rather singular title ; but before we had read a page, our attention was arrested by the nature of the subject, the force of the argument, the brilliancy of the language, and the richness of the illustration. Professor Gausсен upholds manfully the full inspiration of the Word of God, and in his good work he will have the hearty good wishes of all true Christians. He addresses himself to his task, not with a view to convince unbelievers, but with a view to confirm the faith of Christians in the divine and infallible authority of God's Word, and from all we have seen of his work we deem it a highly valuable and seasonable addition to the available provision made for Christian readers on this important subject. He discusses with ability the many difficulties raised in reference to the inspiration—such as the non-infallibility of translations, the variations in the text, and especially, with much ability and originality, the alleged contradictions and difficulties of the Scriptures. Nor does he spare his indignant reproofs of those divines, whether orthodox or heterodox, who have in any degree compromised the authority of the Holy Scriptures. In addition, we are happy to bear testimony to the strain of fervent piety which pervades the whole, and which often finds expression in words of earnest eloquence and impassioned zeal. We have perused a considerable portion of this work with the highest satisfaction and edification.

- XI.—*An Analysis and Summary of Thucydides. By the Author of "An Analysis and Summary of Herodotus," &c.* Oxford: Wheeler. London: Bell.

AN Analysis and Summary like that before us cannot fail to be of considerable utility to the student of Thucydides, in enabling him to retain in memory the various points of the history of the Peloponnesian war. The analysis appears to be very carefully executed; and it is preceded by an outline of the Geography of Greece, and a Chronological Table of the principal events; the Greek weights, money, and measures also being reduced throughout to the corresponding English terms.

- XII.—*Elements of Natural Theology. By JAMES BEAVEN, D.D., Professor of Divinity in King's College, Toronto.* London: Rivingtons.

DR. BEAVEN, in this work, furnishes his readers with a clear and well-arranged digest of all the principal proofs of the existence, the moral attributes, and the Providence of God. The especial interest in the volume is, the frequent reference to the arguments and inferences of heathen philosophy, approximating so closely as they sometimes did to the truth. The argument from design which Paley has so ably drawn out, is here very well exhibited and illustrated; and on the whole we may remark, that Dr. Beaven's reasoning is throughout cautious and accurate.

- XIII.—*Ancient Coins and Medals: an Historical Sketch of the Origin and Progress of Coining Money in Greece and her Colonies; its Progress with the Extension of the Roman Empire; and its Decline with the Fall of that Power. By HENRY NOEL HUMPHREYS, Author of "The Coins of England." Illustrated by numerous Examples in Actual Relief by Barclay's Process, in the Metals of the respective Coins.* Second Edition. London: Grant and Griffith.

WE are happy to see that the work before us has reached a second edition, because it evinces, on the part of the public, a due appreciation of the learning, labour, and ingenuity which have combined to create this extraordinary volume. In point of fact, "volume" is an inadequate expression in this case, for between the two boards is included, not merely a very elaborate book, but a well-selected cabinet of coins and medals! The imitations in metal by Barclay's process are perfectly marvellous; and of the

letter-press which accompanies them we can speak in the highest terms, as not only evincing a thorough and deep knowledge of the subject, but as divested as much as possible of tedious antiquarianism, and enlivened by anecdote and interesting detail. The vast field traversed by the author affords, indeed, ample opportunity for the exercise of discrimination in the choice of materials, and he has employed his opportunities so judiciously, that we have no doubt his work will find a place on many a drawing-room table, as well as occupy an honourable position in every well provided library.

XIV.—*An Essay on the Origin and Development of Window Tracery in England; with nearly Four Hundred Illustrations.* By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, Author of "The History of Architecture," "Architecture of Llandaff Cathedral," &c. Oxford and London: John Henry Parker.

ARCHITECTURE is gradually assuming amongst us an importance and a scientific character which would astonish our forefathers if they could return amongst us. The progressive character of the age is marked very strongly in *this* branch of the fine arts at least; and professors, peers, clergy, the ablest of our mathematicians, and the wealthiest of our aristocracy, are all alike interested in the minutest details respecting our ecclesiastical buildings. The press groans beneath publications on the subject. Volumes, pamphlets, essays, periodicals, meetings, societies, all attest the universal rage for architectural study. Amongst the leading men in the study, is the author of the volume before us; and we protest that, in opening his table of contents, we are perfectly overwhelmed with the weight of his erudition, and the multiplicity of his distinctions. We are alarmed at "geometrical skeletons," our amazement is increased at "arch-skeletons," and we experience a sensation of uneasiness in such connexion, at "corruptions of arch-tracery." We are compelled to scratch our heads at "subarcuated foils," "divergent vesicæ," "spiked foliation;" and we look as wise as we can at "reversed convergent tracery," "flowing skeletons," "quasi subarcuated windows," &c. &c. But, to speak seriously, Mr. Freeman has evinced a profound knowledge of his subject, which is one of high practical moment in architecture; and, by his classification, has contributed greatly to make it rational and intelligible. We are delighted to see that so profound an architectural student does not hesitate to reject the reveries of symbolism. We could excuse several faults in consideration of such a wholesome and, we must add, *coura-*

geous, avowal. But the truth is, that Mr. Freerian's work is one which, as it goes in a great degree on certain data, and occupies itself chiefly in classifying facts, is one in which great errors are not to be expected. It is copiously illustrated by wood-cuts—illustrative of window tracery, which constitute, by no means, the least part of its value.

xv.—*Faith and Practice: being Sunday Thoughts in Verse.* By a COUNTRY CURATE, Author of "*Thoughts in Verse for the Afflicted.*" London: Bell.

THIS little volume of poems is characterized by a simplicity and piety which will render it a profitable and agreeable companion to those whose tastes have not been formed on the refined and mystic poetry of the present day. The author selects simple and devotional subjects, such as good Churchmen and good Christians would wish to dwell on; and he treats them just as a clergyman ought to do, and certainly in a way which is open to general comprehension. As we read the earlier part of his book, indeed, it occurred to us, that these are the sort of poems which would be very acceptable and intelligible even to the poorest classes, and in National Schools; but the style rises afterwards. We take the following from Meditations in Lent:—

"Lord, now before the heavenly gate
I stand a penitent;
Here on the threshold shall I wait,
To sanctify my Lent.

"Teach me to grieve, to fast, to pray,
Deploring all my sin;
To rend my heart, to strive each day
Against the pride within;—

"My soul to search, my guilt confess,
My appetites deny,
My goods impart thy poor to bless,—
My members mortify."

We cannot speak very highly of the poetical power manifested in this volume, but it is the production of a pious and very thoughtful mind, imbued with much poetic taste and feeling:

xvi.—*Handbook of Mediæval Geography and History.* By WILHELM PÜTZ, Principal Tutor at the Gymnasium of Düren.

Translated by the Rev. R. B. PAUL, M.A., &c. London: Rivingtons.

THIS Handbook of Mediæval History and Geography is the second part of the series published by Professor Pütz; and it appears to be a valuable and useful compendium of information on the subjects to which it relates. It is very convenient to have at hand a manual like this in reading the history of the Middle Ages. The Appendix contains a series of questions on the various chapters for the use of students.

XVII.—*A Commentary on the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans: with a new Translation, and Explanatory Notes.* By WILLIAM WITHERS EWBANK, M.A., Incumbent of St. George's Church, Everton. London: J. W. Parker.

MR. EWBANK appears to have executed his work with very great care, and from all we have seen of it, this commentary may be regarded as a very valuable accession to our Biblical literature. It is not overloaded with annotations, nor does it present a great variety of interpretations and criticisms, but goes straightforward to its point, and certainly it contributes to elucidate many of the difficulties in this difficult epistle. It is composed with good sense, and in a very pleasing tone. Tholuck's Commentary has been much employed, in addition to those of Calvin, Stuart, and Olshausen; and the homilies of Chrysostom.

XVIII.—*The Dramatic Works of William Shakspeare, from the Text of Johnson, Stevens, and Reed; with Glossarial Notes, Life, &c.* A New Edition. By WILLIAM HAZLITT, Esq. In 4 vols. London: Routledge and Co.

SHAKSPEARE'S works for four shillings! What times we live in! Here is a critical edition of Shakspeare, well printed, and quite readable, for less than half what we used to pay for a single volume of an eight or ten volumed edition.

XIX.—*The Church in the World; or, the Living among the Dead.* By the Rev. J. BAINBRIDGE SMITH, M.A., formerly of St. John's College, Cambridge; Professor of Mathematics, and Vice-President of King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia. London: Rivingtons.

IN this pleasing and pious little volume, the services of the Church are connected with the spiritual presence of the beings who

are invisibly about us, and with personifications of the feelings and states of mind which should arise from the exercise of religious duties. It is one of that large class of books which afford instruction and interest to young persons in the present day, many of which aim at elevating the feeling with which the services of the Church are attended. In seeking to create the reverential and thoughtful appreciation, there is the risk, which is not always avoided, of dwelling on the *means* of grace, and omitting to dwell on the *Author* of grace.

xx.—*Readings for Every Day in Lent. Compiled from the Writings of Bishop Jeremy Taylor. By the Author of "Am Herbert," "The Child's First History of Rome," &c.* London: Longmans.

FROM the examination we have been enabled to bestow on this volume we cannot hesitate in recognising it as a very valuable addition to the devotional literature of our Church, comprising, as it does, many of the choicest passages in the writings of a pious divine, whose name is a "household word" amongst us. We have been impressed by the judgment evinced in the selection and arrangement of the materials of this work. The meditation for each day is succeeded by a prayer.

xxi.—*Narrative of a Singular Escape from a Portuguese Convent; with an Introductory Address. By the Rev. W. CARUS WILSON, M.A., Rector of Whittington.* Second Edition. London: Seeleys.

THIS little volume is calculated to be of very great utility at the present time, and cordially do we concur in the necessity of some such course as that which Mr. Wilson has suggested in the introduction, and which we are happy to perceive has been embodied in a bill recently laid before Parliament for the purpose of preventing the forcible detention of persons in nunneries. The details of the story, which present every evidence of authenticity, are enough to excite indignation in the mind of every English reader. How the members of a communion, which exercises the cruel coercion here stated, can appeal to the principles of religious liberty, would be difficult of comprehension to any but to those who have marked the unblushing effrontery with which the advocates of Romanism are endued.

The author describes the artifices by which an unfortunate young female was induced, at a very early age, to resign herself to the seclusion of a nunnery, near Lisbon, for which she was

olly unfitted. She was the daughter of an Irish merchant who had a connexion with Lisbon, and when about seventeen, having been previously at a convent in Ireland, she was placed in one at Lisbon. After passing through the novitiate she was to take the veil, and was previously to be introduced to "the world."

"This was done in a manner not very likely to impress the poor girl with a favourable notion of what she was about to renounce forever. She was mounted on a donkey, led by two priests, and conveyed through the main streets of Lisbon. The rabble surrounded, the boys hooted at her, and she was gazed at as a sight, till, terrified with the noise and notice she attracted, she declared, on her return to the convent, that she would cheerfully assume the veil, and never leave her peaceful abode again."

"Sister Jane," as she now became, was visited by her friends after some time. The abbess was present, and all seemed very happy and pleasant.

"Whilst the lady abbess was conversing with me, Sister Jane was laughing and talking very freely with the rest of the company; and some observations she made attracted the ears of the abbess, who said, with an arch look, 'Jane, take care, child; I am by you.' To which Jane replied, with seeming simplicity, and without any appearance of fear, 'Oh, mother, I forgot you were here!'"

The poor nun's gaiety, however, was all affected; for she had reason to be deeply anxious and unhappy at the time, as we may infer from the following circumstances:—

"Amongst the nuns in the Irish convent there was one young lady whose mind was superior to most of the others; and she took a great fancy to Jane, though she was some years older than my young friend. She would give Jane excellent advice as to her conduct, urge her to improve herself; and to none of her companions did Jane draw so closely as to 'Sister Mary.'

"About half a year before my introduction to Jane, she had been aware of an increasing dejection of mind in her friend, and had often urged her to disclose the cause; but Mary kept silence, and never could Jane prevail upon her to impart the subject of her grief. In the course of a few weeks, Jane heard that her friend was taken ill. She requested to see her; but was refused. She begged to be allowed to nurse her; but was told that 'Sister Mary's' fever was highly infectious, and that the nuns must not go near her. Not many days after this, the bell, which spoke the death of a member of the community, was heard to toll, and it was soon understood that Sister Mary's spirit had fled. Next followed her funeral; and the nuns attended the ceremony."

Several weeks passed away, during which Jane mourned the loss of Sister Mary; but strange to say, an impression grew upon

her mind, that, at times when she passed through the cloisters, she heard her name softly pronounced by the voice of her departed friend; and on one occasion, as she was returning from midnight service, this impression became so strong, that she paused a moment, and, remaining amongst the graves in the cloisters,

“She then said, ‘Did Mary call me? You loved me whilst living, and I am sure your spirit would not injure me now.’ The name of Jane was again repeated distinctly; and she endeavoured to make her way to the spot from whence the sound seemed to proceed, putting the same question as before. The voice replied, ‘I am dead indeed to the world, but not to you: look near such a grave, and you can see me.’ Jane scarcely knew where she was. Her feelings were wrought up to the highest pitch of terror, curiosity, and tenderness to her departed friend. But she followed the sound; and, making towards the grave to which she was directed, she observed a very small square grate in the ground, through which appeared a faint light. She knelt down, and looked through it; when she discovered her long-lost friend in a sort of dungeon, with a lamp before her, and her bed, chair, and table.

“‘Is it my Mary I see, my own dear Mary?’ exclaimed Jane. ‘Yes,’ replied her friend. ‘Let my case be a warning to you: my illness, my death, and my burial were all deceptive.’ You observed my low spirits: I loved you too dearly to unsettle your mind by giving the cause of them; but I was so wretched in the convent, that I wrote a letter to my friends, entreating them to devise some method for my escape. This letter I unhappily entrusted to the old woman who sometimes brought us oranges, and she gave it to the abbess, who, with many bitter reproaches and threats, hurried me down here, where I have been ever since. I dared not call you by name, unless I could distinguish your voice amongst the sisters; for I am sure if I made known my tale of woe, death by starvation would be the consequence, not only to me, but to those who heard me. I also felt that even if I did call, no one would dare answer my voice from those graves but yourself. You are the first person who has spoken to me for many weeks. My food is brought me in a tournoir, and the empty plates, &c., are removed in the same way. I am dead to all but you; still, if your affection can give you courage to pass an hour with me sometimes on your return from the chapel, it will be the only soothing drop in my cup of bitterness.”

The sequel of this tragedy is dreadful. The unhappy prisoner commits suicide in her despair. Sister Jane discovers the truth, and is in her turn visited with the most tremendous threats to induce her silence. She then resolves to escape; and at length effects her purpose by means of her brother-in-law, who is himself obliged to leave Lisbon before the escape takes place, for fear

of being assassinated, if his share in the attempt should be discovered.

Unless we are under a very mistaken impression, we remember an account of a rescue of a nun from a monastery at Lisbon by officers of the British Navy, which appeared in the papers some time since. This narrative appears to comprise the particulars of that escape. It is very deeply interesting; and we should say that its extensive circulation, especially in parochial lending libraries, would be of great benefit to the cause of truth.

XXII.—*The Rise of the Papal Power traced, in Three Lectures.* By ROBERT HUSSEY, B.D., *Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History.* Oxford: J. H. Parker.

IN this very learned and accurate work, Professor Hussey traces briefly the rise and growth of the Papal Supremacy from the period of its origin at the Synod of Sardica, to the time of Innocent III. The Preface contains some valuable remarks on the distinctively aggressive character of the Church of Rome, which renders it so formidable to the rights of states, and to the existence of other Churches, that it cannot safely be entrusted with the same liberties and privileges as other religious communities.

XXIII.—*Lectures on the Characters of our Lord's Apostles, and especially their Conduct at the Time of his Apprehension and Trial.* By a COUNTRY PASTOR, Author of "*Lectures on the Scripture Revelations respecting a Future State.*" London: Parker.

THIS volume is marked by the vigorous logic and acute discrimination which are so characteristic of the author's publications, and which are at times combined with a freedom of speculation, or boldness of thought, by no means usual at the period when this able and distinguished writer commenced his career. It would be needless for us to mention more specifically the author of the work on "*The Scripture Revelations,*" &c. That work advocated the notion of the sleep of the soul in the intermediate state, and did not contribute to raise the writer's character for orthodoxy; but we have since then had so many worse notions, and more dangerous speculations advanced by a pretended orthodoxy, that even the "*Country Pastor*" appears quite harmless in comparison; and the writer in his true name, style, and title, quite so. In these days it is *really* a comfort to meet a man who is neither a Rationalist nor a Romanist, and the author of the volume before us is neither one nor the other. His essays

on the Apostles, though full of new and occasionally startling positions, will be read with instruction and improvement. We extract one or two passages.

“As for this Apostle receiving the surname of Peter (Rock), and being promised that ‘on this rock Christ would build his Church,’ this prediction was clearly fulfilled in two events. First, on the day of Pentecost Peter took the lead in addressing the *Jews*, and gathering them into the fold of the infant Christian Church. And again, he was chosen out of all the Apostles to go to Cornelius and his household, and there begin the opening of the Christian Church to the *Gentiles*.

“And here it may be worth while to remark, by the way, that the claim of a *series* of men, in long succession, to be each a successor of Peter, as the *foundation-stone* on which the Church is built, is not only groundless, but absurd and unmeaning. Even if Peter *had* possessed all the rights that have ever been claimed for him, and if certain men really *were* his successors in every thing else, still they could not conceivably be each of them a *foundation*. One can understand, for instance, that Romulus was the founder of the city of Rome, and that the kings who came after him were his successors as *kings* of Rome; but they could not possibly be each a *founder* of Rome.”—pp. 13, 14.

And again, on the nature of faith, we have these excellent remarks:—

“For we should remember, by the way, that the virtue of their faith was greatly enhanced by their *ignorance* of all that was arising. Eminent faith does not consist in superior knowledge. On the contrary, there is no room for the exercise of faith in respect of any thing which we perfectly know and fully understand. A right faith consists in a well-grounded trust in some safe guide, when we do *not* know the reasons of the directions he gives, and have to take his word for the truth of what he says. If you believe that you are sailing towards the land, when you see the land before you in broad daylight, this would not indicate faith in your Pilot. But you *would* show your faith in him, if you believed this on his word, in a dark night.”—pp. 23, 24.

The volume abounds in this sort of plain forcible illustration and argument.

XXIV.—*The Early Progress of the Gospel: in Eight Sermons, preached before the University of Cambridge, in the year MDCCCL. At the Lecture founded by the Rev. John Hulse, M.A. By WILLIAM GILSON HUMPHREY, B.D., Fellow of Trinity College, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of London.* London: J. W. Parker.

THESE discourses are on the following topics—the progress of

the Gospel an Evidence of its Truth—the effect produced upon Jews and Gentiles by the Evidence of the Miracles—the effect produced upon Jews and Gentiles by the Evidence of Prophecy—the Christian doctrine and the Christian life—causes contributing to the Progress of the Gospel—hindrances occasioned by the calumnies of the heathen, and by the ill lives of nominal Christians—the effects of persecution—the efforts made by the heathen philosophy to resist and corrupt the Gospel—the resistance made to the Gospel by the Pagan superstitions—the relics of Paganism.

The above will afford some notion of the class of subjects treated of in these Lectures. We have been most favourably impressed by all we have seen of the volume. The views developed in it appear to be the result of much reflection, grounded on a competent knowledge of the subject, and we meet no extravagant assertions, violent expressions, or extreme opinions. There is much of that sober-mindedness and good sense which we have so frequently to desiderate in writings of the present day, and more especially in works bearing on such subjects as Mr. Humphry has here treated. His two concluding Lectures, in particular, we deem eminently valuable, tracing as they do with great ability, the gradual relaxation of Christian morality, and the corruption of Christian worship, under the influence of theories derived from Paganism.

xv.—*A Short and Plain Instruction for the better understanding of the Lord's Supper, &c.* By Bishop WILSON. With Notes, by a Priest of the Church of England. London: Cleaver.

THIS edition of Bishop Wilson's Introduction to the Lord's Supper includes the Rubrics, now for the first time added; and is accompanied by an immense mass of rubrical information, detailing the mode in which service is celebrated in such churches as St. Barnabas, Pimlico, Margaret Chapel, &c., and also in the Church of Rome. We have no doubt the editor has bestowed great pains and attention on the study of Liturgical works; but we should have thought that some better vehicle might have been found for his lucubrations than the pious and simple pages of Bishop Wilson on the Sacraments. Is it advisable to put into the hands of communicants a volume crammed with discussions about "cruets," "credences," "purificatories," and "the Synod of St. Andrew's, Dunkeld, and Dumblane"—or even about "prick-song?" We protest we cannot look on such subjects introduced into such a book, as any thing but trifling with the most solemn parts of religion, and reducing the Sacrament to a mere matter

of form and ceremony. Are ritual matters the proper subjects for meditation at the Lord's Supper?

xxvi.—*De Obligatione Conscientiæ Prælectiones Decem Oxonii in Schola Theologica habitæ*, A.D. MDCXLVII. A. ROBERTO SANDERSONO. *S. Theologiæ ibidem Professore Regio postea Episcopo Lincolnensi. With English Notes, including an abridged Translation by WILLIAM WHEWELL, D.D., Master of Trinity College, &c. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press.* Cambridge: 1851. J. W. Parker, London.

THE learned and ingenious work of Bishop Sanderson, "De Obligatione Conscientiæ," is in the present edition placed before the reader in a shape, for which students in Ethics have reason to feel indebted to Dr. Whewell. The addition of indices to the work is a great improvement; and the summary at the foot of each page, by Dr. Whewell, not only facilitates the comprehension of this difficult book, but supplies a convenient abridgment of it.

xxvii.—*A First Series of Practical Sermons. By the Rev. FREDERICK JACKSON, Incumbent of Parson Drone, Isle of Ely.* London: Hatchards.

THIS volume contains twenty Sermons; and we have pleasure in expressing our opinion, that they furnish an excellent specimen of what good parochial discourses should be. They are plain, and truth-telling, but animated, earnest, and diversified; and while unaffected in style, they appear to us calculated to arrest and retain attention. We have not read the whole of the work, but we have seen much to admire, and nothing to disapprove.

xxviii.—*Biblical Commentary on St. Paul's First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians. By HERMAN OLSHAUSEN, D.D. Translated by the Rev. JOHN EDMUND COX, M.A. F.S.A., &c.* Edinburgh: Clark.

THIS Commentary presents undoubtedly a favourable specimen of German criticism; but we confess our uneasiness at seeing Clergy of the Church of England, and publishers of a decidedly "evangelical" character, engaged in the circulation of publications, which if they are not directly heterodox in themselves, are still dangerous, from their multiplied references to authors of the most unsound and grossly rationalistic views. We trust that in their anxiety to oppose "Puseyism," a large party in the Church will not become a prey to the crafty devices of false philosophy,

and be thus gradually deprived of that faith in the Scripture which they are now the foremost to maintain.

xxix.—*Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII.) and the Excommunicated Emperor. A Tale.* By JOSEPH SORTAIN, A.B., Trinity College, Dublin. London: Longmans.

THIS Tale conveys a very different impression of Hildebrand from that which has been fashionable of late, and we believe much more in accordance with the truth. The terrible effects produced by the iron will and the ambition of this great founder of the temporal supremacy of Rome, are pourtrayed with considerable power; but we apprehend that the author conveys too favourable an impression of the party opposed to the Pope, which was almost equally bad in its principles and conduct.

xxx.—*A Letter to the Right Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of London, in Explanation of some Statements contained in a Letter by the Rev. W. Dodsworth.* By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew; Canon of Christ Church; late Fellow of Oriol College. Oxford: J. H. Parker.

To speak of this Letter in the manner which its importance deserves, would demand more space than is now at our disposal. We must therefore content ourselves with a very few general remarks.

The object of the Letter is to afford an explanation of the author's position and principles, at a moment when statements of the religious system inculcated by him, originating with his intimate friend Mr. Dodsworth, had been in uncontradicted circulation for many months, and had produced the most powerful effects upon the public mind. According to these uncontradicted statements, Dr. Pusey had been engaged in promoting the spread of Roman Catholic tenets and practices within the communion of the English Church. Now, considering the position which Dr. Pusey holds as the leader of the Tractarian party, and that the imputation thus thrown on him thus affected more or less all who were in any way connected with him, it does seem strange that no notice was taken of so serious a charge for nearly a year after it was made. However, it might have been at least expected, that when referred to, an exposition of principles would have been made, which would have put an end absolutely and for ever to any doubts or imputations connected with Mr. Dodsworth's charge. When a true son of the English Church is specifically accused of Romanism, there can be no doubt of the nature of his reply. He will speak in such language that there can be no

further mistake: he will declare that he condemns the Romish errors imputed to him.

But this, we regret to say, is what Dr. Pusey appears to be incapable of doing. He publicly exerted his influence to prevent any declaration against Romish error in the course of last autumn, at the meeting of the Bristol Union, and subsequently at a large meeting of the London Union on Church Matters; and in the work before us, his whole effort throughout is to justify the doctrines and practices which he has inculcated, by quotations from various writers, who are alleged to have taught in the same way as Dr. Pusey; and to justify them without attempting to prove that they are not substantially identical with Romanism;—and that Romanism teaches erroneous doctrines on those points, which ought to be condemned and rejected. In short, the state of the case is this:—Dr. Pusey is charged with having taught Romish doctrines. His defence is, that others in the English Church have taught the same doctrines that he has done! We cannot conceive a weaker and a more dangerous line of argument, inasmuch as it tends merely to transfer the objection against his tenets to those of the Church of England generally. The only effectual way of meeting the statement of Mr. Dodsworth was to show that Dr. Pusey could, consistently with his teaching and practice, condemn the errors of Romanism, and refute them. That he has not done so is, we fear, because he cannot do so with consistency; and because he is resolved to maintain consistency at all hazards.

XXXI.—*Poems.* By MARY ADA KING. London: Hatchards.

THESE poems are the productions of a very young lady, and are published, it appears, “in the faint hope of advancing the interests of her family, who have just suffered an irreparable affliction in the death of their beloved father.”

We do not know that we can more effectively aid in this object than by transcribing the following lines:—

“ TO MY FATHER, ON THE RECOVERY OF A HEAVY LOSS.

“ It was not very long ago
I saw a noble tree,
Which in a beauteous garden grew,
And seemed its deity.

“ Its stem was strong, its leaves were green,
It stood a comely sight;
Its foliage shelter'd summer birds,
And gave them rest at night.

• • • • * * •

- “ But soon the storm-clouds gathered fast,
The wind rose fierce and high,
The heavens looked dark and desolate—
A tempest sure was nigh.
- “ The rain came down a drenching shower,
And lightning fired the sky ;
The thunder roared, and shrieking winds
Went madly raging by.
- “ That tree had weathered storms before,
Whilst youthful currents run,
And hoped to live through future years
Beneath a genial sun.
- “ But Heaven yet called for better proofs
Of strength in battle's might ;
Right well it met the furious storm,
And nobly dared the fight.
- “ Now all the little feathered tribe
That sought in it repose,
To quit their leafy nests were driven
Before the evening's close.
- “ Full many fear'd the threaten'd loss
That dreadful day might bring,
And pray'd to God the storm might pass,
Yet spare the garden's king.
- “ My Father, this was like to thee,
When thou wert in adversity.
- “ The clouds withdrew, the rain o'erpast,
The winds forgot to sigh,
The golden sun was clear and bright,
The storm had travelled by.”

We regret that space prevents us from continuing this pleasing strain of poetry. The authoress has produced several pretty pieces, but her style is occasionally very unfinished.

XXXII.—*Sermons.* By the late WALTER AUGUSTUS SHIRLEY, D.D., Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man. London: Hatchards.

BISHOP SHIRLEY was a man of no ordinary ability and piety, and his Sermons, like every thing else that we have seen of his, are deserving of a perusal, and will amply repay it. There is something very peculiar in his style, which is not easily to be described—a flow of thought—an ease and eloquence of expression—a felicity of illustration—and frequently an originality of view,

which gives a considerable charm to his writings. But the Sermons before us have higher claims than these, in the deep and practical views of personal religion which they inculcate; and whatever opinion may exist as to the strict correctness of the author's doctrinal tenets in some points, no one can, we think, refrain from recognising the fervent piety and earnestness which pervade the whole.

xxxiii.—*An Argument for the Royal Supremacy. By the Rev. SANDERSON ROBINS, M.A.* London: Pickering.

MR. ROBINS applies himself, in the volume before us, to establish what all our greatest divines have invariably maintained—the right and power of Christian princes to interfere in the affairs of the Church. But Mr. Robins omits to point out, that if Christian people have a duty to obey Christian princes acting for the welfare of religion, Christian princes and rulers have an equal duty to guard and protect religion; and he may rest assured, that if the one duty is neglected, the other will be, in the long run, at an end. It is very true that Christian princes have authority over the Church; but if they should use their authority in opposition to God's law, and for the promotion of error instead of truth, they would not long retain their authority. James II. is an instance in point, and some will add Charles I. Let the State be *honest* in maintaining Christianity; and it may do nearly what it pleases. Such has, at all times, been the feeling of the Church.

xxxiv.—*The Church of the Redeemed, or the History of the Mediatorial Kingdom. Vol. I. By the Rev. SAMUEL FARMER JARVIS, D.D., "Historiographer of the Church," &c.* Boston: Simpson. London: Cleaver.

THIS very learned and elaborate work is the first volume of Dr. Jarvis's History of the Church; and, commencing with the "Creation," carries down the history of the Church in five periods to the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. We observe that Dr. Jarvis has dwelt at great length on the last period of the Jewish nationality; and, to say the truth, we think that, interesting as the details supplied by Josephus are, it is rather out of place to enter at great length on them in a Church history. We know that the universal practice, beginning with Eusebius, is opposed to us; but still we do think that matters like this, which are perfectly subsidiary to Christianity, should not occupy the prominent place

they too often do. For instance, we find that in the part of Dr. Jarvis's work referring to the history of the Church from the Ascension to the fall of Jerusalem, a period of forty years, there are only 13 pages out of 114 which refer actually to the history of the Church; the remainder being occupied with the history of the Jews or of the Romans. We do not know what Dr. Jarvis's plan of writing may be, but he seems to us to have taken a very cursory survey of the history of the Church during this period; and we should have thought that a careful analysis of the Acts and of the history of the Apostles subsequently to the resurrection, with some references to the legends of later times connected with this time, might with advantage have taken up a portion of the space occupied by the Jewish history. It appears to us that the principal object is superseded by collateral and subsidiary topics.

xxxv.—*Poems, Legendary and Historical.* By EDWARD H. FREEMAN, M.A., and the Rev. GEORGE W. COX, S.C.L., &c. London: Longmans.

THIS volume comprises a great number of poems in the ballad style on historical subjects; and reminds us a good deal of Aytoun and Macaulay. There is considerable poetical power in all we have read.

xxxvi.—*Hymnarium Sarisburiense, cum Rubricis et Notis Musicis, &c.* Londini: Darling.

A COLLECTION of all the old Latin hymns used in the Salisbury Breviary, with the old musical notation annexed. A considerable number of MSS. have been collated for this work. Its utility seems rather problematical.

xxxvii.—*Lays of Palestine.* London: Rivingtons.

A COLLECTION of poems on the principal events of the history of the Old Testament; evincing much piety, considerable imagination, and no particular felicity in composition, the style being in many cases rather involved and obscure.

xxxviii.—*Twenty-three Short Lectures on the Church Catechism.* By Archdeacon BERENS. London: Rivingtons.

WE should think this work will be found very useful by all persons who are engaged in teaching the Church Catechism. It fur-

nishes a complete popular commentary on it, and should be in the hands of all the clergy, and all Sunday-school teachers and school-masters.

XXXIX.—*Twelve Sermons.* By ROBERT SCOTT, M.A., *Prebendary of Exeter, and Rector of Luffenham, &c.* London: Masters.

A SERIES of very able and well-written discourses. We have been particularly struck by the earnest and faithful tone of the concluding sermon, on occasion of the author's retirement from a former parish. It is a very solemn and touching appeal to the consciences of his hearers.

XI.—*Family Prayers, Composed from the Book of Psalms by a Layman.* Edited by G. W. LEWIS, M.A., *Vicar of Crick, Derbyshire.* London: Hatchards.

THE notion of composing prayers in reference to the Psalms is not a new one; for Mr. Slade has produced some very excellent compositions of that nature. There is a large fund of prayers in this volume; but from the parts we have read, we are inclined to think that many of them would not be very well adapted for family worship.

XLI.—*Sermons, chiefly Catechetical.* By the Rev. R. DRUMMOND RAWNSLEY, M.A., *Vicar of Shiplake.* London: Hatchards.

THE greater part of this volume consists of a series of sermons on the Catechism, which extends as far as the end of the Creed. The discourses seem to be clearly and well written, and in a very practical and Christian tone. Their views appear to be very moderate and cautious.

XLII.—*The Life Everlasting; or, the Holy Life, the Intermediate Life, the Eternal or Consummate Life.* By JOHN WHITLEY, D.D., *Chancellor of Killaloe.* Second Edition, revised and enlarged. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. Dublin: Hodges and Smith.

WE are glad to see a second edition of this work, because its perusal cannot fail to promote piety and devotion, and also because the large dimensions of the volume, and its consequent price, render its circulation some test of the value placed on works of a meditative and thoughtful character like that before us. The style is peculiar, eminently sententious, and uniform

throughout. Each sentence appears to be cast nearly in the same mould as its predecessor, and, in reading it aloud, it would be difficult to avoid getting into a chant or sing-song. Of the style which the book is composed in throughout, the opening of the first chapter will furnish a correct idea. From the Preface to the end of the book it is precisely the same.

“The death of Christ is the life of the world: it is the great truth and fact of revealed religion; at once the delight and wonder of angels in heaven, the fright and terror of devils in hell, and the peace and pardon of sinners upon earth. The passion is the centre of all our blessings, the spring of all our joys, the unailing and overflowing source of life and bliss throughout earth and skies. For, ‘the Lamb that was slain hath redeemed us by his blood, and made us kings and priests unto God and the Father,’ is the Hallelujah of Heaven. The cross is the prop and pillar of this world, of all worlds, for evermore. On the cross are based all our present peace and future hopes. It is our refuge and consolation here on earth,—it will be our boast and triumph in heaven above. The cross is the tree of knowledge and the tree of life united; it opens our eyes to know the truth, and it gives us life and power to love and enjoy it. The cross is the life of holiness, and the death of sin,—the death of death itself, and of him that hath the power of death, the devil. By the bitter death and costly sacrifice of his Son, God has inflicted the curse, and found the ransom of our sins; the debt has been paid, the forfeit exacted, and man redeemed. Christ on the cross is the true serpent raised by Moses to heal all the bites and stings of the old serpent. The surety and mediator of the new covenant has made a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. By raising our Surety, Representative, and Head, from the dead, God has shown that the price is paid, justice satisfied, the work accomplished, guilt atoned, and sinners saved.”

This passage will afford a fair specimen of Dr. Whitley’s style. Of his matter we can speak very favourably. His work evinces thought, research, and piety, of no ordinary stamp—abounding in illustrations derived from ancient philosophy—from history—from natural objects, and from science. Dr. Whitley is an orthodox Churchman of the old school, and pious old-fashioned Christians will hail the appearance of his book with joy, and give it a niche next to the “Whole Duty of Man,” and Jeremy Taylor’s “Holy Living and Dying.”

XLIII.—*Lectures on the Four Gospels Harmonised.* By the Rev. L. VERNON HARCOURT, M.A. Author of the “*Doctrine of the Deluge.*” In 3 vols. London: Rivingtons.

THESE volumes are amongst the most valuable accessions to our
VOL. XV.—NO. XXIX.—MARCH, 1851. P

store of homiletic theology that have come under our notice for a considerable length of time. They consist of a series of lectures on the Gospels harmonised, and arranged in short sections. In their general character they are not only practical and spiritual, but they abound with intelligent observation, and well-digested information; and to the more educated classes they will supply the kind of reading which is perhaps the best possibly adapted to their wants, combining, as it does, practical piety with the demands of a cultivated intellect and an intelligent mind.

XI.IV.—*The Chronicle of Battel Abbey, from 1066 to 1176. Now first translated, with Notes, and an Abstract of the subsequent History of the Establishment.* By MARK ANTONY LOWER, M.A., &c. London: J. R. Smith. 1851.

To those who have visited, or may visit, the splendid remains of Battel Abbey, rich as they are in historical recollections, and in architectural beauty, the volume before us will possess an interest which rarely attaches to antiquarian publications. But an original monkish history of Battel Abbey, comprising an almost contemporary account of the Battle of Hastings, of the history of William the Conqueror, of the foundation of the Abbey, and of all the particulars connected with its endowment and establishment, will possess, even for a larger class of readers, a very considerable value. The editor, whose family appears to have been connected, in the fifteenth century, with the abbey, by some transfer of property, has executed his work of translation apparently with great care and diligence; and he has subjoined a continuation of the history to the latest period. Some well-executed *fac similes* of the abbey records, add to the value of the work.

XI.V.—*An Ecclesiastical Biography, containing the Lives of Ancient Fathers and Modern Divines, interspersed with Notices of Heretics and Schismatics, forming a brief History of the Church in every Age.* By WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D., Vicar of Leeds. Vol. VII. London: Rivingtons.

THE labours of the author of this volume, whether in the duties of his important parish, or with his pen, are enough to put most men to shame. Assuredly Dr. Hook is a living proof, that the production of works of research and of merit, does not depend in all cases on the enjoyment of what is called "literary leisure." The amount of reading requisite to produce such a volume as that before us—the thought and labour involved in the task of selection and abridgment alone—must have been very great;

but, however Dr. Hook has been enabled to find time to get through all his work, he has certainly produced an excellent volume of biography in this instance. We like all that we have read of it, particularly the lives of Luther and Melancthon, which occur in this portion of the work. We observe that Dr. Hook expects to conclude his undertaking in one more volume.

XLVI.—*The Chronological New Testament, in which the Text of the authorized Version is newly divided into paragraphs and sections, with the dates and places of transactions marked, the marginal references of the Translators, &c.* London: Blackader.

THIS edition of the New Testament, which is in the words of the authorized Version, is divided into new sections throughout by the editor, with a view to facilitate its study and comprehension. Chronological dates are frequently inserted, and the references are added; but we confess that we are unable to see that the editor has materially facilitated the study of the New Testament, unless, indeed, the printing of the marginal references at length be considered a marked improvement. We think it is very desirable; but we believe it has been already done by Mr. Moody.

XLVII.—*A popular Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.* By THOMAS STEPHEN, *Medical Librarian of King's College, London.* Second Edition. London: J. H. Batty.

FROM all we have seen of this little book, it seems well adapted for circulation amongst the intelligent middling classes and young persons. It comprises much sound information; and it certainly speaks out very manfully against Romish errors.

XLVIII.—*Hints for Happy Homes; or Amusements for all Ages.* London: J. and C. Mozley.

THIS tale is intended for young persons, and combines a great deal of amusing detail and stories, with accounts of games and amusements of all kinds.

XLIX.—*Tales for my Cousin. Translated and adapted from German of FRANZ HOFFMAN. By FRANCIS M. WILBEHAM.* London: Masters.

A VERY pretty series of tales. The young "Robinson Crusoe" in particular is extremely amusing.

L.—*A Vindication of the Church of England: in Reply to the Right Hon. Viscount Feilding, on his recent Secession to the Church of Rome. By the Rev. R. W. MORGAN, Perpetual Curate of Tregynon, Montgomeryshire.* London: Rivingtons.

THIS very able and well-argued defence of the Church of England deserves a far more lengthened notice than we can afford to bestow upon it at this moment. The Church is deeply indebted to Mr. Morgan for the amount of energy, earnestness, and learning which he has brought to bear on her defence in this work, and in his excellent book on the "Verities of the Church;" and we hope that we may be enabled, in our next number, to express more fully our sense of the value of these publications, and also of Mr. Collingwood's most sound and able volume of Sermons on the Church.

LI.—*Lectures on the Scripture Revelations respecting Good and Evil Angels. By a COUNTRY PASTOR, Author of "Lectures on the Scripture Revelations respecting a Future State."* London: J. W. Parker.

THIS volume treats of the following subjects:—Angels—Reasons for Revealing to Man the Ministrations of Holy Angels—Cessations of Sensible Angelic Visits—Evil Angels—Reasons for Revealing to Man the Existence of Evil Spirits—Demoniacs—Temptations of our Saviour and his followers—Prevailing Errors relative to Satanic Agency. This will furnish some notion of the extent of the subject traversed by the author; and we are bound to say, that he has treated it with all his well-known acuteness and ability, and in such a spirit and tone as the subject calls for. His arguments and warnings against Rationalistic and Socinian theories, and against popular errors and superstitions, appear to be excellent, as far as we can judge. The whole work, as it seems to us, is calculated to maintain those doctrines which arise from the simple and common-sense view of the meaning of Scripture.

III.—*Privileges, Duties, and Perils in the English Branch of the Church of Christ, at the present time: Six Sermons, preached in Canterbury Cathedral, in September and October, 1850. By BENJAMIN HARRISON, M.A., Archdeacon of Maidstone, Canon of Canterbury.* London: Rivingtons.

WE select from these pious and excellent discourses the following passage, as illustrative of the tone and the principles which permeate them throughout:—

“Infidelity is even now ready to put itself daringly forth in various forms of error, adapted to different ranks and orders of men, to the learned and ignorant alike, ‘high and low, rich and poor, one with another.’ And the emissaries of Rome meanwhile are ready on their part, indulging at once the spirit of progress and the love of novelty, with the semblance withal of antiquity; and that which is to satisfy the craving for absolute universal certainty in matters of religion. They will be endeavouring craftily to persuade men that the middle way of the Church of England, the old way which our fathers in the faith have trodden in purity and in peace, is a delusion and a dream; that there is no possible intermediate course between the unbridled licence of individual opinion, a proud self-sufficient rationalism on the one hand, or on the other entire unquestioning submission to the authority of an infallible Church, and of a supreme judge of controversies, a Vicar of Christ upon earth. They will be found stamping with that usurped authority, falsely claiming to be Divine, not only the twelve new articles which Papal supremacy in the sixteenth century dared to add to those of the ancient Creed, but also whatever so-called ‘developments’ the spirit of a presumptuous or a profane theology may think fit to engraft on ‘the faith which was once for all delivered to the Saints,’ and preserved and handed down in the Creeds and Confessions of the Church Apostolic, not Roman, but Catholic. Against the specious sophistries, the false sentimentalism, and the alluring enticements of modern Romanism, the unwary have great need to be put upon their guard; and those persons assuredly incur a heavy responsibility and fearful peril, who expose themselves to temptation by reading Romish writings, using Romish devotions, attending Romish lectures, allowing themselves to be drawn within the web of Romish influence, and ensnared by the subtlety of the well-practised controversialists, the proselyting agents and converts of the Church of Rome.”—pp. 108, 109.

The discourses appear to be marked by the learning and the sobriety of judgment which are eminently the characteristics of their respected author’s works.

LIII.—*The Treatise of Albertus Magnus [1193—1280] De adherendo Deo: Of adhering to God. A Translation from the Latin.* London: C. Gilpin.

THE merits of this little Treatise of Albertus Magnus are thus detailed in the Translator's Preface:—

“The treatise in question was the highest teaching of his well-instructed soul. Flowing from the centre of a mind, which fixed on the immovable ground of faith, had surveyed the glorious realities of the world in which spirit only lives, it shows that the antepast of that rest which remains for the people of God, could and should now be enjoyed by the new-born, in the harmonizing influence upon every faculty of the mind which the contemplation of it induces. As others, who have tasted of the powers of the world to come, he felt and saw that the great antagonizing power was the world present, in all its material relations and occurrences, distracting and dissipating the capacities of the intellect, and absorbing the affections of the soul; and by personal actual process was fitted to give the precious counsel afforded in this treatise ‘Of adhering to God.’ There is nothing that partakes of private bias, or colour of aught that is misanthropic, or peculiar to a particular notion or profession; nothing needing palliation or exception. The indwelling love speaking in the outflowing charity of act, the truth of God, here as ever, shows itself the only universal.”

It appears to us that these encomiums are fully merited by the Treatise, which is certainly an interesting production; as having been written in the thirteenth century—a period not remarkable for purity of doctrine.

LIV.—*Hymns with Notes.* By JAMES JOYCE, A.M., Vicar of Dorking. London: J. J. Guillaume.

A COLLECTION of short Hymns on scriptural subjects, intended for the use of the poor. Each hymn is preceded by a passage of Scripture, and followed by a note containing appropriate remarks of a devotional character. It seems well calculated for circulation amongst the poor.

LV.—*The Way through the Desert; or, the Caravan.* By the Rev. R. MILMAN, M.A., Author of “*The Voices of Harvest*,” &c. London: Masters.

IN this very well-written parable, the author proposes to himself to point out the evil of mistaking outward decency and respectability of life, and a righteousness according to this world, for that complete renovation and transformation which the Scriptures set before us as the mark of God's true children.

LVI.—*Science Simplified, and Philosophy, Natural and Experimental, made Easy.* By the Rev. DAVID WILLIAMS, M.A. London: Piper.

THIS Simplification of Science, in the shape of a Two-shilling book, contains a series of questions and answers on Animal Physiology, Vegetable Physiology, Mechanics, Optics, Astronomy, and Geology. Of course, it gives merely an outline. We observe it is intended for use in Schools, but the style appears rather too difficult to render it available for such a purpose.

LVII.—*A Series of Texts: arranged for the Use of Christians in the way of Prayer and Promise, in the Hope of affording Guidance and Consolation in Seasons of Difficulty, Trial, and Affliction.* By a Lady. Edited by the Rev. W. SINCLAIR, Perpetual Curate of St. George's, Leeds. London: Hatchards.

THIS collection of Texts is arranged under the various subjects which are likely to give comfort and to impart instruction in time of sickness. The texts, comprising prayers or precepts, and the promises, are arranged on opposite pages, so that the reader can pass from the duty pointed out to the promise attached to it. The plan seems a good one, and novel.

LVIII.—*The Museum of Classical Antiquities: a Quarterly Journal of Architecture and the Sister Branches of Classic Art. No. I. January, 1851.* London: J. W. Parker.

THIS is a new Quarterly Journal, intended to afford a medium for communications from antiquarians, architects, travellers, and others who may feel interest in the subject of classical antiquities, with a more especial reference to architecture and the connected branches of art. The number before us contains able and interesting papers by Fra Gioando, M. Hiltorf, Professor Donaldson, Professor Schoenborn, W. W. Lloyd, Esq., Edward Falconer, Esq., and others, relating chiefly to architecture and classical remains.

LIX.—*A Commentary on the Te Deum; chiefly from ancient Sources.* By A. P. FORBES, D.C.L., Bishop of Brechin. London: Masters.

THE little volume before us will be acceptable to a considerable class of readers: to others it will not be so. The very illustration at the commencement will give offence to some. In it God the

Son is represented surrounded by angels, one of which bears the Cross, while, on either hand, are seated a long array of kings, bishops and monks. Some of the *authorities* quoted in the body of the work will be regarded with jealousy at present. "St. Thomas Aquinas"—"Horst, Paradisus Animæ"—"L. de Granada"—"Cornelius à Lapide"—"The Synod of Bethlehem"—"Maldonatus"—"Rodriguez"—"Lorenzo Scupoli," &c.—are authorities more generally referred to by Roman Catholics than by orthodox Churchmen. We deeply regret the sanction thus given to those who look to Rome as their model; and we regret it the more, considering all that has been reported in reference to the author. We say this with the fullest sense of the piety which distinguishes the writings of Bishop Forbes, and with the highest respect for his office and himself personally; but under a feeling of no little anxiety and alarm.

LX.—*Thoughts on important Church Subjects. Seven Lectures.*
By R. C. COXE, M.A., Vicar of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and Hon. Canon of Durham.

THESE Lectures are, as appears from the title, printed at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, "for the Churchwardens of St. Nicholas," and may be had at "the Vestry," and at various booksellers. This is really most gratifying. We observe the volume is dedicated to "Matthew Lee, William Young, Henry Ingledew, and William Nesham, at whose particular request and cost this volume has been published." We congratulate the excellent author on so complete a proof of the value placed on his Lectures by his own parishioners. We do not remember such an instance of appreciation. We are also glad to be enabled to add, that the acceptableness of these Lectures proves, that where a clergyman honestly and faithfully warns and guards his flock against Romish error, he need not fear to put forth the rights of the Church of England as a true and firm branch of the Catholic Church.

LXI.—*No Need of a Living Infallible Guide in Matters of Faith: a Series of Sermons, recently preached in Whitkirk Church.* By the Rev. ARTHUR MARTINEAU, M.A., Vicar of Whitkirk, Yorkshire, and Rural Dean. London: Rivingtons.

AMONGST the many publications which have recently issued from the press on this and kindred topics, Mr. Martineau's discourses on a Living Infallible Guide will hold an honourable place. His Sermons evince much thought, and a perfect acquaintance with his subject; and we shall be happy to see them obtain an extended circulation.

LXII.—*Papal Infallibility: a Letter to a Dignitary of the Church of Rome, in Reply to a Communication received from him.* By G. S. FABER, B.D., Master of Sherborne Hospital, and Prebendary of Salisbury. London: Rivingtons.

WE have perused this publication of Mr. Faber's with the highest satisfaction, and we commend it to the especial attention of our readers. In a short compass it comprises one of the best arguments against Rome that we remember to have seen. We must give our readers the benefit of one or two extracts on important points.

The Council of Trent itself, as Mr. Faber shows, appeals to the testimony of antiquity as proof of Romish tenets. The Church, according to this synod, and to the general run of Romish writers, *always taught* the doctrines she now does.

“The Council of Trent professes to deliver nothing *mero motu*. The key-note, which runs through it from beginning to end, is: that the Entire Scheme of Doctrine, which it propounds, has nothing of vicious Novelty in it, but was ALWAYS received in the Church Catholic. *SEMPER hæc fides in Ecclesia Dei fuit*. The ALWAYS of this precise Scheme, exactly as drawn out and defined by the Council, constitutes the repeatedly declared ground of its obligatory acceptance. You are bound, say they, to receive it, not because *we* declare it by our own insulated private judgment, but because from the beginning it has ever been the clearly-defined System of the *Universal Church*.

“Here, then, on the very principle of Tertullian's Canon as also on the principle of Vincent's Canon, is a palpable Appeal to FACT. And the FACT in question, like any other asserted Fact, can only be established by HISTORICAL TESTIMONY. The Infallibility of the Council itself is virtually disclaimed. It delivers nothing by its own naked authority: it reposes the whole system of its well-defined Doctrine upon the asserted truth of an alleged FACT. Such being the case, we are invited, throwing all Conciliar Infallibility aside, to test the Assertion by Documentary Evidence from the very age of the Apostles. For, unless the test be carried up to the First Preaching of the Gospel, we plainly have no proof in the ALWAYS.

“This test, on the strength of the Tridentine Council's own authoritative recommendation, I proposed, between twenty and thirty years ago, to my then opponents Bishop Trevern and Mr. Husenbeth. But (*honor sit auribus*) the former, though at the request of Mr. Massingberd, who desired me to answer his so-called *Discussion Amicale*, I was even ultraistically polite to *him*, was so disgusted with *me*, that he declared he would never read another line of what I wrote: while the latter, who, uninvited by myself, somewhat literally took up the cudgels for him, pronounced me a born natural for putting forth so absurd and unreasonable a test as an Appeal to Historical Testimony, albeit propounded by the Council of Trent itself.

" Still, it was necessary to say *something*: and, accordingly, a *reply* was attempted by each of the two gentlemen; and, since then, yet a third reply to the difficulty, though not professing to be such, has been put forth by our friend Mr. Newman in his Work on *Development*.

" 1. Dr. Trevern, in *his* answer, censured the unreasonableness of requiring, from the Documents of the three first centuries, any *written* proofs of the repeated statements of the Council of Trent; that the Faith defined by that Council had ALWAYS been in the Church of God: because, said he, the *Disciplina Arcani* forbade all committing of the Doctrines of the Church to *writing*; and delivered them, *orally alone*, to the initiated."—pp. 16—18.

" 2. Mr. Husenbeth, when *he* stepped forward as the proxy of the bishop, took up quite a different ground: but, unluckily, it was altogether inconsistent with that of his principal; insomuch that, of very necessity, the one made the other untenable.

" From this gentleman, we hear nothing of Dr. Trevern's solution of the difficulty through the medium of the *Disciplina Arcani*. On the contrary, *his* solution is, not that the proofs were never committed to *writing*, but that they had been committed to *writing* though unhappily through the envy of Time they had all perished.

" As for my luckless self, he avers, that I must be an absolute simpleton to think of demanding *written proofs* of the Tridentine Assertion from the documents of the three first centuries, when so many of them had been lost, that the scanty remnant formed only so many broken *stepping-stones*.

" I stop not to calculate the number and to measure the bulk of Mr. Husenbeth's *stepping-stones*, though some may think that he considerably underrated both their tale and their dimensions. Be that, however, as it may, he confessed his inability to produce the required *Written Documentary Proofs*.

" According, then, to Dr. Trevern, no *Written Proofs* ever existed: according to Mr. Husenbeth, *Written Proofs* certainly had existed in despite of the *Disciplina Arcani*; but unluckily they had all perished.

" Thus, in their *theories*, the two gentlemen differed *toto cælo*: but, in the *fact*, that, from the *Written Documents* of the three first centuries, they could produce no *proof* of the large Tridentine ALWAYS, they fully agreed. And, accordingly, from that day to this, neither of them has given the *required proofs*.

" 3. So the case stood, when I was engaged with these two Divines.

" At *that* time, neither they nor myself had ever heard of the principle of DEVELOPMENT; though it must be confessed, that Mr. Husenbeth, whatever he might mean, *declared* his ability to prove the ALWAYS in the three first centuries, albeit not in the precise manner so unreasonably required by myself. But, *subsequently*, this same principle (unless Dr. Moehlor be a rival for the honour of its invention) has been propounded, in mood and form, by our ingenious friend, Mr. Newman; and has been adopted; I observe, as satisfactory, by yourself.

" With him, you state: that the *Germ* (such is your own very appro-

private word) of all the doctrines which the Tridentines assert to have always existed in the Church Catholic, really *did* thus exist; though the *Germ* itself was only gradually developed and expanded, through a long succession of fructifying ages, into the maturity, if indeed the *full* maturity, of the Tridentine Definitions.

"This new theory may, peradventure, be a making the best of an inveterately bad case: but like the two former theories of Dr. Trevern and Mr. Husenbeth; it *really*, so far as respects the three first centuries (even to say nothing of many still later ages), gives up the matter."—pp. 16—20.

We cannot specify any more of the excellent points made by Mr. Faber in this pamphlet, but we should like to see it printed in a cheap form and largely circulated. It is the best of his productions we remember to have seen.

MISCELLANEOUS.

AMONGST pamphlets and publications bearing on the recent discussions caused by the Papal aggression, and the Ritual contest, are the following:—"Remarks on the Influence of Tractarianism, or Church Principles, so called, in promoting Secessions to the Church of Rome," by the Rev. Theyre T. Smith, M.A., Vicar of Wymondham, &c. (London: Fellowes)—a very serious, thoughtful, and well-reasoned publication, deserving of the fullest attention; "The glorious Liberty of the Children of God," by "Emancipator," a nominal attack on Romanism, but really on the English Church; "A Letter to the London Union on Church Matters," by the Rev. Edward Edwards, Rector of Penegoes (Hatchards), a distinct and manly avowal of sound principles, including a repudiation of the Romanizing tendencies of some *soi-disant* Churchmen; "St. Mary the Virgin and the Wife," by the Rev. J. Moultrie (Whittaker), a poem for circulation amongst the poor, conveying much sound instruction in opposition to the wiles of Romish proselytism; "The Black Fever," another poem, in reference to Romanism, by the same author; "St. Paul's Prediction of the Falling Away, and the Man of Sin," four Lectures, by the Rev. J. W. Gleadall, A.M. (Cuming), applying those prophecies to the Church of Rome, in a popular way; "The Jurisdiction of the Crown in Matters Spiritual: A Letter to the Rev. M. E. Manning," by the Rev. F. Vincent, advocating the Royal Supremacy, but temperately, and in a right spirit, and alluding, in a respectful tone, to the doubts entertained of the faith of the clergyman addressed; "Sound an Alarm," a Sermon, by the Rev. C. Gutch (Masters), in opposition to the proposed suggestions for altering the Prayer Book; "What is the Church," a Sermon, by the Rev. Edward

Stuart (Masters), alleging that we have the same means of grace as are found in the Church of Rome; "Rome's Outworks," by the Rev. C. R. De Havilland (Hatchards), an able and well-reasoned refutation of Romanism, and containing suggestions for its repression; "The Hunting and Finding Out of the Romish Fox" (J. W. Parker), a reprint of a curious tract against Romanism, written by Dr. Turner in 1543; "Substance of a Speech at a Public Meeting at Monmouth," by Samuel Bosanquet, Esq. (Hatchards), a well-meant, but rather wild production, appearing to throw the blame of divisions quite as much on the Church of England as on Dissenters; "Was St. Peter ever at Rome? by the Rev. J. S. M'Corry" (Dolman), a laboured attempt to prove that St. Peter was at Rome, and that Rome was the *Babylon* of the New Testament,—rather an incautious line of argument for a Romanist! "Historical and Practical Remarks on the Papal Aggression" (Rivingtons), a very unsatisfactory tract, calculated to unsettle, rather than confirm, faith in the English Church; "The Present Crisis," four Sermons, by the Rev. J. S. M. Anderson (Rivingtons), very sound, learned, and able in its references to Romanism; "Earl Grey's Circular," by Dudley M. Perceval, Esq. (Rivingtons), pointing out the encouragement given to Romish Aggression by the conduct of the Colonial Minister; "The Position of our Church as to Rome," a Sermon, by the Rev. Wilson Pedder (Masters), arguing the Catholicity of our Church against Rome; "On the Mode of Improving Present Opportunities," by the Rev. T. A. Maberly (Masters), suggesting an application for Convocation, and the freedom of the Church; "The Peril of Papal Aggression," by Anglicanus (Bosworth), a vigorous attack on Romish error and intolerance, and a recommendation of repressive measures; "Where has the Pope aggrieved?" by the Rev. H. Newland (Masters), dissuading from all opposition to the Papal Aggression; "The Church of England not High, not Low, but Broad as the Commandment of God," a Letter to the Prime Minister, by T. W. Peile, D.D. (J. W. Parker), suggesting an improved organization of the Church of England, with its Synods and augmented Episcopacy, as the true mode of meeting Romish Aggression:—a very valuable pamphlet; "Papal Aggressions; how they should be met," by "a Member of the United Church of England and Ireland" (J. W. Parker), recommending the expulsion of Tractarians from the Church; "Danger to the Faith," a Sermon at Haverstock Hill, by the Rev. J. Baines (Kingcombe), published by request of the congregation, and speaking even more freely against State Aggression than against Papal Aggression; "Cautions for the Times" (J. W. Parker), ably written tracts on matters connected

with the present state of the Church, and on Papal Aggression; "Notes on the Constitution of Sheepfolds," by J. Ruskin (Smith, Elder, and Co.), a curious medley of opinions on Church matters, violent against the priesthood, urgent for an increased Episcopate, for Church discipline, and for the union of Protestants; "The Unfruitful Vineyard," a Sermon, by the Rev. H. Lomas (Masters), very indignant at Lord John Russell's Durham Letter; "The True Cause of Dishonour to the Church of England," by the Rev. C. Marriott (J. H. Parker), pointing out State Aggression as the cause of fear now; "A Practical Address on Recent and Coming Events within the Church," by the Rev. George Sandby (Painter), strongly adverse to the Tractarian party, and yet not opposed to some alterations in our present system in the direction of Synods or Church assemblies of some sort.

We have also, amongst other pamphlets bearing on these and similar questions. "Lights on the Altar," by a Layman (Rivingtons), disapproving the practice; "Tractarian Tendencies," by Rev. Dr. Worthington (Hatchards), a strong attack on Mr. Bennett; "Dr. Arnold and Rev. W. J. E. Bennett," by John Wynne, an equally strong attack; "Party Spirit," by Rev. Canon Trevor (Bell), an expostulation with the Vicar of Sheffield, who had prevented him from preaching in the parish church; "A Plea for United Responding in the Public Worship," by Rev. J. F. Hodgson (Masters), a useful tract; "Assertions not Proofs: an Examination of the Rev. D. Wilson's Appeal" (Masters), an argument against Mr. Wilson's proposals; "Puseyites (so-called) no Friends to Popery," by Rev. J. Ingle: a well-meant pamphlet, but defending a cause which is no longer defensible; "The Prayers to be said or sung," by the Rev. W. B. Flower (Masters), in vindication of ritualism; "A Review of Rev. W. J. E. Bennett's Letter," by W. Thorpe, D.D. (Seeleys), in strong opposition to ritualism; "Defence of the Orthodox Party in the Church of England," by Hon. Colin Lindsay (Masters), comprising a defence of the alterations in divine worship recently effected, and general defence of what the author calls the "High Church Party;" "A Letter to Lord Ashley," by a Lay Member of the Church of England (Seeleys), suggesting alterations in the direction of dissent; "Statement of the Clergy of St. Saviour's" (Masters), an attack on the Bishop of Ripon for attempting to suppress Romanizing practices; "Memorial of the Churchwardens of Westbourne," by Rev. H. Newland (Masters), a tract in which the extreme indulgence and kindness of the Bishop of Chichester stands in strong contrast to the tone of defiance adopted by Mr. Newland. Amongst other publications we may

notice "Adult Evening Schools," a Letter to the Bishop of Norwich by a Country Curate (Longmans), from which the following passage is extracted :

"The author of these pages entered upon the curacy of two parishes in this diocese in October. Though for the education of the rising generation of the poor of both parishes ample provision has been made for some years past, the older inhabitants, as in most parts of this diocese, are lamentably ignorant. To remedy this, Adult Evening Schools, meeting three times a week, were established in both parishes, the management of which was confided to the author. They met for the first time on the 3rd and 4th of December. At Parish A, the number on the first night was 11; at Parish B, 10. After the third week, the numbers greatly increased; and the average attendance for some time has been nearly 27 at Parish A, and nearly 40 at Parish B. The extent of knowledge at these schools is of a most elementary nature. At Parish A, not more than 3 or 4 can read with fluency. At B, the first class, containing 14 or 15, read fairly; the second class, imperfectly; and some in the third class cannot read at all. Writing and arithmetic are in the same elementary state.

"But a gratifying feature presents itself, in the high promise which these schools afford. The payments, for which no credit is allowed, are willingly made; the desire to improve is most eager; and the advancement is most rapid. Men who could not read a word, can now read and spell; some who had never formed a letter, can now write neatly on paper. In the first class at Parish B, men who could read on after a fashion, but not spell, nor bear to be questioned, can now spell well, and answer questions arising from the subject, readily and with gusto. They are, indeed, most eager to obtain knowledge, and in most cases they endeavour on off nights to improve themselves at home. The interest too, comparatively unfelt before, which they take in the progress of their children or relations at the National Schools, is most pleasing and valuable.

"I might here state my firm conviction, that had the study of vocal music been introduced (which a local circumstance forbade) the numbers would have been far greater. As it is, I have good reason for expecting that the following winter will witness a more numerous attendance, even without such a popular inducement.

"At Parish B, almost all of those who are not necessarily engaged, meet themselves on the Sunday: though no one is then present but themselves, they are most orderly and assiduous under the conduct of the monitors. They afterwards proceed to church. Attendance on the Sunday is quite optional.

"The following is an analysis of the ages of the Adults at Parish B:—

1	above	40	4	above	25
8	"	30	11	"	20

15 above 16."

"These schools, now in the second year of their institution, are more prosperous than ever. They were re-opened in the early part of October: vocal music is introduced, and, even after paying a singing master, the whole system is entirely *self-supporting*.

"An important and most satisfactory feature in the plan is, the thorough approval it meets with from all classes. At Parish A, the school is most efficiently conducted by a private gentleman, to whom the author will ever feel most gratefully indebted; and his own occasional presence is not a matter of necessity, but a source of pleasure and satisfaction.

"At Parish B, in which the author is resident, another friend to the cause has come forward as a regular instructor, and the author's labours have been much lightened by the assistance of volunteers. Of these—the employers of the pupils—more would be happy to aid were their assistance really needed."—pp. 15, 16.

We have to notice the "Family Almanac" for 1851 (J. H. Parker), as containing a great deal of information about Foundation and Grammar Schools; "The Calendar of St. Augustine's College" (Rivingtons), an interesting volume; a "Sermon," by Rev. T. Woodward, at the Consecration of the Bishop of Meath, very able and sound; a "List of all the Sees of the Eastern Church," by Rev. J. M. Neale; "Scripture Politics," a Sermon by Rev. C. Girdlestone (Rivingtons), advocating Christian principle as the only true guide in politics; "The Naturalist," a cheap Monthly Magazine, on subjects referring to natural history, edited by Dr. Morris (Groombridge), and apparently very well executed; "Parochial Papers on Missions" (J. H. Parker), containing suggestions for establishing parochial associations for missionary purposes; "The Church patient in her mode of dealing with Controversies," a Sermon, by Rev. A. W. Haddan (J. H. Parker); "The Pew Question" (Masters), relating the successful issue of an attempt to make a church free; "God is Love," a Sermon, by Rev. H. M. Wagner, relating to the refusal to make a Church-rate at Brighton; "Substance of Speeches at Bridgend and Newport" (J. W. Parker), containing most interesting accounts of the state of religion in South Wales, and the exertions now being made to meet the destitution so prevalent there; "Two Sermons," by Rev. Osmond Fisher (Rivingtons), very sound and excellent discourses in reference to the Papal Aggression, and pointing out the necessity for the revival of synodal action.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

AFRICA.—*Diocese of Cape Town.*—*Visit of the Bishop to a Kaffir Chief.*—The Bishop of Cape Town paid a visit, in August last, to a Kaffir chief, named Umhala, of the T'Zalambie tribe, at his kraal, on the Groubic, near Fort Waterloo. Having encamped at a short distance from the kraal, the Bishop, accompanied by the Rev. F. Fleming, who carried a blanket, and some beads and knives, as presents, and by Mr. G. Shepstone, the interpreter to the T'Zalambie Commissioner, proceeded on foot to the Kaffir camp. He was received by Umhala in his hut, in the presence of his counsellors, sons, and wives, amounting in all to forty or fifty souls. The hut was large and spacious, built on a circle of poles, about seven or eight feet high. In the centre was a wood-fire, the smoke from which, with the fumes of tobacco, filled the atmosphere. The Bishop sat near the door of the hut on the ground, on a skin, with Mr. Shepstone and Mr. Fleming on either side of him. Umhala sat opposite, in the middle. The Bishop opened the interview by asking Umhala, through the interpreter, if he knew him, and where he had seen him. He replied, "Yes, I know you, you are the 'inkosi enkulu' (great chief) of the Christians, and I saw you with Smith at the great meeting at King William's Town." The Bishop then informed him that he was come to see him, and converse with him about sending him a missionary, or teacher, to instruct him and his people in the ways of God. Umhala expressed at some length, and with warmth, his obligations for the visit, and thanked the Bishop for his offer of a teacher, saying, he would treat him very kindly when he came, and listen to him. The Bishop then informed him, that he brought him a present of a blanket, at which he seemed much pleased, received it from Mr. Fleming, and then rose, and shaking hands with the Bishop, thanked him very warmly. The Bishop next asked Umhala, if the Archdeacon had not lately paid him a visit? He replied, "Yes, and he liked him very much," adding, "if you send me teachers for my people *he must* be one of them." The Bishop explained that he could not spare the Archdeacon, as he was a chief among the Christians. "Of that I am aware," replied Umhala, "but I am a chief among my people the T'Zalambies, and a chief ought to be taught by a chief. You, the great chief, I know cannot come to me, as you have to travel far, I hear, but *he must* come." The Bishop again tried to explain that he could not spare the Archdeacon for missionary work; but the old chief, though assenting to all the Bishop said, invariably returned to his point, "that he must have the Archdeacon as his teacher." The Bishop asked

him, " why he was so anxious for him in particular ?" To which he replied, " that he liked him—he was a fine fellow—a chief—and ought to teach a chief." The Bishop told him " that a young man, the son of one of our greatest chiefs over the seas, had offered to come and be his teacher." Umhala replied, " he was very much obliged to him ; he *might* come, and he would be glad to have him, but the Archdeacon must come too."

The Bishop then in a few words explained to them what their missionaries, when they arrived, would teach them. They all listened, some most attentively. Having ended his discourse, the Bishop proceeded to distribute, through Mr. Fleming, presents to the chief's children and counsellors, &c., consisting of beads and knives ; after which he partook of some curded milk offered him by way of refreshment. The Bishop took particular notice of the children, as one by one they were presented to receive their string of beads—Umhala all the while enumerating his family, consisting in all of eight wives and twenty-six children. After a lengthened interview, the Bishop took his leave, and returned to his own encampment. The next morning at breakfast-time the chief appeared, attended by his eight wives, and reminded the Bishop that he had forgotten to give presents to them the night before. His Lordship promised each of them a handkerchief, which seemed to please them much, and after giving them some breakfast, took leave of the old chief, who, at parting, presented the Bishop with his assagai, as a token that there was peace between them.

Liberia.—The American Mission.—The Mission of the American Church to Liberia is in a most promising condition. The Rev. John Payne, D.D., the long-tried and faithful Missionary at Cape Palmas, who, at the last meeting of the triennial Convention, at Cincinnati, was elected Bishop for the Mission in West Africa, is about to return from Liberia to the United States, for the purpose of being consecrated. The Rev. C. C. Hoffman sailed from Baltimore for Cape Palmas, on the 21st of Dec. At this station multitudes of the natives, with their children, regularly attend divine service, and the various schools established by the Missionaries. A long line of coast, however, about 700 miles, between them and Sierra Leone, yet remains unoccupied by Episcopal Missions. There is a large tribe of natives anxious for instruction, at Bassa Cove, about midway between Cape Palmas and Sierra Leone ; and a plan has long been in contemplation for erecting there a Missionary church, schools, and, eventually, a theological seminary, for the colonists and native tribes. The territory of Liberia, within which no slavery is tolerated, now extends for 500 miles along the coast, from the Sherbro to the San Pedro. The form of government resembles that of the United States. The immigrant population amounts to about 7000 : the natives to about 250,000 souls. The former are mostly liberated slaves, dependent on Christian nations for the means of erecting churches, chapels, and schools. Bishop Smith, of Kentucky, has established a theological seminary for training up blacks as Missionaries. In the island of Barbados, also, considerable interest is taken in the cause of

VOL. XV.—NO. XXIX.—MARCH, 1851. Q

African Missions, and a general meeting of the Barbados Church Society was specially convened at Bridgetown, in November, with a view of originating a Church Mission from the West Indies to Western Africa.

AUSTRALIA.—*Meeting of the Bishops at Sydney.*—A conference of Australasian Bishops met on the 1st of Oct. last, at the Cathedral, at Sydney. Six Bishops, the Metropolitan of Sydney, the Bishops of Newcastle, Melbourne, Adelaide, Tasmania, and New Zealand, and sixteen clergymen, with others, received the Holy Communion together on the occasion. Touching the subjects discussed in the conference nothing has transpired. There was a public meeting held on the 29th of Oct., for the purpose of supporting the Bishop of New Zealand's mission to several islands within his diocese. An immediate subscription was proposed for providing the Bishop with a suitable vessel for visiting those islands, as his present vessel of twenty tons is considered unsafe. The Episcopal Conference, which broke up on the 31st of Oct., caused a great sensation at Sydney, and there is reason to hope that it will produce a beneficial and lasting effect both upon the population of Sydney, and upon the whole of our Colonial possessions in that part of the world.

Diocese of Newcastle.—*Statistics.*—The following account is given, by the Bishop of Newcastle, of the subdivision of his diocese into districts, under date of Aug. 3, 1850, and of the state of the Church at the different stations:—"1. *Newcastle.* Now laying out 500*l.* on the church, and building an excellent school. Forming plans also for a superior church grammar-school.—2. *Hexham.* New school, and master's house.—3. *Raymond Terrace.* New school. Enlarging church.—4. *Hexton, or Hunter.* Nice pretty church just finished.—5. *Donjoy.* Admirable school. Very nice church building; and parsonage agreed for.—6. *Morpeth.* Church beautifying. Master's house building. Admirable model-school built in stone.—7. *East Maitland.* The church to be new roofed and pewed.—8. *West Maitland.* The church enlarged and new pewed, or rather seated. Two excellent schools building.—9. *Singleton.* Admirable stone church just finishing; to be consecrated in about two months. Good school building.—10. *Jerry's Plains.* A beautiful stone church just finished in this district; to be consecrated in about three months. Two others building, one of stone and one of brick.—11. *Wollambi.* Stone church, finished and consecrated. Parsonage building.—12. *Muswell Brook.* Very handsome chancel added to the church. New church at Merton, just finished. Small new church, wooden, at Meriwa. New school at Cassilis; to be used temporarily as a church.—13. *Scone.* Tower building to church; school building at Wurrurmdi (also temporarily as a church).—14. *Tamworth.* Parsonage just built. School building. Plans making for a church.—15. *Armidale.* Very pretty church just finished and consecrated. Parsonage and schoolmaster's house building.—16. *Clarence River.* Parsonage building.—17. *Darling Downs.*

Parsonage building. School building. To be used temporarily as a church.—18. *Ipswich*. Parsonage building; admirable school building.—19. *Brisbane*, Moreton Bay. A beautiful parsonage building; and church.—20. *Strand*. Parsonage, church, school.—21. *Port Macquarie*. Parsonage, church, school; parsonage now building.—22. *Paterston*. Parsonage and church.—23. *Brisbane Water*. Parsonage and temporary church.—These, at present, are my districts, or parishes, as they would be called in England; or rather counties (for some are 12 miles in length, by 80 or 100 in breadth). Two of these I have formed *afresh*, pushing out after the enterprising squatters, and being the first to supply their spiritual wants."

Melbourne Diocese.—Mission to the Bush.—The Rev. S. L. Chase, accompanied by Mr. Palmer, as a lay-assistant, left Melbourne, at the end of May, upon a missionary journey into the interior. He proceeded along the Sydney road to Wangaratta, turning off and stopping at various places on his route. From the last-named place he writes:—"All along the route we have experienced great kindness; and, whilst Mr. Palmer has been much occupied in selling books, I have found great opportunities of preaching the Word. I have slept at fourteen different places, and been absent from home seventeen days. Every thing has prospered with us, and I am greatly pleased with the manner in which my Christian companion has fulfilled his duty. By writing to all the settlers, whom I purpose visiting on my return (and each day is already arranged for), my hope is to meet as large congregations as can be collected, and that the good Lord may vouchsafe His gracious blessing is my earnest prayer." Immediately upon Mr. Chase's return, the Rev. J. H. Gregory purposes to set off upon a journey along the western port road, as far as Cape Shark.

Adelaide.—Institution for the Natives.—Archdeacon Hale, of Adelaide, is exerting himself to form an Institution, in which natives who have been brought up at the Adelaide school, and others, who may seem fit subjects for admission, may be gathered together in a separate community, apart from the vicious portion of the white population as well as the wild portion of the blacks, and kept under regular Christian instruction, and the enjoyment of the means of grace, with a view to their becoming gradually accustomed to habits of industry, and to a more settled mode of life. Port Lincoln has been selected as the locality for the intended institution. The Archdeacon has published an appeal, in which he states that the whole of the means at present employed for the instruction of the *aborigines*, in the neighbourhood of Adelaide, consist of *schools* for the *children* of either sex, who, however, on leaving the school, go forth again upon the world under circumstances the most unfavourable to their civil or religious culture. Their habits prevent the employment of any agency to keep them in mind of that Supreme Being whose name they have been taught to call upon. They are without pastoral superintendence of any kind, without the means of grace, without refuge or protection from the contaminations of vice which

surround them on every side. The funds for the support of the institution are to be supplied conjointly by the colonial government and by voluntary contributions, administered through the Church of England. The latter undertakes to *find, pay, and support* the missionary superintendent, and all other Europeans employed in conducting the affairs of the institution. The government aid amounts at present to the sum of 200*l.* for the erection of the necessary huts, and the promise to maintain a limited number of married couples for a period of twelve months.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.—*Diocese of Nova Scotia.*—*Memoir of the late Bishop.*—The Halifax "Church Times" gives the following biographical sketch of the late Bishop Inglis:—"Our late respected and beloved Bishop was born at New York, on the 9th of Dec., 1777, during the height of the struggle which terminated in the independence of the United States, in 1783. His father, who had been many years rector of Trinity Church, in New York, then removed to England, and carried with him his only son John. In 1787, the Rev. Dr. Charles Inglis, the late rector of New York, was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia, and came to this province at the close of that year. It was mainly owing to the exertions of that venerable prelate, who was the first Protestant Bishop appointed to any British colony, that an Act of Assembly was passed in the year 1799, under which King's College, at Windsor, was established, and his son, the subject of this memoir, received his education at that institution. In the year 1800, Mr. Inglis went to England, to advance the interests of his Alma Mater, and owing to his indefatigable exertions, a valuable library, and some large pecuniary contributions, were obtained from the friends of the Church for the infant college—to which he continued a most zealous friend throughout his life. Upon his return to this country, in 1801, he entered into Holy Orders, and was appointed to the mission of Aylesford, where he was ever beloved and esteemed. In 1802, he married Eliza, daughter of the late Hon. Thomas Cochran, by whom he had a large family. In 1805, he again went to England, where he continued his exertions in behalf of the college. On his return he was appointed ecclesiastical commissary in this diocese, and as the infirmities of age increased upon his venerable parent, his zeal and assiduity to those duties, which as commissary he could perform, were highly conducive to the interests of the Church. Upon the death of his pious father, in 1816, the Rev. Dr. Stanser, then rector of St. Paul's, was consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia, and Dr. Inglis succeeded to the charge of this parish—and some are still living who look back with admiration upon the zeal and talents that he then exhibited in his Master's cause. In 1825, Dr. Stanser's health and advanced age compelled him to retire finally from this country, and Dr. Inglis was appointed his successor. The diocese at that time included New Brunswick, Newfoundland, and Bermuda; but extensive as it was, no part of it was neglected by this

indefatigable prelate. The clergy, in particular, will long cherish his memory—and think with gratitude and pleasure on the exertions he ever made to increase their usefulness and their comfort.

“ In Nov., 1849, this pious prelate was engaged in the performance of his episcopal duties, at a distance from his home, in the county of Lunenburg, where he was suddenly attacked by serious illness. Mrs. Inglis and his medical attendant, Dr. Almon, immediately went to his assistance, and under their watchful care, he reached his home with difficulty ; but from that attack he never recovered—after suffering months of pain, he was advised to try a change of climate, and left this in the steamer *Canada*, on the 3rd of Oct. last. He reached England, but his strength was gone, and the melancholy intelligence has now reached us that he expired in London on the 27th of Oct. last.”

Arrangements with regard to the See.—Since the death of Dr. Inglis, a letter has been addressed to the Clergy of Nova Scotia, by the Archbishop of Canterbury—being the first time that the head of the English Church has addressed the Clergy of any province of the empire,—in which His Grace urges the necessity of contributions being raised within the diocese towards the endowment of the vacant bishopric. The Government allowance of 2000*l.* a-year terminated with the life of the late Bishop. The *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* holds in trust a certain capital to be applied to the maintenance of “ Bishops in North America,” from which the Society will probably contribute liberally to the continuance of the See of Nova Scotia, “ provided,” as the Archbishop observes in his letter, “ that the Clergy and laity of that diocese show themselves ready to meet such annual grant by a liberal contribution on their part.” In consequence of this communication from the Archbishop, a meeting of Clergy and Lay Delegates of the diocese of Nova Scotia, which assumed the name of a “ Convention,” and conducted its proceedings after the forms of business adopted by the American Church, was called by the Archdeacon, to make arrangements with a view to the endowment of their Bishopric. Among the resolutions passed at the meeting is the following:—“ That it be an instruction to the Committee of Correspondence, to mention to His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury a feeling among Churchmen in this diocese, that some measures be adopted for securing to them some voice in the nomination of their chief pastors, after the present vacancy shall have been filled up ; and to solicit his counsel with regard to the best means of regulating generally the ecclesiastical and temporal affairs of the Church.”

Since the arrival of this intelligence in England, the Rev. H. Binney, of Worcester College, Oxford, has been nominated to the Bishopric of Nova Scotia.

Canada.—Proposed Total Abandonment of the Clergy Reserves.—It appears, from a letter addressed by Earl Grey to the Governor-General of Canada, that the Government have it in contemplation to obtain the sanction of the Imperial Legislature to the Act of the Provincial Legislature, for the appropriation of the Clergy Reserves in the provinces to

general purposes. Petitions against this measure of spoliation have been transmitted, or are in course of transmission, from every part of the province. That from Toronto alone has no less than 10,000 signatures. The petition to her Majesty from Quebec enters fully into the history of the Clergy Reserves, and we borrow from it the following statement of facts, which it is important should be generally understood, as the subject will have to undergo discussion in Parliament:—

“ That in the year 1791 an Act was passed by the Imperial Parliament, 31 Geo. III. c. 31, comprehending the appropriation of the lands called the *Clergy Reserves*, in the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, for the support and maintenance of a Protestant Clergy, and indicating in all its following clauses the Clergy of the Church of England, and no other, as the body who were to be so supported and maintained :

“ That in the year 1793, your Majesty’s royal grandfather, of blessed memory, King George III., following up the intention of the aforementioned Act, erected the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada into a diocese of the Church of England, in connexion with the Archbishopric of Canterbury, of which the city of Quebec was made the See; and that in the Letters Patent appointing the Bishop to the same, express and formal reference is made to the aforesaid Act of appropriation of the Clergy Reserves,—the two measures being manifestly designed to form parts of one and the same plan, and the decision being practically made, in accordance with what was contemplated in all the clauses of the Act, as to *what* Protestant clergy were, under the Act, to be endowed :

“ That in the year 1816, the Bishop and Clergy of the Church of England were constituted Corporations by Royal Letters Patent, one corporation for Lower, and one for Upper Canada, for the management respectively of the Clergy Reserves, for the benefit of their own Church, within the then existing two Provinces, and that these corporations were beginning to put in train the efficient and advantageous administration of the said Reserves, when their proceedings were interfered with, and finally stopped, by the transfer to the hands of the Commissioner of Crown Lands of the direction of the Clergy Reserves, and the introduction of the system of sales, conducted by that functionary,—in the manner of effecting which the most grievous and most extensive detriment, in all perpetuity, was done to the interests of the Church :

“ That the exclusive claim of the Church of England to the benefit of the Clergy Reserves, implied, as has been made to appear, in different measures of the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain, continued unchallenged and unquestioned till after the year 1820; and that when the efforts which were made to assert a rival claim produced a great amount of painful ferment and agitation in the country, the Clergy and members of the Church of England, in maintaining what, according to their clear and settled convictions, was their right to the whole profits of the Reserves, as the patrimony of the said Church, forbore from contributing to the excitement of the public mind upon the subject by any

inflammatory appeals or any coloured representations to suit the interest of their own party :

“ That in the year 1840, a vast concession was made to the parties adverse to the claims originally recognized as existing in the Church of England, by the enactment of an Imperial Statute for the division of the profits arising from the Clergy Reserves, under the provisions of which statute two-thirds of the proceeds of the lands then sold, and two-thirds of one half of the lands still unsold, were allotted to the Church of England in this Province :

“ That notwithstanding the facts herein already set forth, and the great inaccuracies of many of those representations proceeding from other quarters, upon which this legislative measure appears to have been based, the Clergy and lay members of the Church of England in the province peaceably submitted to this arrangement of the long-agitated questions respecting the Clergy Reserves, and accepted it, according to what they had all reason to do, as the final settlement of those questions, and the extinction, once for all, of all discussions and differences upon the subject; and that to this settlement they considered, and so your Majesty's petitioners do now consider, the faith of the Government to be pledged :

“ That from the date of passing the aforesaid Act of 1840, up to the close of the year 1849, no discontent was manifested in any quarter on account of the provisions of the said Act, and that up to the present moment there has been no agitation of feeling in the province upon the subject :

“ That the Church of England population of Lower Canada is believed to approach, in numbers, to the entire aggregate of all other Protestant denominations within that portion of the province; and that it consists, at the same time, to a very great extent, of the occupiers of poor and backward settlements, who mainly depend for the ministrations of religion upon the charity of the *Society in London for the Propagation of the Gospel*, the revenue up to this date derived from the Clergy Reserves supplying but a very small portion of the expenditure made upon the most frugal and parsimonious scale for this object.”

Under these circumstances the petitioners express their astonishment and alarm at the Act of the Provincial Legislature during its last session, in addressing Her Majesty for the total alienation of the Clergy Reserves from their original purpose, and their appropriation to education and other secular objects, a measure which they consider as an indication of a spirit of aggression towards the Church, and which they earnestly and solemnly deprecate as “ an act of spoliation which would be disastrous to the most sacred interests of human society, and openly hostile to the propagation of the truth of God.”

Proposed Convocation of the Province.—The Hon. P. B. de Blaquiére has addressed the Bishop of Toronto, since his return, in reference to the project entertained by the honourable member, to bring the establishment of a Convocation of the province before the Colonial Legislature. In reply, the Bishop says :—

“ You are aware, no doubt, that the Colonial Church is part and

parcel of the Church of England—as much so as the Diocese of London and Winchester, and that in the present state of the law it is not in the power of the Bishop to assemble his Clergy in Convocation without special permission from the Crown—and if it were assembled it would not perhaps prove satisfactory, as the Convocations in our Church have been always confined to the Clergy.

“At the same time, I am sensible that the present state of the Colonial Church is in some respects deficient, arising chiefly from its rapid extension and increasing wants—nor am I indisposed to consider what steps may be safely taken to remedy such deficiencies.

“But I am not prepared to suggest any without much further inquiry from my Clergy—the annals and laws of the Church, and also reference to my brother Prelates of Canada East.

“In the meantime I regret the movement which has been so irregularly made during my absence in England, and more especially as the subject of Convocation was fully noticed in my first Charge, which was delivered on the 9th September, 1841.

“In labouring to obtain what may be wise and good, we must proceed in harmony and good faith among ourselves, and on the principles which have directed the Synods and Convocations of former ages.

“Above all, we must respect the law as it now stands, and the acknowledged prerogative of the Crown—and if they interfere with the natural and divine action of the Church, we must seek for their modification on that behalf, by humble and respectful representations to the powers which can award relief.”

Diocese of Toronto.—Church University.—After his return to his Diocese, the Lord Bishop of Toronto convened a Meeting of the Church University Board, for the 21st of December, 1850, when his Lordship made a full report of his proceedings in Europe, relative to the proposed University, and to the present state of the undertaking. From this report it appears that the following contributions have hitherto been obtained:—

Subscriptions in Upper Canada in land, estimated at	£7,562	15	0
In money, amounting to.	16,708	2	6
3,391 Acres not valued, at the usual estimation of one pound per acre	3,391	0	0
Two Town Lots, not valued, but assumed to be worth	50	0	0
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	£27,711	17	6
Donations in England to the amount of 10,000 <i>l.</i> sterling, including the grants of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the University of Oxford, currency about	12,444	0	0
Grant of land by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and within the city of Toronto, estimated at	3,000	0	0
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	£43,155	17	6

The Report next considers the most proper mode of investing this

property until the new institution shall obtain a corporate character, either by an Act of the Legislature or by Royal Charter. For this purpose the Bishop proposes the appointment of a Council, composed of a limited number of gentlemen, to advise him in all matters respecting the College and its property, until a more formal constitution shall be obtained. In the meantime he proposes the property to be vested in a limited number of Trustees, who are to act under the instructions of the Council.

The Bishop further states that, while in England, he had made application to the Colonial Secretary for a Charter for the proposed College, and having been requested to furnish the heads of such a Charter as he thought desirable, had framed a draft, a copy of which accompanied the report, on the model of the original Charter of King's College, and of the system adopted in Bishop's College, Lennoxville, and his lordship adds that since the Government has granted to the Roman Catholics, the Presbyterians and Methodists, Charters of Incorporation for Colleges of their own, he will not suppose it possible that they will withhold the same advantage from the Church.

The Report further states, that a site has been procured for the University, twenty acres of land, very eligibly situated, having been purchased for the purpose. The Bishop also, while in England, procured the plan of a new College, intended to be erected in Liverpool, which appeared to him, with some modifications, suited to the purpose, and he expects that a sufficient portion will have been completed before next winter, to commence the course of instruction.

Foundation of the new Cathedral.—The foundation stone of the new Cathedral of Toronto was laid by the Bishop on Wednesday, the 20th of November last. The edifice will be in the English decorative style of early architecture. The body of the church will consist of a centre and side aisles, marked by two lines of cut stone, clustered columns and lancet arches, with a clerestory pierced by triple-light columniated stone windows. The total external length will be 204 feet, and the width 117 feet; the internal dimensions of the main body being 112 feet, by 75 feet. The height of the centre aisle will be 80 feet, and that of the side aisles 42 feet, clear of the ceilings. The roofs will be open to the Church, the framing being of a rich Gothic character throughout, except in the chancel, which will have a groined ceiling, with moulded ribs and foliated bosses. The chancel will be 38 feet, 9 inches in depth by 42 feet in width, the back being semi-octagonal in form, and the five sides pierced by windows of rich and varied design, all executed in stone.

Diocese of Montreal.—Church Society.—A Church Society has been established for the diocese of Montreal, under the auspices of the Bishop.

CHINA.—Edict against Christianity.—The following curious edict against Christianity has been issued in China:—

“ Wan, Prefect of the lower district of Ying-Chan, removed to his

present post from another of the same rank, and ten times honourably mentioned, issues this solemn appeal, in order that the hearts of men may be guided in the right way, and more respect be paid to the laws. Be it known unto you, that there is in the western world a doctrine of the Lord of heaven, the author of which is Jesus. So long as the barbarians practise or propagate this among themselves, expounding their books, and worshipping according to the precepts of that doctrine, there is no occasion for us to take notice of it; but it is not permitted to them to enter the Inner Land, and there to propagate this doctrine; and natives of the Inner Land who invite men from far places to come hither, with a view to their abetting them in inflaming and unsettling the minds of the people, and inveigling females to join their sect, or otherwise to violate the law, are punishable under the statute still in force. The provisions of the code are explicit; who shall venture to act contrary to them? Nevertheless it has come to my knowledge that the simple and unenlightened population of the village of Chid-kang and its vicinity have latterly invited such persons from a distance, and have seduced some to enter into communion with them, and that even females have joined their society—a serious breach of the law! It will be my duty to search out the guilty, and to punish them severely. Moreover I publish this appeal for the comprehensive instruction of the military, of the common people and others.

“ You should know that Jesus, born in the time of Ngai Ti, of the Hán dynasty, ranks no higher than Hwa Tóh, Chuh-yu, and others of the same class, having merely possessed ability to heal the sick. His power of breaking seven cakes into food for three thousand men, is nothing more than the witchcraft of the rationalists, by which things are shifted from one place to another: in other ways he had no peculiar power. As to his extravagant title of the lord who made heaven, remember that the Three Sovereigns (B.C. 3369-2622), the Five Emperors (2169), Yáu, Shun, Yu, T'áng (1743), Wan, Wu (1105), the Prince of Chan, and Kung the Philosopher (Confucius—500), spread abroad civilization, as the messenger of heaven, hundreds and thousands of years before Jesus. The different countries beyond the sea had from an early date rulers, and peoples, forms of government, and laws to punish crime: did none of these exist until Jesus appeared to create them in the time of the Hán?

“ The tale of the crucifixion of Jesus and of his ascension into heaven resembles the legend invented concerning Sun-nyam, who, having been drowned after the defeat of his army, became a Water Spirit, as his adherents say. It also bears some likeness to what the rebels of the white lily allege, who assert that the spirits of their brethren, executed with long and ignominious torments, rose into heaven from their bodies, and are there called to a new life among the heavenly existences.

“ This doctrine, moreover, boasts that it encourages to virtue and represses vice; but this our learned men have constantly maintained. The dogma that those who believe in the Lord will be happy, and that after death their spirits will ascend to heaven, while the unbelievers will

be miserable, and after death their souls will be doomed to eternal imprisonment in hell, says precisely the same as the word of Wu San-sz—' Those who are good to me, are good ; those who are evil to me, are evil.' Supposing, then, that the believers in the Lord were robbers, or else vicious persons, they must nevertheless all be made happy ; those on the contrary, who are not believers in the Lord, but otherwise just and deserving men, should after death be all doomed to misery. Never before was the true order of reward for virtue, and punishment for vice, so perverted and confused. Is not such a religion fatal to the notions of good and right as taught us by heaven ?

" Again, the terms ' palace of heaven ' and ' prison of hell ' are simply pirated from the lowest class of Budhistic writings ; nevertheless the believers in Jesus vilify the Budhists as people doomed for ever to the prison of hell. Of all the nations beyond the sea, none believes so much in this Lord of heaven as the Germans, and yet the inhabitants of Germany are scattered, their power is broken to pieces, and their territory has been more than once divided. Why then, since they believe in the Lord of heaven, is no happiness bestowed upon them ? On the contrary, of all those who do not believe in the Lord of heaven, no nation can compare with the Japanese ; on a quay in their port a crucifix is engraven, and every merchant who lands there, and does not tread on the crucifix, is forthwith beheaded as a warning to others. Besides, there is before the gate, an image of Jesus sunk into the ground, so that it may daily be ignominiously trampled on. And yet this kingdom has endured for 2000 years : why has not the Lord of heaven smitten it with calamity ? It follows, then, that the statement regarding the power of the Lord of heaven to confer happiness or misery, is wholly without foundation ; it will merely make the simple people, in this life, deprive their ancestors of the enjoyment of the oblations of sweet-smelling incense, and of the offerings which should be set before them in sacrificial vessels ; while after death, they will become blind spirits, undergoing, moreover, the torments of burning till their bones are reduced to ashes. What happiness results from such a doctrine ?

" Again, as to the adoration of the crucifix, it is derived from the stone tablet of the ' luminous doctrine,' signed with a cross, to determine the four quarters of the heavens, whence the professors of this creed, it is not known at what period, devised the tale of the crucifixion ; but even if this tale were true, it would still be quite inexplicable why the worshippers of Jesus should adore the instrument of his punishment, and consider it so to represent him as not to venture to tread upon it. Would it be common sense, if the father or ancestor of a house had been killed by a shot from a fowling-piece, or by a wound from a sword, that his sons or grandsons should adore a fowling-piece, or a sword, as their father or ancestor ?

" Although an edict of recent date has permitted the barbarians to expound their religious books to one another, it has not given them leave to proceed into the Inner Land, there to mix with the people, and

to propagate their doctrine ; and if there are Chinese who invite them from distant places, and join with them in exciting and confounding men's minds, beguiling women, or otherwise offending against the law, they will be punished, as of old, according to the law of the land, either summarily, or after imprisonment, with death by strangulation, or with transportation to a greater or less distance, or with blows from the heavy bamboo ; the law admits of no indulgence. But if subjects present themselves before the authorities, and declare that they repent, and therefore tread upon the crucifix, their punishment shall be mitigated by me in degree. The laws of the state are of strict severity, but they have always made account of men's repentance for their faults. If, therefore, there are men among you, simple people, who have suffered themselves to be instigated or misled in manner aforesaid, awake without loss of time, and make haste to save yourselves from the meshes of the law. But you who view this decree with an unfriendly eye, and continue to indulge your humour, be it known to you, that it will be my duty to curse you, and to bring you to justice and punishment, as a warning to the foolish and the perverse. Take heed to this, tremble and obey !”

FRANCE.—*The Lying Wonders of the Romish Church.*—The Romish Church in France has latterly exhibited the ridiculous spectacle of proclaiming two astounding miracles, and subsequently revoking them. The first is the miraculous appearance of the Virgin at La Salette, which we have formerly noticed ; and in connexion with it the wonder-working fountain said to have sprung up on the spot on which the Virgin stood. With regard to the latter, a letter appeared quite recently in the *Tablet*, from the Brothers Perrin, the “Levites” in attendance upon the idol of “our Lady,” who, in acknowledging a donation of 2*l.* from England, state, as they themselves affirm, “with truth,” “that our Lady of Reconciliation has admirably continued these two years to work many bodily and spiritual conversions in favour of those who invoke her, and who make use of the water of the privileged fountain. We reckon up,” they say, “above a hundred which all exhibit a supernatural character. The most striking have lately been published in a second volume by the Abbé Rousselot, Vicar-General of our diocese. And his Lordship has given his approbation to this volume, as to the first. We entreat you, Sir, if you have already been able to procure it, to have this work translated into the English language. It would assuredly give pleasure to the Catholics of your country, and even the heretics would read it with advantage. Whenever you have occasion for the water of the fountain of La Salette, or of books, medals, and images, all of them having the representation of the glorious apparition, you have only to address the order to us, and we shall hasten to satisfy your pious desire. We have inscribed all the names sent in the register of the Confraternity of our Lady of Reconciliation of La Salette. It now reckons more than 20,000 associates. It is sufficient to recite each day the Our Father and the Hail Mary.”

In direct and somewhat awkward contrast with this statement, the *Ami de la Religion* contains a circular addressed by the Bishop of Gap, in whose diocese La Salette is situate, to his Clergy, in which that Prelate complains in indignant terms of the republication, in spite of a former remonstrance on his part, of a private letter which he wrote somewhat unguardedly in reply to the first report made to him of the alleged miraculous event, and to which "interested parties have endeavoured to give an official character." "We are in duty and conscience bound," the Bishop says, "to warn the Clergy and the faithful that we are strangers to this manœuvre, and that they will be the dupes of a guilty intrigue, and a base speculation, if they suffer themselves to be persuaded that we patronize a fact with which we neither can, nor ought, nor are willing, to have any concern whatever. Several miraculous cures are spoken of as having happened in our diocese; we declare that we have not been able to verify a single one; even the one which is announced in our letter before referred to, has not been satisfactorily proved, and cannot therefore be cited as an evidence of the miraculous appearance of the Blessed Virgin at La Salette. You are to advise religious persons to be on their guard against tales of miraculous cures, when such cures have not been verified by scrupulous and prudent inquiries on the part of the ecclesiastical authority. There is in circulation also, in the diocese of Gap, an office called the 'Office of La Salette.' The lessons of the second nocturn of Matins are the tale of the apparition as told by the two shepherd boys. Never has there been a book of this kind more opposed to the holy liturgical rules, which, with so much reason, forbid the composition of fresh legends, especially upon the ground of facts not recognised by the Church. Accordingly, we strictly forbid, throughout our diocese, the recital of the Office of *La Salette*, until it shall have been approved by our Holy Father the Pope."

The other "lying wonder" is of more recent date. A short time ago the French Papers contained a long and circumstantial account, endorsed by the testimony of medical men, of magistrates, and officers of gens d'armes, of a miraculous picture representing the descent from the cross, in the Church of St. Saturnin, at Apt, in the department of Vaucluse. According to the account given, blood had been repeatedly oozing out from the wounds in the side, the hands, and feet of the Saviour; and while the most careful examination of the painting failed to discover any contrivance for producing this effect, the blood had been ascertained by a chemical analysis to be real human blood. On this miracle a Commission has since been appointed by the Archbishop of Arigua, whose report is unfavourable to the miraculous nature of the transaction, on the ground chiefly of the unsatisfactory character of the "*ecstatica*" who announced the flowing of the blood beforehand, and whose proceedings have, in more than one respect, given rise to suspicion.

The Temple of all Religions at Paris.—Our readers will no doubt

remember³ an extraordinary order given during the days of the Provincial Government by M. Ledru Rollin, for a series of pictures to be executed in the Pantheon by an artist of the name of Chenavaud, to whom a period of eight years was granted for the execution of the design, with an allowance of 4000 francs per annum,—the total expense of the decoration being estimated at upwards of 300,000 or 400,000 francs. At the recent Congress of the Academies of France, the subject was brought under notice; but from the monstrous character of the design, as contained in the programme published at the time, the Congress refused to believe that it was more than a transient whim which had been long abandoned. On inquiry, however, it was found that the order of M. Ledru Rollin was still uncanceled, and that the artist was actually proceeding with the cartoons, which were to be fixed up to try the effect, before the execution of the frescoes. A report was drawn up in consequence, from which we transcribe the following passage:—"The plan of the mural paintings in the Pantheon, as it has been designed and is in progress of execution, is an unprecedented *pêle-mêle* of the most contradictory ideas, the most different creeds, and the most opposite symbols. All the gods of Greece and India, as well as those of Rome and Scandinavia, occupy in it a place equal with that assigned to the true God; Olympus and Walhalla rank in it as high as Calvary. This is not all. There are apotheoses for the famous philosophers of all ages, and even for the Utopian visionaries of the nineteenth century. Pythagoras and André Fourrier—shall we venture to say it?—are represented by the side of the Son of God! Next to the paintings intended to exhibit what is called 'the Christian system and the exaggeration of the glorification of the spirit,' there are others on which 'the rehabilitation of the flesh' is displayed in scenes which our pen cannot describe;.....as if this was the great progress of our age; as if the religion of Jesus Christ, which animates and pervades our society, our families, and our very hearts, were no longer any thing but an antiquarian curiosity, fit at the most to be mentioned, by the way, in this species of museum of eclecticism and modern pantheism." The report concludes with a resolution, unanimously adopted by the Congress of Academies, which, "in the name of Christian civilization, of morality and good taste," denounces as "a scandal and a profanation" the execution of a "project founded on the pantheistic idea of pagan Rome, and placing, side by side with the true God, the false gods of the past, and the false prophets of future times."

GERMANY.—*Activity of the Romish Church.*—The "Catholic Union of Germany," at its last meeting, appointed a committee which is to put itself in communication with poets, artists and others, as well as with the heads of the Church, with a view to the revival of "Catholic art," as a means to the propagation of Romanism in Germany. The resolution of the "Union" also recommends the active distribution of tracts and other publications. The local branches of the "Union" are

³ See English Review, vol. x. p. 242.

enjoined to use their endeavours for the establishment of St. Paul de Vincent associations among the working classes; and their attention is particularly directed to the manufacturing population. Copies of the resolutions adopted were ordered to be transmitted to all the sovereigns of Germany. In Bavaria the Bishops have addressed a memorial to the King, protesting against such provisions of the new Constitution, and against all such previous edicts as are at variance with the terms of the Concordat, as well as against any interference whatever, on the part of the civil power, with matters of worship, and calling upon the latter to enforce the law against the profanation of Sundays and holidays, either by work or by public amusements and exercises. In Baden, on the motion of Carl von Hirscher, the first Chamber has voted an address to the Government, praying for the appointment, with the concurrence of the Episcopate, of a Commission, which is to prepare such laws and ordinances as shall secure greater independence and efficacy to the Roman Catholic Church, and to place sufficient funds at the disposal of the Bishops for extending the education of young men for the Romish priesthood. In Rhenish Prussia the Romanists are contemplating the establishment of "a purely Catholic University" in connexion with the Cathedral at Cologne.

Growth of Popish Superstition.—While every effort is being made by the Ultramontane party in Germany, to push the cause of their Church in the higher ranks of life, by the appliances of art, literature, and learning, and through political influence, the masses are operated upon by the revival of the ancient superstitions. In Bavaria and the Tyrol the old mysteries are being revived, and the passion of our Lord is made the subject of scenic exhibition. A couple of Capuchin friars are travelling about in the characters of thaumaturgs, attended by crowds, pretending to perform miraculous cures by the laying on of their hands, and anointing with oil. The extent to which these things are not only connived at but countenanced by the authorities, may be collected from the fact that Dr. Kreuzer, Professor at the Veterinary College at Munich, has been peremptorily removed from his office, in consequence of his having in his lectures adverted to the superstitious practice, of which some recent instances had occurred, of the people calling in the Franciscans, to read masses for their cattle during an epidemic.

The Free Congregations.—An application for the "Free Congregations" to be enrolled among the religious communities of the kingdom, and as such admitted to the privileges of other religious bodies, has been refused by the Government of Saxony, on the express ground, that, although they call themselves "Christian" associations, they have not in reality any religious character whatever. "Their leaders," so says the official document, "declare the belief in God to be a matter of indifference. They recognize, it is true, an all-creating and sustaining power, but leave every man free to form what notion he pleases of that power, to consider it either as the supreme and most perfect Spirit, or as a mere force which operates without will or conscience.

They denounce the Christian faith, even to the last remnants of it, as error and superstition, and endeavour to supplant it by philosophic speculations, based on this world only. They make war upon all religious bodies which take into account the relation of man to God, on the plea that a rational religion has to do only with the relations between man and man. They reject all religious belief, and give the mere outlines of a system of ethics, summed up in the notions of "liberty, truth, and fraternity." They pretend to follow the Apostolic injunction, "prove all things, hold fast that which is good;" but they overlook the fact that this principle is to be carried out to the end of life. After a short trial they reject every thing that may not be handled with hands, and in the void which they have thus created they find nothing worthy to be held fast. They aim at making human society, according to the precept of the Gospel, one flock; not, however, a flock under a pastor, but a flock which, without shepherd, runs astray. Yet, without any faith, without a definite idea of God, there is no religion, no worship, no religious communion." In proof of the correctness of this picture, the rescript quotes the very words of the petition itself:—"The Free Congregation rejects the fundamental doctrines of theological Protestantism; it has no dogmas, and can admit none; for the ideas of 'God and immortality' no faith is required, since they result from the wisdom and eternal consistency of the creation; harmony between the life and the moral law, is the main object kept in view by the Free Congregations; forms of worship they want only for mutual edification, and in order to cherish the idea of the divine majesty of man." In consequence of the ill odour into which the Free Congregations have fallen by their open avowal of the most advanced principles of infidelity, many of the "German Catholic" congregations, in which an element of primitive faith is still lingering, have officially disavowed all connexion with them; a measure the more necessary as their own recognition by the State was made dependent on their declaration on this point. Among the Free Congregations themselves, too, dissensions have arisen, and some of the leading bodies among them, that at Leipzig for example, are fast approaching their dissolution.

Singular Defence against a Charge of Blasphemy.—A cause is pending before the Prussian tribunals, in which a party is charged with blasphemy, on account of irreverent language uttered against the person of Christ. The first Court convicted him; the Court of Appeal reversed the sentence, on the ground that Christ and God were not identical, and the offence, therefore, not against God, but only against the society of Christians. This decision has also been appealed against, on the ground that Christ is one with God. The tribunals before which the question is pending, are the usual tribunals of civil and criminal jurisprudence.

INDIA.—*Diocese of Calcutta and Borneo Missions.*—The Bishop of Calcutta has been engaged on a visitation tour to the Malayan Peninsula and Borneo. His Lordship left Calcutta on the 11th of Nov., accom-

panied by Archdeacon Pratt, and by Mr. C. J. Fox, a student of Bishop's College, who was to remain in Borneo as Catechist. To qualify himself for this post, he would, as appears by a letter from the Rev. F. T. M'Dougall, the laborious Missionary of Sarawak, have to bestow two years in the study of the Malay language, to acquire it sufficiently for his Missionary work among the Dyaks; after which, he would have to learn the dialects of the tribes he may be placed with, as head men only speak Malay, and the rest know nothing but the Dyak of their district. Another qualification for Missionary labour in those parts is a knowledge of Arabic, which is both useful in learning the Malay language, and a great recommendation among the Malays, who look up to any one who understands the language of the Koran. From the *John Bull* we learn, that this interesting Mission is about to be reinforced by a Clergyman from England, the Rev. W. Chambers, curate of Bentley, Derbyshire, who has been appointed by the committee of the Borneo Mission as one of their Missionaries, with the especial object of extending the mission to the Dyak tribes in the interior; the letters lately received from Mr. M'Dougall and Sir James Brooke, expressing a decided opinion that the attempt may now be made with every prospect of success.

Diocese of Madras.—Declaration on the Gorham case.—The following document has been transmitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury:—

“To the Most Reverend Father in God, John Bird, by Divine Providence, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, and Metropolitan.

“May it please your Grace,—We, the undersigned, the Bishop, Archdeacon, and Clergy of the diocese of Madras, desire to approach your Grace with the expression of our humble and affectionate sympathy and regard, under the trying circumstances in which you have been placed, connected with the late judgment of her Majesty in Council, in the case of ‘Gorham v. the Bishop of Exeter.’

“We respectfully thank your Grace for your temperate, and at the same time, firm conduct, in resisting efforts to introduce into our Reformed Church a system of exclusiveness inconsistent with the character, and tending to rend asunder the greatest and purest establishment that has existed under this present dispensation. We cannot refrain from expressing our sorrow that so wise a judgment, concurred in by two Archbishops, should not have given more general satisfaction.

“Deeply lamenting the unseemly attacks which have been made upon your Grace, and praying that your valuable life may be long spared for the glory of God and the strengthening of our Zion,

“We are, may it please your Grace,

“Your Grace's affectionate and dutiful servants,

(Signed)

“THOS. MADRAS,

“VINCENT SHORTLAND, Archdeacon,

and seventy-three out of the eighty-five Clergymen labouring in this diocese, including all the Missionaries of the Society for the Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts.”

New Church Organ.—A new Church organ has lately been started at Madras, under the title of "The Churchman." From the numbers before us, it appears to be conducted on moderate but definite and distinctive Church principles.

Visit of the Bishop of Colombo to the Mauritius.—The Bishop of Colombo has been paying a visit to the Mauritius, which has led to the formation, in August last, of a Church Association for the island, under the name of "The Mauritius Church Association." The principal objects contemplated by the Association are :—1. To promote the diffusion of Christian Knowledge, in accordance with the principles of the Church, by means of education, the dissemination of religious publications, and catechetical instruction.—2. To assist in the erection of Churches, the fitting up of Places of Worship, and the support of Ministers of Religion in those parts of the island which are unprovided with Clergy.—3. To establish a Mission for the conversion and instruction of the Indian immigrants, who now form so large a portion of the resident population, through the agency of Catechists and Teachers acquainted with their native languages.—4. And, generally, to direct the attention, and to concentrate the energies, of the members of the Church in the Mauritius, towards the prosecution of measures conducive to its welfare.

The funds of the Association are to be applied in aid of the erection of Churches, the fitting up of places of worship, the support of Ministers, Catechists, and Scripture Readers, and the establishment and maintenance of Schools in the Colony and its Dependencies. A subscription of 2*l.* per annum, or 4*s.* per mensem, or a Life Subscription of 10*l.* in one payment, constitutes membership, with the right of voting at all meetings. Subscriptions and donations may be given specifically for particular objects. The Bishop of the Diocese is to be the President of the Association, and is to be assisted in the management of its affairs by a Committee composed of the Clergy of the island and its dependencies as *ex-officio* members, and of nine laymen chosen annually, by ballot, from among the members, and re-eligible.

ITALY.—*Statistics of the Romish Church.*—The following account is given by the *Ami de la Religion* of the Romish Episcopate throughout the world at the beginning of the year 1851.—*Europe*: 6 Suburbicarian Bishoprics; 78 Bishoprics under the immediate jurisdiction of the Pope; 104 Archbishoprics; 419 Suffragan Bishoprics; 25 Delegations and Apostolic Prefectures.—*Asia*: 6 Patriarchates; 6 Archbishoprics; 46 Bishoprics; 43 Apostolic Prefectures.—*Africa*: 6 Bishoprics; 14 Vicariates and Prefectures.—*America*: 16 Archbishoprics; 85 Bishoprics; 10 Vicariates.—*In Partibus*: 5 Patriarchates; 65 Archbishoprics; 211 Bishoprics. Of the foregoing, 45 Bishoprics and Apostolic Vicariates are established within the dominions of the British Crown.

The Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.—A correspondent of the *Tablet*, writing from Rome, says,—“It will be cheering to you to hear

that his Holiness is anxious to press on as fast as possible the examination of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, with the view to publish his solemn definition. A commission has been appointed to occupy itself with this important question: some learned theologians are to examine the ancient liturgies, others the Fathers, others the petitions of the Bishops of every part of the Church. It is expected that in a very short time his Holiness will be able to publish his final decision, and to console the Faithful who are anxious to increase the honours due to the Holy Virgin." Among the replies sent to the Pope from different parts of the world, one of the most important is that of Cardinal Romo, Archbishop of Seville, which fills an entire volume, and concludes with the most ardent wishes for the immediate declaration of the doctrine as an article of the faith. As regards the historical view of the question, the Cardinal adopts a most convenient line of argument. He admits that "if the matter depended on the opinion of the ancient scholastic writers, it would present no more probability than the Copernican system, when referred to a similar tribunal;" and he therefore proposes to "take for his guide tradition alone, and for his sole torch the true light which the Lord vouchsafes to us through the Holy Church." Following out this principle, he alleges various indications of the honour paid to the Virgin, and, concluding from the silence observed by the writers of the first ages on the subject of original sin in her, that her immaculate conception was taken for granted, he accumulates proofs of the growth of the doctrine in successive ages, down to the year 1843, when the petition of the General of the Dominicans, for leave to his order to celebrate the Immaculate Conception in the same terms as the Franciscans, removed the last opposition to the doctrine, and caused the worship of the Virgin to become the universal practice of the Romish Church.

Tuscany.—Popish Intolerance.—A diplomatic difficulty has occurred at Florence, where a Protestant chapel has existed for twenty years past, for the use of the Swiss Protestants. Among these are several hundred Grisons, whose habitual idiom is Italian, and for whose benefit, therefore, one of the services is conducted in that language. Of this service the Government of Tuscany has complained to the Prussian Ambassador at Rome, who, being himself a papist, advised the Protestant Consistory at Florence to hold their Italian service with closed doors, to abstain from all measures whatever for the propagation of Protestantism, and especially from the distribution of the Bible, and to turn away any Florentines who might present themselves at the doors to take part in the service. The Consistory having refused to comply with this advice, the Florentine Government has employed *gens d'armes* to attend the service, and note down the names of any subjects of the Tuscan government who were present. The parties whose names are taken down are afterwards summoned before the police authorities, and required to give a pledge that they will not repeat their attendance; failing which, they are served with a notice prohibiting their attendance, under a penalty varying from five days to two months' imprison-

mènt. The Consistory has since been induced, by a repeated remonstrance from the Ambassador, M. Reumont, to substitute a French for an Italian service; but intends to lay the case before the king of Prussia, with a view to the restoration of the Italian service.

SWITZERLAND.—*Collision with the Papacy.*—The Great Council of the canton of Freiburg having, on the 11th of October last, issued a decree against the publication of ecclesiastical rescripts and documents without the consent of the civil power, the Papal *chargé d'affaires* in Switzerland, Mr. Bovieri, has addressed two formal protests, one to the Council of State of the Canton, the other to the Federal Council, against this "gross violation of the divine constitution of the Church, the authority of the Episcopate, the rights of the holy Apostolic See, and the supreme authority of the Church," and demanding, by way of reparation, "entire liberty for the Church in the canton, for its Bishop (M. Marilley), and its ministers." In the protest addressed to the Federal Council, Mr. Bovieri further complains, that three of his notes addressed to the Federal Council in 1848, in reference to the dispute touching M. Marilley, have remained unanswered, and presses for a reply. On the other hand the Council of the Canton of Freiburg has addressed to the Federal Council a memorial requesting that body to take steps for obtaining from the Pope the appointment of a successor to M. Marilley; but with this request the Federal Council, anticipating no doubt the result of such an application, has refused to comply. Meanwhile the Pope has conferred upon M. Marilley, as a token of his favour, the dignity of Assistant Prelate to the Pontifical Throne.

UNITED STATES.—*Trial for Heresy.*—Considerable attention has been excited by a trial for heresy before an Ecclesiastical Court, composed of Presbyters, in the Diocese of Massachusetts. The Rev. O. S. Prescott, late Assistant-Minister at the Church of the Advent, at Boston, was charged, on the prosecution of the Standing Committee of the diocese, with "entertaining and believing certain doctrines not held, nor allowed to be held, by the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, but condemned by the Standards of the said Church as wrong, unsound, and heretical; and with having promulgated, taught, and defended the said doctrines, to the detriment of religion, the scandal of the Church, and the great injury of the cause of Christ; moreover, with having adopted, and encouraged others to adopt, certain forms and ceremonies not allowed by the Church, but contrary to her teachings and Standards, and opposed to the general usage and immemorial customs of the Church, and in violation of her common law, to the prejudice of the gospel and of the salvation of souls."

The unsound doctrines charged were:—1. The doctrine of the immaculate nature and character of the Virgin Mary; that she was without sin; that prayers may be, or should be, addressed to her; that she may be, or should be, regarded as an intercessor; that it is right, or proper, or allowable, for Christians to use the "Hail Mary" in their devotions:

. The doctrine of Transubstantiation : 3. The doctrine that Auricular Confession to a priest, on the part of the members of the Church, is proper, allowable, and profitable; adding, that he has allowed members of the Church to come to him, and make confession of their sins, in nanner and form not allowed or sanctioned by the Church : 4. The doctrine that Priestly Absolution, in connexion with Auricular Confession, is allowable, desirable, and profitable; and that he has heard private confession of sins from sundry persons, and has pronounced absolution in behalf of such persons, on occasions and under circumstances not contemplated by the Church, and in violation of the principles of the Church, as set forth in her Standards, and contrary to her established customs and usages : 5. Under the head of customs and practices repugnant to the teaching of the Church, contrary to the spirit and meaning of her Standards, and against the common order and established usages of the Church, and in violation of her common law, it was charged, in addition to the practice of both making and hearing auricular confession, that he has been in the habit, in performing divine service, of turning his back to the people, while reading the Psalter,—offering up prayers,—and reciting the creed,—contrary to the practice and custom of the Church in the diocese, since its first organization,—that he has practised these violations of the common law of the Church against the well-known and officially-declared admonitions and counsels of the Bishop of the diocese,—that in making the usual ascription to the Holy Trinity, at the close of the sermon, he has turned his back to the people, and his face to the Lord's Table as to the most holy place,—that he has paid, by divers turnings, or bowings, or genuflections, that reverence to the Lord's Table, which is indicative of a belief in the doctrine that the real body and blood of Christ are really and truly offered up thereupon, in accordance with the doctrine of Transubstantiation,—that he has allowed or approved, or permitted, in celebrating public service, at morning and evening prayer, portions of the Psalter to be sung, in place of the psalms and hymns in metre, which the Church has set forth for that purpose.

To this presentment the Rev. O. S. Prescott took exceptions on a variety of technical grounds, the principal of which were the following:—Because the presentment did not recite that information of the offence had been first given in writing to the Standing Committee, by a member of the Church. Because it did not set forth that upon the said information having been given to said Committee, they proceeded to a preliminary consideration of the case before making said presentment, and then saw fit in their discretion to make said presentment. Because the said presentment and preliminary consideration thereto (if any such consideration was had) ought to have been made by the clerical members of the Standing Committee; whereas the same purported to have been made (if said consideration was had at all) by the whole Standing Committee, a majority of whose quorum might be laymen. Because it did not in any of the charges and specifications thereunder, specify the offences of which the accused was charged, with reasonable certainty as to

time, or place, or circumstances. Because the nature of some of the charges were of a kind over which the Court had no jurisdiction. After a considerable discussion the Court decided in favour of the exceptions, and the presentment thus fell to the ground. Mr. Prescott then applied through his counsel, for leave to read a short responsive statement of the merits of the question; but this the Court refused. The statement intended to be read by Mr. Prescott, and since transmitted to the Bishop, is to the following effect:—

“ In the name of God, Amen! I, Oliver S. Prescott, Presbyter of the Diocese of Massachusetts, now under presentment by the Standing Committee of said Diocese, for trial, for violation by word and deed of my ordination vows, do solemnly declare, that I ‘willingly subscribe to the Word of God, attested in the everlasting Scriptures—to all the Primitive Creeds—to the four General Councils—and to the common judgment of the Fathers for six hundred years after Christ;’ I own myself bound by the following declaration: ‘I do believe the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God, and to contain all things necessary to salvation; and I do solemnly engage to conform to the doctrine and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.’ I acknowledge my duty of obedience to the Right Reverend Fathers, the Bishops of said Church, as the supreme authority therein, and the sole representative to me of the Catholic Church of God. To her have I devoted myself, body, soul, and spirit, and am still devoted. In her I am willing to live, in her I desire to die, with no other preparation than *worthily* receiving the Body and Blood of Christ which she dispenses. Haply I may err in trifles, but an heretic or an apostate, by the grace of God, I can and will never be. If one year of quietness and peace in believing, and four of preparation for the Sacred Priesthood, to which I believe myself ‘inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost,’ and ‘truly called, according to the will of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Canons of this Church;’ and if three years of active service in this office, be not a sufficient refutation of the charge that my life during that time has been a deception and a lie, studiously followed before the face of God and man without an object or effect, unless it be the service of the father of lies, I know not how one can be furnished by a mere declaration, or even a solemn oath. Yet I would give my asseveration, and invoke the sacred name of God, and call my life for the eight years last past to witness to the truth of this declaration.”

BISHOP ONDERDONK.—An arrangement has been made for the publication of a selection from the works of Dr. Onderdonk, with a view to his benefit, in two octavo volumes. The communications which have passed on the subject, show the strong feeling which is entertained in favour of the Bishop by his friends in the diocese. The originators of the design, in their application on the subject to the Bishop, say:—

“ Your friends in this Diocese cannot forget the valuable instruction and the high gratification which they received from your Sermons, your Episcopal Charges, and other compositions, while you had the care of

the Church in this State. Their recollection of this benefit heightens the regret which they feel at the present moment, that you have not been restored to the exercise of your functions, in compliance with the recorded wish of the Diocesan Convention, and at their being thus deprived for some further time of the profit of hearing you in the public services of the Church.

"In reflecting upon this subject, it has occurred to the undersigned, that they may alleviate this loss to themselves, to their families, and to the public, if they can prevail upon you to publish an edition of such of your sermons and works as you shall think best calculated to supply to them the want of your personal ministrations. We are of opinion that such a publication will have the further effect of raising your already eminent reputation as a preacher and theologian; and it will give us great pleasure, if you accede to our wish, to see that the work shall not involve you in pecuniary loss, and to endeavour to make it also the source of some indemnity to you, for a part of the inconvenience you have sustained for several years from not receiving any professional support."

The Bishop, in his reply, assures them of his deep gratitude for the kind manner in which they have adverted to his position and affairs.

Perversion to Popery.—The New York *Churchman* introduces the fact of a perversion which has recently taken place, and is likely to be followed by others, with the following indignant comments:—"We learn from the *Freeman's Journal* that the Rev. F. E. White, of this diocese, has violated his ordination vows by uniting himself with the Roman schism in this country. Mr. White had no pastoral charge at the time of his perversion, but officiated in St. Luke's church for some time after the secession of its late rector. The same paper states that there are some other clergymen of the Church who are prepared to follow this sad example. We suppose they will do so when they find it convenient. Probably these were among the dutiful Protestants who congratulated Archbishop Hughes on his accession to his new dignity, as he himself states. Why are not the names forthcoming? It might serve to accelerate their steps, either forwards or backwards. It would at least be more manly and honourable than the present course of disaffection and treachery sketched by the Papist organ."

The Standing Committee of the Diocese of New York, in which Mr. White last officiated, have made application to the Bishop of New Hampshire for a regular sentence of Deposition to be pronounced on him, on the ground of his having renounced the ministry of the Church, and given information that he had made his submission to the authority of the Roman See.

Election of Bishops.—The Rev. F. H. Rutledge has been elected to the See of Florida. Bishop Southgate has declined to accept the Bishopric of California, to which he had been elected.

Church Statistics.—The following data, illustrative of the increase of the Episcopal Church in the United States, are given by the *Banner of the Cross*. In 1800, that Church had 7 Bishops, with 220 Clergymen;

in 1819, 18 Bishops, with 281 Clergymen; now the numbers are 32 Bishops, with 1589 Clergymen.

The Romish Church.—The Prefect of the Propaganda has informed the Archbishop of Baltimore of the approbation given by the Pope and the Sacred College to the decrees of the Council recently held at Baltimore, and especially to the measures following:—The erection of new provinces, together with the designation of the suffragans, as well for the new Archiepiscopal Sees as for the Archiepiscopal See of St. Louis, previously existing; the erection of new Sees in the cities of Savannah, Wheeling, and St. Paul's, Minesota; and the appointment to the See of Monterey, in California, of Father Joseph Alemany, who has already been consecrated at Rome. In pursuance of this increased organization, the Romish hierarchy in the United States is composed as follows:—1. Archbishopric of Baltimore, with the suffragan Sees of Philadelphia, Richmond, Charleston, Pittsburgh, Wheeling, and Savannah. 2. Archbishopric of New Orleans, with the suffragan Sees of Mobile, Natchez, Little Rock, and Galveston. 3. Archbishopric of New York, with the suffragan Sees of Boston, Buffalo, Hartford, and Albany. 4. Archbishopric of St. Louis, with the suffragan Sees of Nashville, Dubuque, Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul's. 5. Archbishopric of Cincinnati, with the suffragan Sees of Louisville, Detroit, Cleveland, and Vincennes. 6. Archbishopric of Oregon city, with the suffragan Sees of Walla Walla, Nesqually, Fort Hall, and Colville. There are, besides, the See of Monterey in Upper California, and two Apostolic Vicariates of New Mexico and of the territory east of the Rocky Mountains.

The *South Carolinian* states that the newly-elected Romish Bishop of California is charged, in addition to his spiritual duties, with the duty of examining and exhibiting the titles of the old Jesuit property in California, with a view to lay claim to one hundred and fifty millions of dollars' worth of land, as the property of the early Jesuit missionaries in that country.

WEST INDIES.—*Diocese of Barbados.*—*Establishment of an Ecclesiastical Board.*—The Bishop of Barbados has established in his Diocese an Ecclesiastical Board, for the purpose of conference and consultation on matters affecting the external well-being and efficiency of the Church. The Board consists of the Bishop and the eleven Rectors, including the Archdeacon, with a Lay Deputy from each Parish, chosen by the Vestry, the Chancellor of the Diocese, and a Magistrate, nominated by the Governor as the representative of the Queen; every member of the Board being necessarily a communicant of the Church. Although the resolutions of the Board are not in law binding upon the Rectors or Vestries, still much good is expected to arise from the discussion of the various questions affecting the efficiency of the Church. Two meetings have already been held by the Board: one in February, the other in September of last year, the principal subject for consideration being, at the former meeting, education; at the latter, Church extension. The future meetings will take place in June and December, as being the seasons of the year most convenient for the purpose.

THE
ENGLISH REVIEW.

JUNE, 1851.

- ART. I.—1. *Entire Absolution of the Penitent. A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford. By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D.*
2. *The Church of England leaves her Children free to whom to open their Grievs. A Letter to the Rev. W. U. Richards. By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D.*
3. *A Letter to the Bishop of London. By Dr. PUSEY.*
4. *A few Comments on Dr. Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of London. By WILLIAM DODSWORTH, M.A.*
5. *Renewed Explanations, in consequence of Mr. Dodsworth's Comments. By Dr. PUSEY.*
6. *Further Comments on Dr. Pusey's Renewed Explanation. By WILLIAM DODSWORTH, M.A.*
7. *Auricular Confession. A Sermon, with Notes, and an Appendix. By W. F. HOOK, D.D., Vicar of Leeds.*

IN the Pastoral Letter, recently issued to the Clergy of his Diocese, the Bishop of Exeter thus introduces a statement respecting the doctrine of the Church of England, as to Confession and Absolution:—

“Why have I deemed it necessary to trespass on your patience with this detail of matters, which are, I doubt not, already known to you? Because among the particulars which were the subject of the loudest clamour during the late exhibition of rampant Puritanism, this power of Absolution, most solemnly given to the Church by our Lord, after his resurrection, was assailed with every invective which lawless and triumphant ignorance could heap upon all who adhere to the faith ‘once delivered to the saints.’”

From a somewhat similar reason, we have determined to devote this paper to an examination of the theory of Confession and Absolution, as inculcated by Dr. Pusey, in the series of writings we have placed at its head. Not, indeed, that any mere “exhibition of rampant Puritanism,” would have led us to consider the question at any length, did we not firmly believe also that there is a deep-seated feeling of anxiety and alarm prevalent

among the soundest members of our own Church on this subject; were we not convinced that the time has come, when the interests of the Church of England imperatively demand that the subject, in all its bearings, should be calmly, quietly, and dispassionately discussed; that it should be distinctly ascertained to what the theory and practice of Dr. Pusey and his followers really extend; whether there is, in fact, any real and essential difference between their teaching and the teaching of the Church of Rome, on this most important subject; whether that teaching is, or is not, in accordance with the doctrine of the Church of England, as that doctrine is embodied in her own authorized formularies. The many lamentable examples of perversion to the Romish communion, which have lately occurred on the part of those who have been notoriously and avowedly putting in practice the system which Dr. Pusey has, for many years, been labouring to recommend in the English Church, and, especially, the wholesale instances of perversion, on the part of those clergymen, who, under Dr. Pusey's own immediate auspices, were lately ministering at St. Saviour's, Leeds, do, as it seems to us, render it absolutely necessary that the system itself should be carefully and minutely examined; that we should ascertain whether, so far as Confession and Absolution are concerned, perversion to Rome is, or is not, the natural, we had almost said the inevitable termination, of the principles which, on that subject, Dr. Pusey has been inculcating amongst us. There are, indeed, two reasons why we enter upon the examination of this subject with very great reluctance. The one is, lest we should be supposed, for a moment, to do so with any feeling of hostility towards Dr. Pusey personally: the other, lest we should be deemed to undervalue that deep feeling of contrite penitence, and childlike humility, which, we sincerely believe, Dr. Pusey labours to build up in the souls of all those persons who are, in any way, exposed to his influence. With regard to the first point, we will only say, and we trust our readers will give us credit for expressing our honest and conscientious conviction, that, without the slightest personal acquaintance with him, we entertain for Dr. Pusey personally the very highest respect. We sincerely believe that he has in his teaching "desired¹," to use his own words, "honestly to carry out the principles and mind of the Church of England." We believe that he has been actuated by a single desire to win souls to CHRIST; that his aim has been "simply to exercise, in obedience to the Church, 'the office and work of a priest, committed unto him by the imposition of the bishop's hands,' for the

¹ Letter to Bishop of London, p. 2.

relief of those souls who came to him for that end²." We believe that he has never had the slightest wish to desert himself, or to induce others to desert, the communion of the Church of England. But we believe also, or this paper would never have been written, that Dr. Pusey has not seen, in its entirety, the practical bearing of his own system. We think, moreover, that that system, as he has himself developed it, is *practically* identical with that of the Romish Church, and altogether contrary to the mind and intention of the Church of England; therefore is it, and therefore only, that we purpose to examine minutely into its details. With regard to the second point, we will only say this: If we thought that Confession, as inculcated by Dr. Pusey, were *essential* to the growth and the well-being of the inward spiritual life,—if we thought that the practice of Confession, as a rule of life, were recommended by the authorized formularies of the English Church, no consideration whatever should induce us to say one word on this subject in opposition to Dr. Pusey. But we do not think so. We believe, rather, that Dr. Pusey's system, legitimately carried out, does, undoubtedly, tend to make Auricular Confession the rule, and not the exception, believing also that the Church of England makes it the exception, and not the rule. We believe, moreover, that the Church of England, while making Auricular Confession the exception, and not the rule, does yet afford the fullest opportunity, does yet supply the fullest materials, for the most unfeigned humility, the deepest contrition, the most abiding penitence. It is because of this conviction, that we have determined to examine at length, to enter minutely into, the question of SPIRITUAL DIRECTION; to consider whether it is the mind and intention of the Church of England that every one of her baptized children should, habitually, use Confession to a priest, as a means of grace, for the sake of obtaining the benefit of Absolution. This, in fact, is the real question at issue. It is not, whether our spiritual Mother "allows" the use of Confession; not, whether she "recommends" it to those who cannot "quiet their consciences" without it; but whether she regards it as a means of grace to be used, *habitually*, by all earnest-minded Christians. This, we undertake to prove, is the system of Dr. Pusey, carried to its fair and legitimate conclusion; and this, we undertake to prove also, is not the system of the Church of England.

We do not purpose to enter at any length, further than is necessary to the due elucidation of our subject, into the questions between Messrs. Allies, Maskell, and Dodsworth, on the one

² Letter to Bishop of London, p. 2.

hand, and Dr. Pusey on the other, which gave rise to the publications which head this paper ; suffice it to say, briefly, with regard to the two former gentlemen, that, shortly before their perversion to Rome, they addressed to Dr. Pusey the following question: "Has the Church of England left the power of the keys unrestrained in the hands of her presbyters, so that they may use it freely for all who come to unburthen their griefs to them?"

In this is involved the further question, "Has the Church of England the right to leave the power of absolving, freely in the hands of her presbyters, without restricting them?"

In answer to these questions Dr. Pusey has proved to demonstration, in his letter to Mr. Richards, that the Church of England does leave, and has a right to leave, "her children free to whom to open their griefs;" in other words, that she fully allows the practice of confession to any of her children, who *cannot quiet their consciences without it*, and moreover that any priest of our communion is at liberty to confess and to absolve all those who have recourse to his ministry. Such is briefly the history of Dr. Pusey's letter to Mr. Upton Richards. With regard to Mr. Dodsworth, the case stands thus: After the delivery of the Gorham judgment, Mr. Dodsworth was very earnest in his endeavours to obtain some emphatic declaration, on the part of the Church of England, with respect to the doctrine of Regeneration in Holy Baptism; such a declaration, in fact, as should drive out of the Church all those who differed from him. Finding that Dr. Pusey, with that charity and kindly feeling to which we gladly bear testimony, was not disposed to have recourse to this extreme measure, Mr. Dodsworth addresses to him a letter, in which he charges Dr. Pusey with acting on this question in direct opposition to all his former teaching on the subject of Sacramental Grace; in which he asserts that Dr. Pusey had "encouraged every where, if not enjoined Auricular Confession;" had taught "the propitiatory sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist as applicatory of the one Sacrifice of the Cross;" had recommended the use of crucifixes, and divers other practices, which were not a little startling to the minds of all sober members of the Church of England. This statement of Mr. Dodsworth was noticed by the Bishop of London in his Charge of 1850, whereupon Dr. Pusey, having, if we mistake not, been previously urged by the Bishop of Oxford to do so, published a "Defence of his own principles" in a letter to the first-named bishop. Mr. Dodsworth replies to this letter; whereupon Dr. Pusey puts forth his "Renewed Explanation in consequence of Mr. Dodsworth's Comments."

With regard to Mr. Dodsworth's share in this matter, we think it right to make one or two brief remarks. A very

strong feeling of indignation was excited against that gentleman on the appearance of his letter to Dr. Pusey. That letter was considered, whether rightly or wrongly we do not presume to say, but at all events it was considered, in nearly all quarters, as a piece of petty spite against his former leader, because Dr. Pusey did not choose to follow Mr. Dodsworth in his crusade against the Evangelical party. Mr. Dodsworth thinks this very unreasonable. He labours very hard to prove that, so far from wishing to attach any stigma to Dr. Pusey in the eyes of all sound English Churchmen, he was really only anxious to do him a very great service; that he simply wished to hold him "to a consistent course of conduct"; that he "made the statement originally, and still adheres to it, not as in its leading features disparaging to Dr. Pusey, but, as to his honour." The "Dublin Review" of last April, in an article from which we shall have occasion to quote hereafter, thus speaks on this point:—

"Mr. Dodsworth is, we are satisfied, too kind and amiable a man to have any thought of what is commonly called 'showing up' his friend in the eyes of the Protestant public. He meant to state facts, and these facts Dr. Pusey has acknowledged. He meant no more, as we are bound to understand him, than to contrast Dr. Pusey's apparent wavering about the Gorham case, with the known character of his teaching and practice."

Now, we have really no wish to judge Mr. Dodsworth unfairly, but we must say that it is a little too much to apply the terms "kindness" and "amiability" to his conduct to Dr. Pusey. What would the Dublin Reviewer say, if the Bishop of Exeter should hereafter state, with regard to his pastoral letter (of which, by the way, we deeply regret to be obliged to say that we wish it had never been published), that he simply intended to do an act of especial kindness to the Archbishop of Canterbury! All we will say is this, that if Mr. Dodsworth did *not* design to "show up" his friend, as the Dublin Reviewer says, he might have used a less public method of admonition towards him—that if, on the other hand, he did intend to do so, he could not, if he had tried his hardest, have used means better calculated to attain the end he desired.

But we must say a few words with respect to another expression of Mr. Dodsworth, which certainly does seem, upon the face of it, of a very singular nature. He insinuates, in a note attached to his "Comment on Dr. Pusey's letter," that Dr. Pusey did actually countenance a more stringent declaration with respect to Holy Baptism, in consequence of Mr. Dodsworth's first

³ Comments, &c. p. 1.

"friendly" letter to him. Dr. Pusey clearly enough shows this not to have been the case, but with that we have obviously nothing to do. We merely allude to the matter for the purpose of drawing attention to the following strange assertion of Mr. Dodsworth. He says,

"Had Dr. Pusey used this strong language from the first, a different result *might* (sic) have followed from the united efforts of High Churchmen. As it was, happily, as I must now think it, Dr. Pusey's retraction or change of opinion came too late to be of any effect."

Now, if these words mean any thing, they must mean this; that, if Dr. Pusey had been content, in conjunction with Mr. Dodsworth, to anathematize all who differed from him, Mr. Dodsworth *might, quod dictu fœdum est*, have *still* been a member of the Church of England. Now, let it be remembered that, *before* publishing these "Comments," Mr. Dodsworth had subscribed the creed of Pope Pius IV., had been received into the bosom of the so-called Catholic Church, and, like all the recent converts of any note, with one bright exception, had done his best to vilify the Church of England, by the publication of a pamphlet called "Anglicanism in its Results," to which we may possibly allude somewhat more at length, in our next number. What *must* we think of the common honesty, or the common discernment, of a man who, situated as Mr. Dodsworth then was, could make such an assertion as that on which we comment? Mr. Dodsworth, if Dr. Pusey had been, *on one subject*, a little more decided, "*might*" still have been a member of the Church of England!—of that Church which has, according to his own showing, no priesthood, no sacraments, no spiritual character, no any thing which, as Mr. Dodsworth imagines, is a mark or note of the true Church of Christ! Surely the alternative is obvious. If Mr. Dodsworth can assert, *after* the publication of "Anglicanism in its Results," that he "*might*" have been still a member of the Church of England, we are driven, in consequence of that publication, to one of two conclusions—either Mr. Dodsworth would have remained in our communion, as a dishonest man, or else he can now be very insufficiently qualified to give any opinion on the merits of the controversy between the two Churches. We leave Mr. Dodsworth to explain this statement as he best can. Until he does explain it, any candid mind can, we imagine, think very little of his value, as a pervert to Romanism; can attach very little importance to any attack it may please him to make upon the Church of England.

But it is time, that, leaving the consideration of Mr. Dodsworth's conduct, we return to the subject we propose to investigate in this paper. We shall endeavour to show first, to what

extent the writings of Dr. Pusey show that he inculcates the practice of Auricular Confession. Secondly, we shall inquire whether Dr. Pusey's teaching is in accordance with the doctrine of the Church of England; and then, thirdly, how far the use of Confession to a Priest, as a means of grace, is encouraged by the teaching of Holy Scripture, and by the teaching and practice of the Primitive Church.

We need hardly remind our readers, what is the doctrine of the Church of Rome with respect to Auricular Confession. The Council of Lateran, in 1215, laid down the following rule, "That all the faithful of both sexes should, as soon as they come to years of discretion, faithfully confess all their sins in private, at least once a year, to their own priest:" while it was decreed by the Council of Trent, that, "to confess to a priest, all and every mortal sin, which after diligent inquiry we remember, and every evil thought or desire, and the circumstances which change the nature of the sin, is necessary for the remission of sins, and of divine institution; and he that denies this is to be anathema." Here, at least, the doctrine is laid down in terms unmistakably clear. Let us now proceed to examine whether there is any difference in fact between the theories of Dr. Pusey and the Church of Rome with respect to Confession. It may be well, however, first to state, to avoid any mistake on so important a point, how far we go along with Dr. Pusey with respect to the doctrine of Sacerdotal Absolution. Our difference with him is not as to the doctrine itself, but simply as to its practical application.

"We," to use his own words, "believe in common, that the power to absolve from sin in Christ's name, is given to all priests through their ordination. We believe that this power is committed to them by Christ himself, through the imposition of the bishop's hands with the words, 'Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee, by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained.' We believe also that the power of excommunicating, or absolving from excommunication, is reserved for the highest order only. We believe, that on full confession of all the sins that burthen the conscience, with true repentance, the priest may, by Christ's authority committed unto him, absolve the penitent from all his sins in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; and that what he looses on earth is loosed in heaven⁴."

Thus far there can be no difference of opinion between those who are content to take the formularies of our Church in their natural sense. But here we must stop in our agreement with

⁴ Letter to Mr. Richards, p. 7.

Dr. Pusey. Unless we have grievously mistaken the tenor of his writings on this subject, there is no one class of persons to whom he would not recommend the habitual use of Confession as, next to the reception of the Holy Eucharist, one of the very highest means of grace. We believe, most fully, that to no one does he "enjoin" Confession; we believe, equally, that there is no one to whom he would not strenuously recommend its habitual use. Let us see how far Dr. Pusey's own writings bear out this view of the case. He says:—

"I could not *enjoin* what the English Church leaves free. I recommended it in my University Sermons to those who felt that their case needed it."

The question, then, obviously is, who are they, who, in Dr. Pusey's judgment, *ought* "to feel that their case needed it?"

Let us examine this question. In his sermon, "Entire Absolution of the Penitent," the following words occur:

"The object of this sermon is the relief of individual penitents. Consciences are burthened. There is a provision on the part of God in his Church to relieve them."

Again:

"They cannot estimate their own repentance and faith. God has provided physicians of the soul, to relieve and judge for those who 'open their griefs' to them." "Yet such," he says, "are not the only cases to which the provisions of our Church directly apply. She explicitly contemplates another class, tender consciences, who need comfort and peace, and reassurance of the favour of their heavenly Father. For (blessed be God) there are those who feel the weight of any slight sin, more than others do 'whole cartloads:' and who do derive comfort and strength from the special application of the power of the keys to their own consciences."

He then refers to the well-known words of our Communion Service, and thus continues:

"What minister of Christ then should take upon himself to drive away 'his lambs,' as if persons were to have less of the ministry of comfort, the less they had offended God? As if any thing ought, in the estimation of the Christian minister, to be of slight account, which disturbs the peaceful mirror of the soul wherein it reflects God."

Now, in order to estimate the full force of these very solemn words, and we trust our readers will give us credit for approaching the consideration of this subject with a deep feeling of respect for the earnest love of souls which dictated them, we must place in juxtaposition to them a passage from Dr. Pusey's letter to Mr. Richards.

"All'," he says, "who have any experience in Confession, know

⁵ Letter to Mr. Richards, p. 6.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 7.

⁷ p. 70.

that the minds of many are as much disquieted by those *slighter sins*, which are called 'venial,' as others are by those called 'deadly' sins. They will frequently be a subject of Confession, and are a legitimate object of Confession among us also, for the Church, in her exhortation, invites all who cannot quiet their conscience. *They will often be, as the soul grows in grace, the only sins to be confessed. Yet the soul grows in grace through their Confession. The power of the keys is exercised as to these also; and God does give grace on its use*.*

Now the first thing which strikes us in these two passages is the meaning which Dr. Pusey would attach to the word "Penitent." Doubtless, in one sense, all Christian men must be penitents, and, doubtless, also, the more the spiritual life is built up, and confirmed, and strengthened within them, the deeper will be, day by day, their penitential sorrow for past sin. But surely these are not the class of persons to whom, in its strictest sense, the word penitent ought to be applied. Surely, at least, it was not so in the Primitive Church. We know perfectly well who were there meant by the "Penitents." They were not persons whose consciences were disquieted by those sins of infirmity to which all men, as long as they are "burthened by the infirmity of the flesh," must ever be subject, but rather persons who, in consequence of some sin of a grave character, were debarred from communion with the faithful, until they were restored, after a long course of penitence, by *public* Confession and by *public* Absolution. But now, obviously, the penitent, to whom Dr. Pusey alludes, will be very frequently such, in a very different sense indeed to the penitent of the early Church, and, as we firmly believe, taking the word in its strictest sense, of Holy Scripture. The penitent, according to Dr. Pusey, will be *every one*, who feels himself burthened with a consciousness of sin. To *every one*, who does so feel, Dr. Pusey holds up Confession to a priest, and Absolution at his hands, as one of the greatest means of comfort and consolation. But now surely the grand doctrine of Holy Scripture and of the Church of Christ is, that all men, however high may be their attainments in holiness, are *daily* sinning, and "coming short of the glory of God;" that all men, even the greatest saints, do daily commit "sins of thought, word, and deed against the Divine Majesty," and therefore surely it is evident, that, according to Dr. Pusey, the use of Confession to a priest, as a means of grace, must be, in its practical application, absolutely unlimited. If the power of the keys, in Confession and Absolution, ought to be applied to all individually who feel their consciences burthened by sin, *of whatever character*, and if this *must* be the case with all true Christians, and the more so

* The italics are ours.

the higher they advance in spiritual attainments, then surely it will follow, as the only legitimate conclusion, that *all true Christians* are bound, as they value their soul's health, to have recourse to Auricular Confession, in order that they may receive the benefit of individual Priestly Absolution.

But, moreover, Dr. Pusey tells us, that the Church of England, in her exhortation, when notice is given of the Holy Communion, "explicitly contemplates another class, tender consciences, who need comfort, and peace, and reassurance of the favour of their heavenly Father." To these is Confession especially salutary, as a means of grace. Now we beg to ask, who are they who, being Christians indeed, do not come under this category? Can there be one man living, having any knowledge of his own condition as a guilty sinner in God's sight, having any desire and yearning for God's love and favour, who does not, daily and hourly, need "comfort, and peace, and reassurance of the favour of his heavenly Father;" who does not long for a *daily* assurance that God is to him, personally and individually, a "reconciled Father in CHRIST JESUS?" Well then, if this be so, surely it will follow again, that all such persons, in other words, all sincere Christians, act most rashly and unadvisedly, who do not, according to Dr. Pusey, have habitual recourse to Auricular Confession, as one of the most direct means of obtaining comfort and peace of mind. Therefore do we say, that, even from the passages we have now quoted, and, did time allow, they might be multiplied tenfold, the theory of Dr. Pusey with respect to spiritual direction is briefly as follows: A "Physician of souls" is provided for the relief of "penitents," and "tender consciences." Inasmuch then as all true Christians are penitents; inasmuch as the consciences of all such will necessarily be tender; therefore, for all true Christians does the Church provide a Physician of souls, and the remedy he administers is Auricular Confession, and special, personal, Absolution.

And now that we have clearly shown the universality of Dr. Pusey's theory with regard to Confession, let us see, in the next place, whether his practice, so far as that practice can be gathered from the writings before us, is coextensive with it. That Dr. Pusey does not in terms "enjoin" Confession we are quite sure, but that he does so represent its value, as *practically* to enjoin it, we have no doubt whatever. In other words, to state our meaning as broadly as possible, we are quite convinced that, were Dr. Pusey a parish priest, there would not be a single person in his parish, provided he steadily acted up to, and practically carried out, Dr. Pusey's teaching and ministerial guidance, who would not, habitually, and systematically, use Confession, either to Dr.

Pusey himself or to "some other" priest of the Anglican Church. Let us then endeavour to substantiate this position, premising that we are not now, in any wise, considering whether Dr. Pusey's teaching and practice on this subject be right or wrong, be, or be not, in accordance with the mind and intention of the English Church, but simply, what is the real nature, the actual extent, of that teaching, as it is carried out in practical operation. We will quote, in the first place, a passage from the letter to Mr. Richards:—

"In their plain and natural sense⁹," says the writer, "the words, 'Let him come to me, or unto some other discreet and learned minister of God's Word,' do (as all must have felt, and as we have all shown by our actions, whether in confessing or in receiving confessions¹.) leave it quite open to any of us to choose whom we think best fitted for our own case."

Now be it remembered that Dr. Pusey is writing to a priest of the English Church, at the request of certain other priests, and in so doing he states that they have *all* practically carried out *their* view of the exhortation in our Communion Service, by having recourse to special Confession to a priest. Who can doubt, for a moment, that every one brought within the sphere of their influence, would, by their distinct and explicit recommendation, have recourse to the same method of obtaining comfort and consolation?

Again, in discussing the question whether "bishops and clergy were allowed by the positive law to choose their own confessor," Dr. Pusey proves, clearly enough, according to the practice of the Romish Church, the affirmative of the position, and then he adds:—

"Much more may we, priests or laymen, submit ourselves, for the time, to those to whom, as ministers of God, we lay open the wounds of our souls²."

Again he says:—

"But bishops are not limited to their own priests, nor is this even suggested by the decretal. If the bishop were to confess to another bishop (and surely it would be)—not, observe, would have been, but would be—"nothing strange, that a bishop should use Confession to another), he would be submitting himself to one to whom he could in no way give jurisdiction; and who, of himself, had none over him."

We quote this passage as proving, when taken in connexion with those already quoted, that, according to Dr. Pusey, no one, no class, no individual, from the humblest "penitent," using the word

⁹ Letter to Mr. Richards, pp. 17, 18.

¹ It may be well to state that the italics are our own, unless where otherwise specified.

² Letter to Mr. Richards, p. 38.

in its strictest sense, to the greatest saint, from the lowest minister about holy things, to those who sit in the highest places as "overseers of the flock of God," *ought* so far to undervalue his spiritual privileges, as to neglect the habitual use of special Confession to a priest, as one of the greatest means of grace.

But there is one case to which, on this point, we must refer more at length, because it illustrates, still more precisely, Dr. Pusey's teaching and practice. Perhaps we had better give the statement of the matter as it appears in Mr. Dodsworth's "Comments on Dr. Pusey's Letter to the Bishop of London." Mr. Dodsworth is endeavouring to do that which,—we are sorry to be obliged to say so in connexion with Mr. Dodsworth—we are also doing, viz. to prove the universality of Dr. Pusey's teaching and practice with respect to Confession. He says:—

"Dr. Pusey and I had been associated together in the establishment of a Sisterhood of Mercy; and it was certainly an understood thing, though not absolutely enforced, that the Sisters should use Confession; *as they all, in fact, do*."

Now, what is Dr. Pusey's answer to this statement? He says,

"I am quite sure that the accurate statement would have been, 'we certainly *anticipated* that the Sisters *would* use Confession' (sic). This, certainly, I did anticipate. From my experience as to the class of minds likely to be drawn by the grace of God, to devote themselves to the service of Christ in his poor, *I could not doubt that the same minds would most probably be drawn to Confession*. I should expect this of any institution formed by any one in the English Church, which (on whatever principle it was established) should propose as its end and aim, to serve Christ himself in his poor and sick. *I should expect that it would either melt away, or that its members would sooner or later, one by one, come to use Confession*. But I should think it wrong to aid in forming a society in which it should be 'an implied and understood thing,' that the members '*should use Confession*'."

And then Dr. Pusey goes on to protest against any further allusion to the practice of these Sisters of Mercy. He says,

"Confession being, amongst us, a voluntary act, ought to be held sacred; and no one has, I think, a right to publish to the world, whether ladies, who have retired from the world to serve Christ in his poor, do or do not use Confession. It, as well as every other circumstance of their devotional life, is sacred between God and their own souls."

It may be well, before commenting on this passage, to give Mr. Dodsworth's further reply to it. He says.

"I feel bound, reluctantly, to state the grounds upon which I made

³ Comments, &c. p. 6.

⁴ Renewed Explanations, p. 21.

the original assertion, 'by encouraging every where, if not enjoining, Auricular Confession.' I had then the following circumstance in my mind. Soon after the establishment of the Sisterhood of Mercy in my late parish, a young woman came to the house with the view of being admitted as a 'lay' or 'serving' sister. On my calling to see her soon after her arrival, *she told me at once she could not stay, because from a conversation which she had had with Dr. Pusey, she found that she would be required to use Confession; and under this impression, she actually left the institution.* Dr. Pusey tells me that he does not remember this case; but it made too vivid an impression on my mind to be easily effaced. I can only place my recollection, which is as clear and distinct as if the circumstance had occurred yesterday, against his. Again, in the original rules drawn up for the Sisterhood, under which they lived for some time, and which were read over every week in the community, there was a rule, a copy of which is now before me, 'on Confession.' It begins as follows, 'Whenever you use Confession, make your preparation as follows, &c.⁵'"

Now, there are two observations suggest themselves with reference to this question. It does, in the first place, seem to us absolutely inconceivable, how Dr. Pusey, with a knowledge of these facts before him, could possibly object to Mr. Dodsworth's statement, that he had "encouraged every where, if not enjoined, Auricular Confession." Leaving the "serving sister" out of the question, let us take the case as Dr. Pusey himself puts it. A Sisterhood of Mercy is founded, consisting of ladies who desired "to serve Christ in his poor," by devoting themselves to works of charity and mercy. Of this Sisterhood Dr. Pusey says emphatically, "we certainly *anticipated* that the Sisterhood *would* use Confession." He says, moreover, "I should expect that any such institution would either melt away, or that its members would sooner or later, one by one, come to use Confession." Then, further, distinct rules for Confession are drawn up, which rules are read over every week in the community. And yet, with marvellous inconsistency, Dr. Pusey adds, "But I should think it wrong to aid in forming a society in which it should be 'an implied and understood thing' that the members should use Confession." Now we do not wish for a single moment to charge Dr. Pusey with wilful misrepresentation, but we must say, that, if ever there was a case in which any thing was "implied and understood," using these words in their ordinary sense, then was it "an understood and implied thing," that these Sisters of Mercy *should* use Confession.

Dr. Pusey states, again, that he did not "enjoin" Confession. We fully believe it, as he says so; but, surely, there is such a

⁵ Further Comments, &c. p. 4.

thing as moral force, and moral compulsion. As Mr. Dodsworth very truly observes, "I might be of opinion that a course of advice amounts in effect to the enjoining of the practice, which he thinks no more than an encouragement to it."

But then comes the further question, *Ought* not Dr. Pusey, according to his own showing, to have enjoined Confession upon these Sisters of Mercy? He wishes to establish a certain institution; he thinks that every one who joins it, will, in time, use Confession; he thinks that if Confession be *not* used, the institution must fall to the ground: and, moreover, one of the rules of the institution itself is, how Confession should be used. Surely, then, the more straightforward course would have been to have said in terms, that which really was the case practically, that the use of Confession to a priest should be one of the fundamental conditions of joining the institution.

But we must notice, secondly, Dr. Pusey's very singular sensitiveness as to the practice of these Sisters of Mercy, with respect to Confession. Mr. Dodsworth has put this point very forcibly. He says⁶,—

"Before I leave this subject of Confession, I must say that I cannot understand how Dr. Pusey can esteem it a betrayal of confidence, simply to state the fact that the Sisters do use Confession. Is it not, according to his own showing, an excellent and edifying practice; nay, and essential, in his view, to the very existence of such an institution? Can it, then, be wrong to have stated that this practice, *essential* to its permanence, is to be found in the institution?"

We are sorry to be obliged to say, that we fully agree with Mr. Dodsworth on this point. We beg to ask, would Dr. Pusey esteem it a breach of confidence if any one were to state that, in an institution founded by him, the Sisters *must* have been admitted into the English Church by the Sacrament of Holy Baptism? Would it be a breach of confidence to state that they habitually, and at stated intervals, partook of the Holy Eucharist? We apprehend that Dr. Pusey would not assert this. Inasmuch, then, as we have clearly shown that Dr. Pusey regards the habitual use of Confession to a priest as a means of grace, second only in value to Baptism, and the Holy Eucharist, it surely would redound, according to his own principles, to the honour, rather than to the discredit, of the Sisters to state that they habitually had recourse to that means of grace which their founder so strenuously recommends. The mere fact of Dr.

⁶ Further Comments, &c. p. 5.

'usey objecting, not, as he might fairly enough have done, to he manner, but to the matter, of Mr. Dodsworth's statement, respecting the Sisterhood, shows, in our judgment, most clearly, that he has, unwittingly, placed himself in an utterly false position, with respect to his recommendation of the use of Auricular Confession.

But now we ask our readers, have we, or have we not, proved to demonstration the position we set out to establish, that, according to Dr. Pusey, it is at once the bounden duty and the highest interest of every sincere Christian, as he values his spiritual welfare, to carry out in detail a system of Spiritual Direction, differing in no one essential particular, in no practical respect whatever, from that of the Roman Church? In other words, to use, habitually and systematically, Confession to a priest, for the purpose of obtaining the benefit of Absolution. The *details* of Confession are, as Mr. Dodsworth asserts, and as Dr. Pusey performs admits, completely identical in the Romish usage, and the usage of Dr. Pusey and his followers. In fact, in his answer to Mr. Dodsworth's Comments, Dr. Pusey makes the following startling acknowledgment,—an acknowledgment over which Mr. Dodsworth does not forget to sing an Io Pæan:—

"I certainly do believe that the great change which the English Church made as to Confession was, that it ceased to be compulsory. Confession, when made, must be made in one and the same way; only, in the English Church, it is, from beginning to end, voluntary."

And this, then, according to Dr. Pusey, was, so far as Auricular Confession was concerned, the whole and sole result of the Reformation! This it was which alone Bishop Jeremy Taylor, and Bramhall, and Usher, and a host of others, laboured to establish! When these great pillars of the English Church denounced, as Dr. Pusey knows full well they did denounce, the Romish Confessional, they objected, not to the *system* of the Romish Church, not to the *details* of that system, but simply to its compulsory nature! They wished to make no alteration whatever in the practice, but simply wished to leave it an open question, simply a matter of voluntary choice, whether members of the English Church should or should not adopt it! We can only say that we "would not hear the *enemy*" of the Church of England make such an assertion, for sure we are that no heavier charge could be brought against our Reformers than Dr. Pusey has by implication brought against them. All that, forsooth, they and the great divines of the seventeenth century did in this point, was deliberately to leave it an open question, a matter of free choice, whether Christian men should or should not use one of the most valued means of grace to which they could possibly have re-

course! As if that Church would not show the greatest love for the souls of her children, which, taking Dr. Pusey's view with regard to Confession as the correct view, should *not* leave it a voluntary question, whether so beneficial a practice should or should not be universally adopted, but should insist rather upon all her children adopting it. In opposition to Dr. Pusey's teaching on this point, we will simply quote the following passage from Usher's "Answer to a Jesuit," and then leave our readers to judge whether, in the opinion of Usher, "the great change which the English Church made as to Confession was, that it ceased to be compulsory."

"Be⁷ it therefore known unto him (the Jesuit) that no kind of Confession, either public or private, is disallowed by us, that is any way requisite for the due execution of that ancient power of the keys which Christ bestowed upon his Church. The thing which we now reject, is that new picklock of sacramental Confession, obtruded upon men's consciences, as a matter necessary to salvation, by the canons of the late conventicle of Trent, where those good Fathers put their curse upon every one that either shall deny that sacramental Confession was ordained by Divine right, and is by the same right necessary to salvation. This doctrine, I say, we cannot but reject, as being repugnant to that which we have learned, both from the Scriptures, and from the Fathers.

"For in the Scriptures we find, that the confession which the penitent sinner maketh to God alone, hath the promise of forgiveness annexed unto it, which no priest upon earth hath power to make void, upon pretence that himself or some of his fellows were not first particularly acquainted with the business, 'I acknowledge my sin unto thee, and mine iniquity have I not hid: I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord; and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin.' And the poor publican, putting up his supplication in the temple accordingly, 'God be merciful to me a sinner,' went back to his house justified, without making confession to any other ghostly father, but only the Father of Spirits; of whom St. John giveth us this assurance, that 'if we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness.' Which promise, that it appertained to such as did confess their sins to God, *the ancient Fathers were so well assured of, that they cast in a manner all upon this confession, and left little or nothing to that which was made unto man.* Nay, they do not only leave it free for men to confess, or not confess their sins unto others, which is the most that we could have; but some of them also seem, in words at least, to advise men not to do it at all, which is more than we seek for."

And now then, let us see how far the view, which Dr. Pusey has taken of Auricular Confession, is justified by an appeal to the

⁷ Quoted by Dr. Hook in Appendix to Auricular Confession, note F. p. 58.

authorized formularies of the Church of England. It may be well, perhaps, to state here once for all, that we use the term "Auricular" in no invidious sense, but simply as the only term which will properly express Confession to a priest, in contradistinction to Confession to the Almighty.

Let us then suppose a case. Let us imagine an enlightened Roman Catholic, having no knowledge whatever of the Church of England system, with no prejudices either for or against it, to sit down to the perusal of the writings of Dr. Pusey on the subject of Auricular Confession and Absolution. If he reads these writings attentively, the conclusion at which he must arrive will be, that Dr. Pusey, professing to act in accordance with the mind and intention of the English Church, sets the highest conceivable value upon Auricular Confession, as a means of grace; that he asserts in plain terms that there is no difference whatever between the doctrine of the two Churches on this point, except that, in the one, Confession is voluntary, in the other, compulsory.

Then let us suppose further that our Romanist, having fully ascertained Dr. Pusey's mind and intention on this matter, applies himself to a careful study of the formularies of the English Church. Now what will he expect to find in them, reasoning from the practice of his own Church? He finds there Auricular Confession inculcated, and practised, *as a system*. He finds the "Confessional" set up in every Church. He finds the priesthood regularly trained up in all the details of this system. He finds a body of divinity, carefully compiled by some of the most eminent theologians, for the express guidance of "Confessors." He finds "manuals of Confession" meeting him at every turn, drawn up with the express object that nothing may be omitted, which is essential to the use of so important a means of grace. Now, then, what will he find *corresponding to all this* in the system of the Church of England? He will find four authorized exponents of that system, the Book of Common Prayer, the two Books of Homilies, the Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, and the Thirty-nine Articles. He turns then to the Book of Common Prayer as the most important of these, and what does he find there? He finds that Confession to a priest is never once mentioned from one end of the Prayer Book to the other, except in the Office for the Visitation of the Sick, and there only as a hypothetical case, where it is said: "Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, *if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter*." He finds in the Communion Office the following sentence:—"And because it is requisite that no man should come to the Holy Communion, but with a full trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience; therefore if there

be any of you who, by this means, cannot quiet his own conscience herein, but requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned minister of God's Word, and open his grief; that by the ministry of God's Holy Word he may receive the benefit of Absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness."

But now, from the Prayer Book, our inquirer turns to the Homilies. In the second part of the Sermon on Repentance, he finds it specified, that "there be four parts of Repentance." 1st, A diligent perusal of the Scriptures; 2nd, "An unfeigned Confession and acknowledging of our sins"—not to the priest, but—"unto God." 3rd. Faith in Christ; and, lastly, A new life. But this is not all that he finds in this sermon. He finds an especial reference to the practice of the Church of Rome, with respect to Confession, which is thus noted in the margin. "*Answer to the adversaries which maintain Auricular Confession,*" the reference itself being as follows:—

"And whereas *the adversaries* go about to wrest this place,"—alluding to the well-known passage in St. James—"for to maintain their Auricular Confession withal, *they are greatly deceived themselves and do shamefully deceive others*: for if this text ought to be understood of Auricular Confession, then these priests are as much bound to confess themselves unto the lay people, as the lay people are bound to confess themselves unto them. And if to pray is to absolve, then the laity by this place hath as great authority to absolve the priests, as the priests have to absolve the laity."—"I do not say," it is added, "but that, *if any do find themselves troubled in conscience*, they may repair to their learned Curates or Pastors, or to some other learned godly man, and show the trouble and doubt of their conscience to them, that they may receive at their hand the comfortable salve of God's Word; but *it is against the true Christian liberty, that any man should be bound to the numbering of his sins, as it hath been used heretofore in the time of blindness and ignorance,*"

—in the time, *i. e.* according to Dr. Pusey, when "*the adversary*" did, precisely that which the Church of England does now, except *only*, that she made Confession compulsory!

And now let us turn to the "Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical." What does our inquirer find there with respect to Auricular Confession? Not one single word from beginning to end. The subject is not even alluded to, and more than this, there is, if we may so speak, a *studied* silence respecting it. In these Canons, we find full directions about "things appertaining to Churches:" for instance, it is directed that there shall be, in every Church, the great Bible, and Book of Common Prayer;

a font of stone for Baptism ; a decent communion table ; a pulpit ; a chest for alms ; and so on ; but there is not one word with regard to the "Confessional" or place for hearing Confessions, which *used*, in mediæval times, to be set up in every Church. Therefore, we say, that the "Canons," practically ignore the use of Confession, as part of the system of the Church of England.

And now, lastly, our inquirer turns to the Thirty-nine Articles. Does he find Auricular Confession either enjoined, or recommended, here? On the contrary, he finds much, both directly and by implication, against it. For, first, it is asserted, that that which Romanists call the sacrament of penance, with which, in their Church, Confession is closely connected, is spoken of as "not to be counted for a sacrament of the Gospel," but as having "grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles ; partly" as being in common with other rites, a "state of life allowed in the Scriptures," but yet having not like nature with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that it has not "any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God." And, secondly, the Homilies—and, therefore, all that they say with respect to Auricular Confession, are spoken of as "containing a godly and wholesome doctrine." But, besides this, having gone through our formularies, our Roman Catholic querist must take into consideration, the feeling of the popular mind in the two Churches, with respect to Confession. In his own Church the practice is regarded not only as a legitimate but as an essential part of the system. In the Church of England, on the contrary, he will find that any direct approximation to the Romish system on this point is looked upon (and may it ever continue to be so !) with the greatest possible suspicion. And now, then, we would ask, what *must* be the conclusion of any enlightened Roman Catholic who, with no prejudices, but simply seeking for the truth, should thus place the system of Dr. Pusey in juxtaposition with the system of the Church of England, as he himself has deduced that system from her own authorized formularies? Would he not, *must* he not, say, either that Dr. Pusey has most grievously not misrepresented, for that we are sure he would not do, but most grievously mistaken the mind and intention of the Church of England, with respect to Auricular Confession ; or else, that the system of the Church of England is a mockery, a delusion, and a snare?—a system which pulls down with one hand that which, according to Dr. Pusey, it builds up with the other—a system which, according to the same authority, differs in no way practically, with respect to Auricular Confession, from that of the Church of Rome ; and yet, not only does not say one single word in recommendation of Confession to a Priest, but does, both directly and by implication, condemn the

system of the Romish communion ! Surely, judging as an honest man, he would say, in the language of the "Dublin Review," and sorry, most sorry, are we to be obliged to agree with any thing, in reference to Dr. Pusey's teaching on this subject, which emanates from such a quarter, that the words of our Communion service are—

"Words which certainly justify an Anglican clergyman in receiving a Confession, on some special point of conscientious difficulty, with a view to holy communion. It is, however, quite a different question, and one which, we should have thought, required a distinct reference to ecclesiastical authority, whether these words, quite unsupported by the general practice of the Church of England at any period of its history, can be considered to form a warrant for that extensive administration of the Confessional powers which Dr. Pusey founds upon them. For such a construction of these words will be seen to transfer the judgment of the necessity for Confession from the penitent to the clergy, and to change the rare occasion of an individual and partial scruple into an habitual and conscientious requirement; in short, it supposes the clergyman to say to his flock: 'If you have no such scruples about going to holy communion, you ought to have them.'"

We have inserted these remarks of "the adversary," because we honestly believe that they put the only interpretation upon the oft-quoted passage of our Communion service, of which that passage will fairly admit. It will be our object, in the next place, to justify that passage; in other words, to show that, when the Church of England allows Auricular Confession, not as a general rule of life, but simply as a special remedy for some special inquietude of conscience, she is perfectly right in so doing. We purpose to inquire whether Auricular Confession is sanctioned, *as a rule of life*, by the practice of the elder dispensation; by the teaching of Holy Scripture; and by the teaching and practice of the Primitive Church.

First, then, How stood the case among the Jews? The best authorities justify us in saying that Confession to a priest was a practice utterly unknown to the Jewish Church. Calmet tells us:—

"In the ceremony of the solemn expiation, under the Mosaic law, the high priest confessed *in general* his own sins, the sins of other ministers of the temple, and those of all the people."

He says, also, that the Jews, at the present day, make private Confession of their sins in the day of solemn expiation. This they call Cippur; but this Confession is made not to a priest, but

naturally to one another, and it is attended with mutual scourging. And Broughton also tells us⁹:—

“ But besides this general Confession, the Jews were obliged, during the ten days preceding the feast of expiation, to make a particular Confession of their sins, *either to God alone, or in the presence of a few persons*. If their sins were a breach of the first table, or offences against God only, they were not obliged to confess them before men; and Maimonides says, it would have been a piece of impudence to do so. But violations of the second table, or offences against their neighbour, were to be acknowledged in presence of their brethren.”

Thus much, then, for the practice of that elder Church, in whose footsteps, be it ever remembered, Christianity was originally modelled. Such was the working of that system which was a figurative introduction to Christianity.

And what, in the next place, does Holy Scripture assert with respect to Confession to a priest? We reply, in the words of one who has proved himself a staunch and consistent English Churchman¹:—

“ Search the Scriptures from one end to the other; from Moses to Malachi, and from Matthew to the Apocalypse, and not one word in all the Bible will you find about Confession to a priest. If Confession to a priest were necessary, if, that is to say, it were a means of grace, surely we should find some express, some unequivocal injunction for the observance of it. But not only is it not enjoined; it is not even suggested.”

There are, indeed, some who will “wrest” a certain passage of Scripture in defence of the practice of Auricular Confession. Like the Pontiff, who, because Scripture tells us that there were “two great lights, the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night,” therefore, at once, drew the conclusion that the temporal sword was subordinate to the spiritual; so, because our Saviour said, on healing the leper, “Go thy way, show thyself to the priest,” therefore our Lord “recommended,” if He did not “enjoin,” Auricular Confession. Let us hear the Homily on this point:—

“ Do they not see that the leper was cleansed from his leprosy, afore he was by Christ sent unto the priest for to show himself unto him? By the same reason we must be cleansed from our spiritual leprosy; I mean, our sins must be forgiven us, afore that we come to Confession. What need we, then, to tell forth our sins into the ear of the priest, sith that they be already taken away?”

And now let us see what was the practice and the teaching of the Primitive Church with respect to Auricular Confession.

⁹ History of Religion, folio, 1—271.

¹ Auricular Confession, p. 18.

There is no doubt upon one point, that Confession was not only "recommended," but "enjoined" by the early Church, in the case of those persons who had fallen into grievous sin. There is no doubt also, that this Confession differed very materially indeed from Auricular Confession as it is "enjoined" by the Church of Rome, and as it is "recommended" by Dr. Pusey. The² Confession of the early Church was public Confession of the "penitents," delivered, after a long and laborious penance, before the whole congregation; but it had no reference whatever to private and Auricular Confession. And in like manner the office of the penitentiary priest, to whom Romanists refer with such triumph, and whose office was abolished by Nectarius, Bishop of Constantinople, in the time of Theodosius, was a very different person indeed from the "confessor" of the Romish Church. Great scandal was sometimes caused by the public confessions of grosser sins; and therefore the penitentiary priest was appointed, not "³ to receive private confessions in prejudice to the public discipline, much less to grant absolution privately upon bare confession before any penance was performed, *which was a practice altogether unknown to the ancient Church;*" but simply to decide whether the particular sin confessed was of a character to be expiated by public or private penance. To use the striking language of Hooker:—

"They," the Romanists, "are men that would seem to honour antiquity, and none more to depend upon the reverend judgment thereof. I dare boldly affirm, that for many hundred years after Christ the Fathers held no such opinion; they did not gather by our Saviour's words any such necessity of seeking the priest's absolution from sin by secret, and, *as they now term it*, Sacramental Confession. Public Confession they thought necessary by way of discipline, not private Confession, *as in the nature of a sacrament*, necessary."—*Eccl. Pol.* 6. 4.

Let us see, in the next place, what was the teaching of the early Church on this subject:—

"St. Chrysostom⁴," says Archbishop Usher, "of all others is most copious in this argument. 'It is not necessary,' saith he, 'that thou shouldest confess in the presence of witnesses; let the inquiry of thy offences be made in thy heart; let this judgment be without a witness; let God only see thee confessing.' Again, 'Therefore I entreat and beseech and pray you, that you would continually make your confession to God. For I do not bring thee into the theatre of thy fellow-servants, neither do I constrain thee to discover thy sins unto men: unclasp thy conscience before God, and show thy wounds unto Him, and of Him ask a medicine. Show them to Him, that will not reproach, but heal

² See Bingham, 18, 3.

³ *Ibid.* 18, 11.

⁴ Answer to a Jesuit. Quoted by Dr. Hook, pp. 60—62.

thee. For although thou hold thy peace, He knoweth all. Let us not call ourselves sinners only, but let us *recount our sins, and repeat every one of them in special*. I do not say unto thee, Bring thyself upon the stage, nor, Accuse thyself unto others; but I counsel thee to obey the prophet, saying, Reveal thy way unto the Lord. Confess them before God, confess thy sins before the Judge, praying, if not with thy tongue, yet at least with thy memory, and so look to obtain mercy.'” To use the words of the same great divine, “St. Augustine, Cassiodore, and Gregory make a further observation upon that place of the thirty-second Psalm, ‘I said, I will confess my transgressions unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the iniquity of my sin,’ that God, upon the only promise and purpose of making this confession, did forgive the sin. ‘Mark,’ saith Gregory, ‘how great the swiftness is of this vital indulgence, how great the commendation is of God’s mercy, that pardon should accompany the very desire of him who is about to confess, before that repentance do come to afflict him; and remission should come to the heart, before that confession did break forth by the voice.’”

Usher then proceeds to quote St. Basil, St. Ambrose, Maximus Taurinensis, and Prosper, and thus concludes:—

“By this it appeareth, that the ancient Fathers did not think that the remission of sins was so tied unto external confession, that a man might not look for salvation from God, if he concealed his faults from man; but that inward contrition, and confession made to God alone, were sufficient in this case.”

There is no doubt, indeed, that the early Church *did* not only allow, but recommend, private Confession; but this was only in some special cases⁵. Thus, in the case of lesser sins, men were advised to confess mutually to one another; and in the case of private injuries, to confess and ask pardon of the injured party. And so, if men could not quiet their consciences without it, they were advised to have recourse to a priest, not for the purpose of sacramental Confession, but that he might give them spiritual counsel, and also advise them whether it was proper for them to expiate their sin by public penance. In the words of Hooker:—

“Men being loathe to present rashly themselves and their faults unto the view of the whole Church, thought it best to unfold first their minds to some one special man of the clergy, which might either help them himself, or refer them to a higher court, if need were.”—*Eccl. Pol.* 6. 4.

In fact, their practice was exactly identical with that of our own Church. They neither “enjoined” Auricular Confession, as does the Church of Rome, neither did they “recommend” it as a

⁵ Bingham, 18, 3.

rule of life, as does Dr. Pusey; but they simply "allowed" it as a means of special comfort and consolation to those who could not without it "quiet their own consciences."

"Neither they nor we," as Usher well says, "do debar men from opening their grievances unto the physicians of their souls, either for their better information in the true state of their disease, or for the quieting of their troubled consciences, or for receiving further direction from them out of God's Word, both for the recovery of their present sickness, and for the prevention of the like danger in time to come."

And now we trust we have clearly shown that Dr. Pusey can find no warrant in the authorized formularies of the English Church for making Auricular Confession the rule of life. We trust we have shown also, that the view taken of Confession by the Church of England is justified, not only by the perfect silence of Scripture, but by the teaching and practice of the Primitive Church. But then, perchance, it may be objected, that the view we have taken of Auricular Confession must also tend to the disparagement of the benefit and comfort of Sacramental Absolution, to which, beyond all manner of doubt, the Church of England attaches a very high value. We answer, that we do nothing of the kind—that the two cases are perfectly distinct. Dr. Pusey, indeed, more than any man living, has by his writings, unwittingly we fully believe, disparaged the forms of Absolution which, in her daily service, and in her Eucharistic office, the Church of England has supplied for the comfort and consolation of her children. This, in fact, is our heaviest complaint against Dr. Pusey, that he has, by his recommendation of private Confession, with a view to private Absolution, tended to make the public forms of Confession and Absolution, which our Church enjoins, comparatively worthless. Let it be assumed, that the earnest-minded Christian does require a *daily* assurance of God's love and favour,—does *daily* need to be told that God has, upon his sincere repentance, pardoned his sins, and blotted them out from his remembrance. We say, that the Church of England does, in her daily service, supply such an assurance,—an assurance sufficiently precise, sufficiently comprehensive, for all ordinary occasions. Let us hear one of our most eminent ritualists on the Confession and Absolution of our daily service, quoted, strange to say, by Dr. Pusey himself, in the appendix to his Sermon at Oxford⁶ :—

"This Confession," says Dr. Bisse, "is in its form most solemn, in its extent most *comprehensive*; for it takes in *all kinds of sin, both of omission and of commission*. And whilst every single person makes this general Confession with his lips, he may make a particular Confes-

⁶ Entire Absolution of the Penitent, p. 69.

ion with his heart; *I mean, of his own personal sins, known only to God and himself, which, if particularly, though secretly, confessed and repented of, will assuredly be forgiven.* This is the privilege of our Confession, that, under the general form, every man may mentally unfold 'the plague of his own heart,' his particular sins, whatever they be, *as effectually to God, who 'alone knoweth his heart,' as if he pronounced them in express words.* And this Confession of sins being duly made by the whole congregation, then the priest standing up, doth, in the name and by the commission of God, pronounce the Absolution; which, if rightly understood, believed, and embraced by the confessing penitent, ought to be of like comfort to him as that declaration of Christ was to the man sick of the palsy, 'Be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee.' "

And yet Dr. Pusey prefaces this view of the public Absolution, so "solemn and comprehensive," as it is, with a remark which goes very far indeed to deprive it of all its force and all its efficacy in the opinion of those who carry out his teaching:—

"This view," he says, "is the rather added, because, *UNTIL individual Confession is more common, it may often be a very great comfort thus to include each person's own burden of sin in the general Confession; it will be more real, and the Absolution more availing!*"

In other words, this "solemn and comprehensive" form of Confession and Absolution, complete and perfect in itself, according to Dr. Bisse, will, according to Dr. Pusey, do very well for a makeshift, but will be, comparatively, of no value whatever when the "penitent" has had recourse habitually to private Confession and private Absolution! We do not, of course, intend to charge Dr. Pusey with any *intentional* disrespect to the forms of Confession and Absolution in our daily service; but he has, assuredly, used language which will fully justify the inference we have drawn from it.

But we have further testimony as to the completeness of these forms. Our own Hooker thus speaks of them':—

"Seeing day by day we in our Church begin our public prayers to Almighty God with public acknowledgment of our sins, in which Confession every man, prostrate as it were before his Glorious Majesty, crieth against himself, and the minister with one sentence pronounceth universally all clear whose acknowledgment so made hath proceeded from a true penitent mind; what reason is there every man should not, under the general terms of Confession, represent to himself his own particulars whatsoever, and adjoining thereunto that affection which a contrite spirit worketh, embrace to as full effect the words of divine grace, *as if the same were severally and particularly uttered with addition of prayers, imposition of hands, or all the ceremonies and solemnities that might be used for the strengthening of men's affiance in God's peculiar mercy*

towards them! Such complements are helps to support our weakness, and not causes that serve to procure or produce his gifts, as David speaketh. The difference of general and particular forms in Confession, and Absolution is not so material that any man's safety or *ghostly good*, should depend upon it."

But we have not yet done with the public service of our Church. There is another form of Confession and Absolution, if possible, even more solemn, more comprehensive, than that in our Order for Morning and Evening Prayer,—a form, be it specially remembered, which it is the earnest wish of Dr. Pusey and his followers to bring into *daily* use. We allude to the form in our Eucharistic office. We would ask any one carefully to read over the Confession and Absolution provided for us in that office, and then to say whether it is possible to provide forms better calculated to afford comfort and peace of mind to the true penitent,—to say whether it can be in any wise desirable, practically, to supersede their use by the adoption of private Confession and private Absolution,—whether it can be desirable to teach, if not in terms, yet virtually to teach that, to use again the words of Hooker, "it standeth with the righteousness of God to take away no man's sins until, by Auricular Confession, they be opened unto the priest."

And now, then, we are in a position to argue this question upon the lower ground of expediency. If, as we have proved, Auricular Confession was wholly unknown to the Elder Church; if it is wholly unsanctioned by Scripture; if its use, as a rule of life, is entirely unsupported by the practice and teaching of the early Christians; if it is neither enjoined nor even recommended, except in certain special cases, by the Church of England; we are entitled to ask now, Is it expedient to make Auricular Confession the rule of life; to hold it up as a means of grace, second only in value to Baptism and the Holy Eucharist; to represent it as a privilege, which ought to be eagerly and thankfully embraced by all true Christians? We will briefly state the reasons why we think it is not expedient. We object, then, in the first place, to the revival of Auricular Confession in the English Church, because it is a practice which never can by any possibility be regarded in any other light, than with the greatest suspicion, by the vast majority of English Churchmen. We are fully convinced that it is a system to which it is impossible that popular opinion can ever be reconciled. Men cannot forget, if they would, the fearful evils which *have* been committed, the horrible abominations which *have* been mixed up with this practice in the Church of Rome. We would pass very lightly over this painful part of the subject, but we cannot but feel that there is no security against the same

its, and the same abominations, being mixed up with the system in this country, if the teaching of Dr. Pusey and his followers, were ever carried out to its full extent, especially when it is considered that the same school, by which the system of Auricular Confession is adopted, strongly recommends, if it does not enjoin, liberty among the clergy.

But we object to the revival of Auricular Confession, secondly, because it is a system which of all others has the strongest tendency to render those, especially the younger clergy, by whom it is adopted, dissatisfied with the teaching of our own Church, and therefore to lead them on, insensibly, to the Church of Rome. Experience and reason alike demonstrate the truth of this assertion. There is no denying the fact, that they who have left us, were the very men who carried out this system in its fullest details. Witness the clergy at St. Saviour's, Leeds. Witness Mr. Maskell, Mr. Dodsworth, and many others who might be named. Reason proves this also. A young priest enters upon the duties of the parochial ministry, deeply imbued with Dr. Pusey's teaching upon this subject. He begins by introducing Auricular Confession, as one of the most important features of his parochial system. He finds himself, in a very short time, regarded with grave suspicion. He finds himself, whether rightly or wrongly we say not, but the fact is so, branded as a "Romanizer." He is charged with introducing the Romish system into the Church of England. What is the natural consequence? He begins to compare the merits of the Anglican and Roman Communions. He argues, not, under the circumstances, very unreasonably, that, if Confession to a priest be so great a means of grace as he considers it, that Church must stand on the higher ground, which enforces it upon her members, which does not leave its observance an open question, and thus is led, insensibly, to take refuge in that communion, where alone he can be at liberty to carry out the system to its fullest possible extent.

But we object, lastly, to the revival of Auricular Confession in the Church of England, because, instead of fostering that manly independence of character which, as we contend, the Church of England *does* foster among her members—an independence perfectly compatible with the deepest personal humility, with the deepest individual penitence—it tends rather to foster a sickly sentimentalism, a morbid state of feeling and temperament, altogether alien to the *natural* character of the English people. We have no wish to press this point invidiously, but still we would ask any one to compare the Italian peasant, taught, as he is, to put God's minister between the Almighty and himself; taught,

as he is, to regard the priest as one who, by his own *ipse dixit*, can open or shut to him the kingdom of heaven; with the Englishman of a similar station, carefully trained in the true system of the English Church; taught to look up to his parish priest, with affectionate reverence, as the dispenser of God's Word and sacraments; as his guide, his friend, and his adviser; but yet taught to look upon himself as a responsible being, accountable to God alone, and to no human authority, for the use he makes, alike of the talents entrusted to his care, as well as of those means of grace which the Church affords him;—we ask any man to make this comparison, and then to say, on which side lies the greater truthfulness of character, the higher rectitude of principle, the stronger stedfastness of moral purpose. Sure we are he will find, that the comparison is immeasurably in favour of the system of the Church of England, provided that system be carried out in her own legitimate method. Let any one, again, compare the general state of society in Italy and in England, and then say, whether it is desirable to establish a system of "Spiritual Direction," in our happy English homes, akin, in any respect, to that system of Auricular Confession, which is, avowedly, the keystone of the Romish communion. Let us not be misunderstood. We are far from supposing that Dr. Pusey wishes to introduce, or to carry out any such system, as that to which we allude; but we say confidently, that it is impossible for any man to draw the line where he pleases; that it is utterly impossible for Dr. Pusey, or any one else, to say with certainty that he can prevent a recurrence of "those inconveniences which the world hath by experience observed*" in Auricular Confession as practised by the Romish Church "heretofore." We do contend that the whole system of Spiritual Direction is, *from its very nature*, liable to be so fearfully misapplied, that it is very far better, unless a necessity of adopting it is laid upon us, to avoid its introduction under any shape, and in any way whatever.

But perhaps it will be said, that this necessity does now exist amongst us; that the practice of Auricular Confession is essential to the full development of that deep humility, that earnest penitence, which are inherent characteristics of the true Christian. We think not. Dr. Pusey has drawn a very striking picture, in his Letter to Mr. Richards, of the benefits which have already resulted from the employment of Auricular Confession; but the question is, Are these results necessarily tied to, and altogether dependent upon, the employment of such a system? For our own parts, we are perfectly satisfied that, so far as these

* Hooke

Results arise from a healthy, and not a morbid, state of feeling, they are *not* so tied, they are *not* so dependent. We are fully convinced that they will rather be the natural fruits of an earnest love, on the part of every individual parish priest, for the souls of his people; the natural consequence of a careful training in the system of the Church of England, as that system is embodied in her Book of Common Prayer. We are not now speaking of exceptional cases. We are not considering the instances of persons reclaimed from a long continued course of licentious profligacy, or from a state of debasing ignorance bordering on heathenism. We are speaking of those who have been carefully trained, at the parent's knee, in the system of the Church of England; who have been, from their childhood, taught their responsibility before God, taught to cherish their Christian privileges: and we say that, for such persons, the system of the English Church, legitimately interpreted, is all-sufficient. And so with respect to Holy Communion. Dr. Pusey thus speaks on this point:—

“This is most certain, that to encourage indiscriminately the approach to the Holy Communion, without a corresponding inward system, whereby they, who are entitled to do so, should know intimately the hearts of those whom they so encourage, has brought with it an amount of carelessness and profanation, which, if known, would make many a heart of those who have so done, sink and quake.”

We say, first, that there are none so “entitled;” that there are none, who, in Dr. Pusey’s sense, have a right “to know intimately” the hearts of their people; none, who have a right to demand that “every man¹,” to use again the words of Hooker, “should pour into their ears whatsoever hath been done amiss.” We say, secondly, that if this grievous profanation, and most grievous would it be, has occurred, it has arisen, not from a neglect of Auricular Confession, but from gross neglect of his bounden duty on the part of the parochial minister. We assert confidently that, if persons come to the Holy Communion unprepared; if they approach God’s altar “lightly, unadvisedly, and wantonly;” the guilt of that profanation lies at the door of those who should have taught them better; that *they* are responsible who have not, habitually, taught their flocks to consider “the dignity of that holy mystery, and the great peril of the unworthy receiving thereof;” who have not urged upon them diligently and carefully to “examine themselves, before they presume to eat of that bread and drink of that cup.” It is most unreasonable to charge such profanation upon the neglect of Auricular

¹ Entire Absolution, &c. p. 49.

¹ 6, 4.

recently to adopt. They have wantonly thrown aside a opportunity of doing their duty to the English Church, at the same time, *by doing their duty*, of acquiring the confidence of the English people. And what have they gained by their position? Simply this; they have alienated the support of thousands, who would have sided with them heart and soul, on questions affecting the Church. If, instead of allowing dissent the Durham letter to turn them from the paramount duty of defending the Church of England, they had quietly, in their several spheres, collectively and individually, done their duty, might have won the esteem and respect of well-nigh all by whom they were heretofore suspected. The English people are a generous and people. They will respect those, however they may differ from them, who are sincere and straightforward; they turn with indignation from men who, calling themselves English Churchmen, allow the insults of a latitudinarian Minister to divert them from the path they ought to follow, who, by not assisting, betray the Church of England in this hour of her greatest need. And let Dr. Pusey be assured that this feeling is not confined to the "rampant antinomianism" lately exhibited. It is spreading very widely among the clergy also. Surely recent events prove this. No person of common capacity for judging, and of unprejudiced mind can doubt this, who looks at the recent meeting of the National Society in its true light. Why did the largest meeting of the Society which has assembled together since the Gorham meeting pass by so large a majority, Mr. Denison's motion? Not because it differed from Mr. Denison substantially; not simply, as Dr. Denison complacently imagines, because of the advice of the Bishop of the diocese; but because they could not trust the party whom Mr. Denison was principally supported; because they had no security but that they who, at that meeting, clamoured the loudest in support of the "Catholic faith," would, in the year, as others have done, by whom he was supported, go over to the greatest enemy of that faith, and more refuse to defend the Church of England against the enemy's invasion. We do not speak idly on this point. We know that this feeling had great influence upon the meeting, and we confidently assert, that it ought to have operated, in fact, did. Men have got tired of co-operating with those who are always *talking* about the "Church," but who, in the "Church of England" is wantonly and insolently attacking, not only will do nothing themselves to defend her, but impugn her motives, and throw every obstacle in the way, of those who wish to do so. We warn Dr. Pusey and his followers, that the

reaction is rapidly setting in ; that, unless it be arrested, incalculable mischief will be the result ; and for that result they, and they alone, will be responsible. We are quite satisfied that that result may be prevented even yet. We are quite persuaded that the vast majority of the English people are as yet true to the real principles of our Church ; but we will not answer for them long, if they see much more of such gross violations of good faith as we have lately witnessed at St. Saviour's, Leeds,—if they see the so-called “ friends of the Church ” standing aloof from her in the hour of her greatest necessity, and leaving her defence to those who are only too glad to assume the foremost position. Depend on it, the people of England will never sympathize with “ Romanism ” within the Church in any shape, or under any circumstances ; neither will they tolerate the teaching, which, whether premeditatedly or unwittingly, has a tendency to lead to it. If in their dislike of one extreme, they are led to incline to its opposite, they will be responsible who might have restrained them within, *by keeping there themselves*, the middle path of safety. If the “ whirlwind and the storm ” do ever overwhelm the Catholic faith of the English Church, it will only be from the open treachery, or the lukewarm supineness, of those who might have “ ridden ” upon the one, who might, by the commonest prudence, have guided and “ directed ” the other.

- ART. II.—1. *The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn, of the Convent of Friars Minors, Kilkenny; and Thady Dowling, Chancellor of Leighlin. Together with the Annals of Ross, Edited from MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, with Introductory Remarks. By the Very Rev. RICHARD BUTLER, A.B., M.R.S.A., Dean of Clonmacnois. Dublin: Printed for the Irish Archæological Society.*
2. *Original Letters and Papers in illustration of the History of the Church in Ireland, during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. Edited, with Notes from Autographs in the State Paper Office, by EVELYN PHILIP SHIRLEY, Esq., M.A. London: Rivingtons.*
3. *Rise and Progress of the Irish Church Mission Society: the Reformation in Connemara, Dublin, &c., and the Journal of a Tour in the County of Galway, in company with the Rev. Alexander R. C. Dallas, M.A., in June, 1850. Second Edition. Dublin: W. Curry and Co. London: Hatchard; Nisbet and Co.; Wertheim and Macintosh.*
4. *Early Fruits of Irish Missions. A Letter from an Eye-witness after a Missionary Tour during June and July, 1850. Second Edition. London: Published by the Society for Irish Church Missions, 14, Exeter Hall, Strand.*
5. *Eleventh Report of the Church Education Society for Ireland, being for the Year 1850.*

WHEN we look back for a few years, and recall to mind the opinions which then seemed to have gained almost general acceptance with regard to the Church question in Ireland, and when we compare those views with the more enlightened sentiments which have been gradually superseding them of late, we cannot but recognize the working of a Higher Power, in bringing about a change which, as far as it has proceeded, is replete with consolations to every faithful adherent of the Reformed Church in England and in Ireland. This alteration in the public mind has not been the result of any efforts or exertions made by the advocates of sound principle; for they had ineffectually protested, almost despairingly, against the successive steps by which Romanism was being gradually invested with power, and permitted to crush and to subvert the Established Church. It was

in vain that the adherents of England and of her faith pointed out the danger and the manifold evils of giving to Romanism the practical ascendancy in Ireland. It was in vain that they lamented and protested against the endowment of Romish seminaries, and the recognition of Romish bishops. They saw Romanism advancing with rapid steps to absolute ascendancy and dominion, and were continually expecting the spoliation of their own Church. Each concession made, had only inflamed the pride and increased the enmity of Romanism; yet each Ministry, as it succeeded to the reins of power, seemed to vie with its predecessors in anxiety to gratify the wishes of that priesthood. It was difficult to say whether Tories, or Whigs, or Radicals were prepared to go to the greatest lengths, or to depend more implicitly on the Church of Rome for the means of governing Ireland. It seemed to be generally held, that a great mistake having been committed in attempting to rule Ireland on the principles of Protestant ascendancy, the only safe course was to invoke the aid, or rather to conciliate the friendship, of those whose influence over the majority of the population was evident and undeniable. It was supposed that means might be found to obtain effective influence over those clerical leaders, by holding out to them the prospect of endowment by the State; and it was not disguised that hopes were entertained that they might thus be made useful instruments in promoting the order and peace of the community.

With such views, the statesmen of England supported, session after session, the demands of the Roman Catholic party. They were refused nothing except the absolute destruction of the Church of Ireland, for which the country was not yet prepared. They were permitted to pass measure after measure favourable to their own system—were gratified by concessions of all kinds—and were enabled to remove many of the bulwarks which the old legislation of England and Ireland had raised against Papal usurpation and error. Nor was this all. The Parliament of England was seen to court the friendship of the Papacy, by passing a Bill for the purpose of establishing diplomatic intercourse; doubtless with the hope of gaining influence over the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood; while the Sovereign was advised to express her sympathy with the Pope in his expulsion by the Roman people; and the Ministry of England appeared before the public as correspondents of the Papal Nuncio at Paris, and as well-wishers to the restoration of the Papal dominion over an oppressed and reluctant nation.

In short, Romanism was making rapid strides towards the accomplishment of its various objects under the patronage of suc-

cessive Ministries, who were deceived as to its real character. We have no doubt that the Ministries of Lord Liverpool, and the Duke of Wellington, and Sir Robert Peel, and Lord John Russell, all of whom, in their turn, did whatever was in their power to gratify the Romish Church, were actuated by the wish to promote the general interests of the country; but they were deceived as to the real tendencies or character of Romanism, in *these* countries at least; and have been grasping after a shadow in their attempts to rule Ireland through the Romish priesthood.

And of this many of our politicians seem to be partially convinced. Lord John Russell has apparently altered his view of Romanism. He has acknowledged—and we honour him for the candour and manliness of the avowal—that when, some years since, he was of opinion that territorial titles ought to be conceded to the Romish Episcopate, he was under very different impressions of the character of Romanism from those which he now entertains. It is obvious also, that a vast change has been wrought in the minds of Liberal politicians generally, with the exception of the remains of Sir Robert Peel's party; and on the whole, indeed, it seems somewhat doubtful which section of the political world in England has receded furthest from the doctrines which were prevalent till within the last year or two.

Rome boasts, with some reason, of her success in effecting conversions: but in the present case, she has worked almost a miracle. She has converted a thoroughly Liberal legislature, intent only on gratifying her in all ways, into a hostile, irritated, and jealous body of men. She has convinced the most liberal that it is impossible to reconcile freedom with the Papal ascendancy. She has succeeded in awakening the public mind in England to an hostility to her claims, which has not been equalled on any occasion since the Revolution, and perhaps scarcely since the Reformation itself. She has had, however, the satisfaction of holding a Synod in defiance of the Crown and Government of England, and of exercising the power of ecclesiastical censures for the purpose of extinguishing the liberal institutions for education which had been established with a view to gratify her. She has had the satisfaction of ignoring the English and the Irish Church, and of setting aside the Royal Supremacy, by establishing a new hierarchy in England, and issuing Bulls for erecting new bishoprics in Ireland. She has had the satisfaction of trampling on the ancient and modern laws of England, in appointing and sending cardinals, and legates, and bishops by her own authority. She has exulted in the successive insults which she has been enabled to offer to the Crown, Parliament, and people of England. Did the Government and the whole Liberal

party remonstrate against the proceedings of the Thurles Synod, and evince the utmost soreness and annoyance at so great an insult? the reply of Rome was, to issue the Bull appointing the pseudo-hierarchy in England, and to create Dr. Wiseman a Cardinal. Were the English nation and the Government incensed to the most extreme degree at so outrageous a violation of the national rights, liberties, and laws? the reply of the Papacy was, in the midst of the turmoil, to issue a Bull erecting the See of Ross in Ireland, in direct defiance of the law! Did the Parliament and the people, with wonderful unanimity, but wonderful moderation, proceed to take steps for the purpose of asserting the laws of England, and at least *claiming* the old rights of the Crown? the answer of the Papacy has been—a confirmation of the decrees of the Synod of Thurles, and an anathema against the Government Colleges! In short, the course pursued by Rome has been pretty much that of a man who begins by calling you by some opprobrious epithet; and, when remonstrated with, endeavours to mend matters by kicking you; and, when you get very angry, concludes the matter by tweaking your nose, spitting in your face, and breaking his stick on your back! Such is, positively, the sort of treatment which the British nation has been undergoing of late; and while it is never the practice of England to threaten, or to express in strong or exaggerated terms the national feeling, we trust that Rome will yet have reason to know that she has succeeded in putting an end to all friendly feelings on the part of England; and that not only her partisans in these countries, but the Papal Government itself, will have reason hereafter to regret their present insolence and defiance of the English laws.

The tone of the Press exhibits, in the most striking way, the change which has been effected in public opinion: When we remember that for a series of years the "Times" had been amongst the warmest advocates of all measures tending to promote the interests of the Church of Rome; when we bring to mind its unwearied exertions to obtain the endowment of the Romish priesthood in Ireland, as a measure dictated by the wisest policy, and as holding out the only prospect of keeping that country in peace and good order;—it is curious to mark the alteration in its tone, which recent events have effected. Who could recognize, in the following remarks, the identity of this journal with the "Times" of 1848, which supported the interests of the Papacy, assailed the cause of Italian liberty, and urged the endowment of the Romish priesthood?

"There appears too much reason to fear that the same spirit of intolerant and narrow-minded bigotry which has induced the Pope to

sacrifice the substantial interests of the Roman Catholics of England is about to achieve a second triumph, not so much over the Protestant Government as over the moral and material advancement of the Irish people. Under the evil guidance of those whom Lord Shrewsbury appropriately calls, in his letter to Lord John Russell, the anti-English party, Pius the Ninth is reported, and we fear with truth, to have resolved on proscribing the Queen's Colleges in Ireland, forbidding positively the priests from having any connexion with them, and threatening the disobedient laity with all the vengeance of ecclesiastical censure. The boon which Parliament, in its wisdom and liberality, bestowed on the Irish people is snatched away from them by their spiritual head, and the doctrine is broadly avowed that the free and impartial instruction of the laity in secular knowledge is found in this nineteenth century to be utterly inconsistent with the advancement or even the existence of the Catholic faith. The same power whose adherents so earnestly insist upon the compatibility of allegiance to her commands with loyalty to the sovereign and obedience to the law, now puts aside these flimsy professions, and tells us, through the voices of her best accredited organs, that she will endure no rival in the mind or in the kingdom in which she has once obtained a footing. In her view, no department of secular knowledge is innocent or admissible which is not taught under the immediate superintendence of ecclesiastics, whose ignorance and shallow presumption may represent the truth of science as a profane fiction, and the magnificent march of nature as a splendid phantasmagoria. To give just enough knowledge of these things to counteract the influence and dispel the charm of their novelty and their grandeur—to inspire just so much taste for the arts as may train the senses to take delight in pompous processions and empty decorations, without permitting the mind to go deep enough into their study to feel the worthlessness of tawdry and flaunting ceremonies—to mutilate and interpolate the page of history till its darker or more startling warnings lose their significance—to emasculate philosophy and poetry,—these are duties which the Church wisely trusts to no profane hand, but reserves to herself as most able to fulfil them. No wonder that the spectacle of a Pontiff—who but a few years ago astonished Europe by the proofs which he gave of the sincerity of his belief that the cause of the Church of Rome was not inconsistent with intellectual progress—now formally recanting his error, and striving to obtain the most despicable of ends by the most odious of means, by employing ecclesiastical tyranny as the means of intellectual degradation—should fill with transport the popish press, the only portion of our periodical literature for which an Englishman is ever called on to blush. It is not alone the triumph of ignorance, nor the palmy prospect which intellectual impotence opens to bigotry, nor yet the arbitrary and un-English manner in which these mandates of intolerance are to be enjoined upon the clergy and forced upon the laity, that charms them. These things undoubtedly are sweet to the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland; but, to use the words of their own national poet, there is in the conduct of the Propaganda something more

exquisite still. It is the gross and studied insult to the Queen of these realms, who has condescended to accept the patronage of the institutions at which the meddling and mischievous priesthood of Italy are hurling their anathemas; it is the insult to our national honour and independence, the injury done to those patriotic feelings which Englishmen of every creed and shade of opinion once combined to cherish and encourage, which is to the organs of the Roman Catholic priesthood the daintiest dish in the banquet of intolerance over which they riot and revel. It is much to have stricken down knowledge, to have blighted that humanizing and conciliating influence which the early association of men of the most different creeds and opinions never fails to produce; but it is the shock given to our characteristic and almost superstitious veneration for our ancient laws and institutions, to all which makes us what priest-ridden countries are not and never can be, which fills the Popish press with jubilant exultation. We shall not follow the bad example set us of affecting to despise and undervalue the mischief which, in this their hour, it is granted to these men to do. They cannot, as they pretend, control our Parliament or make void our legislation; but they can undoubtedly, by the systematic abuse of their spiritual influences and the prostitution of the ordinances of the Church for the purposes of a base conspiracy against the progress and happiness of their flocks, effect much evil. Still, we question whether, misled by previous successes of the same kind, the Church of Rome has not fallen into the error of overrating her powers of mischief, and mistaken the intensesness of her evil will for the extent of her power. No doubt the leaders of the counter-revolutionary party throughout Europe, in their abject dread of another political crisis, and their desire to cling to and to employ in their defence every reactionary tendency which society contains, have flung themselves into the arms of the Pope, and have bartered their future destiny and their progress for the support of the spiritual power. Spain has submitted and Austria tamely bowed her head to the yoke. No doubt, also, in the extreme ultramontane party in Ireland Rome has instruments as ardent and unscrupulous as ever employed the resources of civilization to reproduce barbarism, and the cultivation of the intellect to insure its degradation."

At a time, then, when public opinion seems to have righted itself to a certain degree—at a time when statesmen and politicians have learnt by bitter experience that in dealing with the Church of Rome, they must not expect to control that Church for the promotion of English political objects, but must expect to be controlled by it to the unhesitating promotion of exclusively Roman Catholic objects; and instead of exercising authority over it, must submit to its dictation—to the dictation, too, of the "Irish Brigade"—at such a moment, perhaps, there may be some chance of a fair hearing for the Church in Ireland—for THAT BRANCH OF OUR NATIONAL CHURCH, which has been, to a great extent, given up to the demands of Romish faction—which has for years

felt itself perpetually on the eve of being offered up as a holocaust to appease the rage of Romish intolerance.

We trust that, in pleading for that branch of the United Church, in endeavouring to show that, on every ground of honour and justice, and even of sound policy, it should be maintained and not merely maintained, but encouraged, and strengthened and befriended in all fair and lawful ways; in endeavouring to prove that whatever faults, and defects, and failures may be connected with it in the public opinion, are not inherent in the system, but are easily separable from it, and are not justly to be imputed to it,—we shall be doing some service at the present time both to Church and State, and may be listened to with more impartiality of judgment than we could have hitherto anticipated.

We believe that we may fairly reckon the Protestant population of Ireland at about two millions, of whom the great majority are resident in the province of Ulster, being descended from English and Scottish ancestors, who settled there in the reign of Elizabeth and James the First. The descendants of the Scottish settlers, probably to the number of about 700,000, continue for the most part Presbyterians; but they have, on the whole, remained on amicable terms with the Established Church, and attached to the English connexion, feeling, probably, the necessity of mutual support in the presence of an intolerant and violent Popish majority.

The number of Romanists in Ireland was about six millions, previous to the late famines and pestilences; but this number must have been largely diminished within the last few years. The causes which have led to diminution of population have operated chiefly in those parts of Ireland where Romanism is the religion of the population; and we think there can be little doubt that while Romanism has lost a million of population, Protestantism has lost nothing. Thus, then, we have *two millions* of Protestants on the one side, and *five millions* of Romanists on the other.

Now it must be admitted, with great regret, that the Protestants are in a considerable minority in Ireland. We shall hereafter touch on the reasons why they are so. But, notwithstanding this, they are a numerous, a courageous, and a high-spirited body of men; and they constitute the only part of the population which is really attached to England. Had England to hold possession of Ireland merely by military force, without the presence of a body of Protestant inhabitants, the tenure would be far more costly than it is, and perhaps it would be impossible eventually to retain that country; for instances are but rare in which an army has been able permanently to occupy an extensive territory, where

he whole population were combined in a resolution to resist it. The Romish population of Ireland has, at all times, from various causes, been turbulent, and willing to throw off the English dominion. The Protestant population, on the contrary, has been, from various causes, as a general rule, orderly, obedient to the laws, loyal, and attached to the interests of England. Thus the existence of Protestantism in Ireland is a positive benefit to the empire; it is a means of maintaining its integrity, and of preventing a large and important island from being separated from England, and falling under the influence of some foreign power, such as France.

And, in addition to this, it may be observed (in reference to the question of the day), that the *Queen's supremacy* is only recognized in Ireland by the Protestants. That doctrine, grounded so deeply in the English law, has always been openly rejected by the Romish priesthood and population in Ireland. Its recognition or rejection has been the great question for ages between Romanists and Protestants. The latter all acknowledge, as the former universally deny, that the Queen has a supremacy in ecclesiastical causes. The latter admit the right of the crown to appoint bishops; the former reject it. If, therefore, the royal supremacy is to be maintained at all, it can only be so by sustaining, more or less, the cause of the Church in Ireland. To relinquish that course would be merely to give the See of Rome the undivided supremacy over the whole of Ireland,—to restrict the Queen's supremacy to England.

But the events of the last few years have shown that the supremacy in England itself is not perfectly secure against all attacks. It has been seen that, amidst the stir and excitement of these times, the royal supremacy itself has been called in question; that the extent of its power has been narrowly scanned and scrutinized; that the tribunals of law have been, on several occasions, appealed to against alleged abuses of the supremacy; that men have learnt to argue against the absolute and unconditional power of the crown, or rather of its ministers, in ecclesiastical matters. It has been thus seen that the supremacy in England itself is not so impregnable as it is generally supposed; that no argument can touch it or weaken it; and this gives a weight and significance to the assertion or denial of that principle in Ireland which it would not otherwise possess. If the supremacy be relinquished in Ireland,—if, in one part of the empire, the crown permits its ecclesiastical supremacy to be rejected or set aside,—a dangerous precedent is established for England itself. The Queen holds the same royal dignity in Ireland as in England; if her ecclesiastical supremacy is relinquished in one country, there can be

no principle to retain it in the other: it can be no longer an essential prerogative of the crown: it may be abolished, for good reasons, in England also.

It is clear that the maintenance of the Royal Supremacy in England is materially connected with its maintenance in Ireland; and if it be maintained in Ireland, it must be by upholding the only body of men who really acknowledge it, *i. e.* the members of the Established Church. That body is indeed a minority; but still it holds its ground very firmly: it has courage and perseverance; and it ensures a certain recognition of the Royal power in Church and State, which renders it eminently serviceable to the English Crown. It may be an English garrison or advanced guard in a hostile country, as it has sometimes been called; but wherever it exists, the Supremacy of the Crown exists along with it; and where it does not exist, the Supremacy of the Crown is rejected with insult.

To many of our readers—and to the majority of the English people, the Church in Ireland will commend itself on still higher grounds than those we have adverted to. They will feel that it upholds the same religious truth which is enshrined in the affections of the people of this country—that it is upholding that truth in the midst of foes—that it is a mission carrying the word of the Gospel amidst the dark and almost heathen superstitions which enshroud the minds of our fellow-countrymen. And to those who wish for the progress of Gospel truth, it must ever be a matter of the deepest interest and of the most earnest anxiety, that the Church in Ireland may not only be maintained in the possession of her miserably scanty endowments, but may be rendered in the highest degree efficient; and that every possible care may be taken to appoint none but men of piety, ability, and zeal to her various offices. The Church in Ireland is holding her ground, and even gaining ground, in the midst of enemies who are thirsting for her destruction; and she has been preserved, as it were by miracle, amidst the revolutions of these times. Those who look beyond mere human and secondary causes, will connect this almost miraculous preservation of the Church with her undoubted maintenance of truth; and will feel that God has Himself protected this witness, when all men seemed leagued together against her; and will thence gather hope that some great work is yet in store for her.

To the Church in England, the preservation and the advancement of HER OWN CAUSE in Ireland is a matter of the deepest moment to her own well-being and security. The attacks of her enemies have been directed against the Irish branch of the United Church, as weaker numerically and politically; but the same fell spirit of enmity which thirsts for the overthrow of the one, looks

to it chiefly in the hope and expectation of gaining a vantage ground for the overthrow of the other; and if the Church of England was ever tempted to withdraw herself from the contest and permit her sister or daughter Church to perish unaided in Ireland, she has learnt at length that the common enemy is bent equally on her own destruction. She has seen her existence ignored, and her hierarchy confronted by a Romish hierarchy claiming the allegiance of the people of England in tones in which undisguised hatred and contempt for herself, are mingled with the loftiest assertions of spiritual authority, and the most unbending resolution. The thorough sympathy between her own immediate rivals and the Romish hierarchy in Ireland has appeared in the most striking way of late. The enemies of the Church in Ireland are combined with those of the Church in England, and there can be no doubt now, that in maintaining her sister Church in Ireland, the English Church will be merely protecting her own most vital interests.

But from such considerations we would turn to others of a different description. We would appeal to those sentiments of honour and generosity, the claims of which the people of England never fail to recognize—nay, we would appeal to their sense of justice itself—whether the invariable, stedfast, and much endearing loyalty and fidelity of the Protestants of Ireland, does not deserve the protection and favour of this country—whether those who are allied to us in blood, in religion, in political faith, and who have ever stedfastly upheld the union of the empire and the rights of the Crown, have not a just claim on the Government and the nation for encouragement and for support. They have been maintaining England's cause, because they were English in religion, and in principle and feeling; and it would be little consistent with the generosity of England, to consent that they should be exposed to any discouragement. It is rather the part of the Government now to extend its favour as far as may be, to the friends of English connexion, and the consistent and faithful adherents of the Crown.

It is not our intention to pass any censure on the conduct of former governments in their dealings with the Protestants of Ireland; but we think that every candid observer must admit that their loyalty has not been untried—that they have not been without discouragements. It was the policy of England, from the time of King William III., to place the Government of Ireland in the hands of the Protestant party, just as it has latterly been the object to entrust it to the Romish priesthood. The Protestants were deprived of this old ascendancy within our own recol-

lection, with all the influence, power, emolument, and advantages of all kinds connected with it. But scarcely had this change taken place, when they found the Government, under an influence hostile to them, withdrawing its aid from all charitable and educational institutions which had been instituted for the purpose of maintaining the established religion, or which even possessed a Protestant character. They beheld their clergy reduced to the verge of starvation by a general combination amongst the Roman Catholics to withhold their tithes, and obliged to exist on public subscriptions and alms. They witnessed the extinction of nearly half their episcopate for the gratification of their truculent and exulting enemies. They saw year after year the resolution of political parties in Parliament, almost carried into effect, to extinguish the provision for the established worship, wherever the Romanists had gained an ascendancy in point of numbers. They saw the old loyal processions, which had been customary from the days of King William, suppressed by force, and treated as riots: they saw the pecuniary assistance of Parliament withdrawn from an education society formed on the most liberal principles, simply because it prescribed the reading of the Scriptures; and they saw those funds transferred to another society formed for the purpose of gratifying the Roman Catholics, and which has fallen under their management. They saw their old political franchises and corporations changed, with a view to give to Romanism a general ascendancy. They saw the most eminent lawyers systematically passed over, because they were Protestants, and third-rate barristers placed over their heads, because they were Romanists. Their associations in defence of the laws and constitution were denounced as illegal. Their leaders were attacked in Parliament, and frowned on by the State. And yet, they have passed through this long and severe trial with untainted loyalty, and in unswerving obedience to the law. They NEVER yielded to the temptations held out to them by the Romish or the Repeal party. They have remained firm in their attachment to the Crown of England; and they have been ready at any moment to come forward with fearless and ardent loyalty in defence of the rights of that mother country which has so ill requited their steadfastness.

Assuredly England is bound in honour, and in justice, and with a view to her own security, and the maintenance of her hold on Ireland, to extend some degree of encouragement to the Protestants of Ireland; to evince some sense of gratitude for their most deserving conduct; and to assist, in all fair ways, in strengthening their cause. We have no wish to see them resume their

former ascendancy, even if it were possible: all they could now look to, is full protection for their lives, properties, and institutions, and fair treatment in every way.

We will take the chief grievance under which they are now labouring. The exclusion of the Irish Church Education Society from all aid by Government, is a harsh and unfriendly proceeding. The Government may be of opinion that the opposition made to the Board of Education is unreasonable; but still it evidently proceeds from conscientious motives, and has been sustained at heavy sacrifices of all kinds, and it certainly does seem that when, in England, the Government is obliged to compromise education matters in the best way circumstances will admit of, and when it is even ready to approve a system so completely founded on a system of compromise with different sects and denominations as the Manchester and Salford Education scheme,—it does seem, we say, harsh and inconsistent, to press for the establishment of a uniform system throughout Ireland. We think there ought not to be any real difficulty in settling the difference between the Government and the Church of Ireland in relation to the education question; and that there would not be, if there were a disposition on both sides to act in a conciliatory spirit. All the Church asks is support for schools conducted on principles she approves of. She ought not, in our opinion, to interfere with the National system as carried out in existing schools, or with any future proceedings of Government in supporting schools of the Romish, or Presbyterian, or Dissenting bodies, if such steps should necessarily follow from any arrangement with regard to Church schools. We trust that the National or Government system is doing good in Ireland: nay, we feel assured that it is so; because any education which communicates the power of reading, is calculated to shake the dominion of Romanism *sooner or later*. We believe, therefore, that the National schools are preparing the way for something better; but, if the Protestants of Ireland feel themselves precluded by religious principle (however mistaken that principle may be supposed to be) from cordially taking part in the National plan of education, assuredly they ought not to be pressed further, nor should they be left without aid or support in their effort to promote the education of the poor. Without the slightest assistance from the State, they educate upwards of 100,000 children¹, about one-fifth of the number educated in the National schools

¹ The Report of the Church Education Society for Ireland for 1850, states the number of schools at 1882, and of scholars at 108,450. For the support of these schools the large sum of 38,258*l.* was raised in Ireland in 1850. We trust that this most deserving society may be enabled to continue its exertions on their present scale; but the finances evidently need continual care, and require to be recruited by aids from England.

managed by the Romish priests, the Presbyterian ministers, and the friends of the Government policy, which must, of course, be attended by considerable numbers of Protestant children also.

We are aware that the subject is one in which the interests and the feelings of Irish Protestants are deeply bound up; and it may perhaps appear somewhat presumptuous in us to offer any suggestions on the subject, to those who have borne themselves so nobly in the contest for great principles, as the clergy of the Irish Church have done; yet still, as spectators standing somewhat aloof from the contest, we may possibly be enabled to take a calmer survey of the general character and tendencies of that conflict than those who are directly engaged in it, and may be enabled to express an opinion dictated by a regard to the wider interests connected with the subject, apart from all personal considerations and party associations.

On a survey of the present state of the question, it seems to us that it would be highly desirable, were the Church ere long to initiate some negotiations with Government, with the view of entering into an agreement, without further appeal to Parliament, by which the Church might obtain aid from Parliamentary grants without compromising her own principles.

It must be needless here to refer in detail to the reasons which may be adduced to show the desirableness of removing the obstacles to agreement on this important subject. That some settlement of the question, which would enable the Church in Ireland to receive aid from Government, is desirable; that the funds for Church education are inadequate, and are raised with very considerable difficulty, may be inferred from the applications made to Parliament for participation in the Parliamentary grants for educational purposes, and from the numerous and largely-signed petitions presented from the clergy³ and laity of Ireland, in support of these applications.

But, omitting various inconveniences of a practical nature arising out of the present state of things, we would refer only to the serious evil of a permanent state of difference between the Government and the great body of the Established Church in Ireland. To the members of a Church which has ever been distinguished for its loyalty, and which recognizes the Royal Supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, it must assuredly be a matter of deep

³ It is a fact most honourable to the clergy of Ireland, that notwithstanding the avowed resolution of the Government to restrict its patronage to those who support the Government plan of education, there are less than 200 of the Irish clergy out of a body of 2000, who are favourable to that plan. See the "Speeches of the Bishops of Ossory and Cashel" at the Dublin Meeting, 1850, published by the Church Education Society, p. 30.

regret, to find themselves compelled to adopt any course which is not in harmony with the policy of Government in matters of a religious nature; and nothing less than the conviction that a great and vital principle was compromised in the National scheme of education for Ireland, could have weighed with the Primate and the majority of the Irish prelates, and almost the whole of the inferior clergy, to take steps for carrying on independently the work of education in Ireland. The Reports of the Church Education Society, and the declarations of its leading supporters, warrant us in saying, that such is a correct statement of their views, and that political and party views of any kind are alien from their purposes and object. Whether the Church, in fact, judged aright in this point—whether a vital and essential principle was involved in the question—will, doubtless, furnish matter of question and doubt to many persons: we must confess, that it has always appeared to us one of those mixed and complicated cases, in which men of equal piety and sincerity, and attachment to the Church, might be found on different sides of the question. But, the position assumed by the majority of the Irish Church, is, at all events, clearly and unequivocally based on principle; and from that principle it is impossible that they can now recede. They are pledged to maintain in their schools the effective use of the Bible. They have upheld that principle in the face of the world; and their character, as a body, is involved in the maintenance of the ground they have selected.

Having thus briefly adverted to the present position of the Church in relation to the education question, we would offer some few remarks on the position of Government. Independently of the general interest of the State in the adjustment of differences and the removal of disquietude from all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, there is, in this case, a special inconvenience arising from the high character and station of many of those by whom the Government plan of education has been disapproved, and by the consequent disapprobation of that class of the community which it ought to be the wish of the State to conciliate in every way. There is also the inconvenience arising from the apparent harshness and injustice evinced in refusing to the Established Church in Ireland any aid for schools conducted on the same principle as those to which aid is freely extended in England. In addition to this, the principle of scriptural education is one which, at all times, appeals effectively to the national feeling in England. Recent events have largely strengthened that feeling; and, amidst the struggles of party, it would be difficult to predict, with any certainty, the issue of renewed attempts in Parliament to obtain for the Irish Church Education Society a share of the

educational grants. If that point were gained, the State would be then supporting, in fact, two rival Societies, without exercising any control over one of them. And, be it remembered, that the minorities in favour of the Church Education Society have been increasing, and that on the last occasion no less than 144 Members supported by their votes Mr. Hamilton's motion.

Under these circumstances, it would certainly seem to be worthy of consideration, whether some means might not be found for avoiding any further trials of strength, and for adjusting the question in an amicable spirit. We might suggest, that at a time when the Government have evinced their desire, to a certain extent, to maintain the rights of the Episcopate of Ireland against foreign and domestic usurpation, it might neither be an unpropitious season, nor an ungraceful action, were the Irish Church to seek for the amicable adjustment of her existing differences with the Government, and thus present herself in favourable contrast to Romish sedition and intolerance.

We now proceed to offer a few suggestions which may, perhaps, contribute to those more practically conversant with the question some little aid towards the removal of the difficulties connected with it.

The object of the Church, as far as we can gather it, is simply to maintain schools formed on such principles as she approves. She does not attempt to interfere with Government in the disposal of the educational funds. If the Government choose to apply those funds to the support of schools in which the Church does not recognize a desirable system of teaching, the Church is not responsible for it, and is not on that account bound to refuse Government aid.

An arrangement, then, which seems to meet some at least of the difficulties of the case, might be, to place the schools of the Church Education Society for Ireland in connexion with the National Board, by giving to the latter the right of inspection by inspectors approved by the archbishops—those schools *to be conducted hereafter on their present principles.*

The existing schools in connexion with the Board of Education would *continue to be conducted on their present system*; and thus a very large amount of mixed education would be given on the Government principle.

In the case of schools to be founded hereafter, the founders might be allowed the option of establishing them on the Government system, or on that of the Church Education Society; or even to make them Roman Catholic or Presbyterian schools. We should not suppose that the two latter classes of schools would be founded to any great or inconvenient extent; because the

Government system has been already adopted by the Romish priesthood and by the Presbyterians. Should they be sought for, it would be for the Education Board to make arrangement for their inspection in whatever mode they might deem advisable.

The Government having in England adopted a system analogous in many respects to the above, and a favourable opinion having been expressed by Members of Government of the proposed Manchester and Salford education scheme, which extends aid to all the existing schools of different denominations, it would seem, that in point of *principle* there is nothing to prevent them from recognizing a system of a similar character in Ireland, and thus at once removing the chief obstacle to the settlement of the education question.

Such a plan as that suggested, would leave each party in the full possession of their present position. It would secure to the Church its actual schools with the power of increasing them. It would secure to the Government the continuance of their own system *in the great majority of the schools throughout Ireland*, with the power of increasing them. It would leave to Roman Catholics and Presbyterians no grounds of complaint on the score of injustice; while it would hold out little prospect of such an increase of sectarian schools as might, on the whole, frustrate the objects of Government in establishing a united education. We should suppose that the Board of Education might very fairly hereafter refuse its aid to new schools in any locality which might be established on a different principle from its own; unless it could be proved on certain data, that there was ample room for both. It could not be, we think, expected to contribute to the erection of schools in local opposition to its own, and which might have the effect of emptying the latter. Having thus stated our views of the possibility of some arrangement between the Church and the Government on the question of education, which we trust will be taken in good part, we would turn to a very cheering and gratifying subject—the prospects of Church Missions in Ireland.

The patient and Christian conduct of many of the Irish clergy during the privations to which they have been frequently reduced—the large benevolence which they exhibited during the years of pestilence and famine which have lately afflicted Ireland—and their assiduity in the discharge of their sacred offices—opened to them the hearts of a suffering and afflicted people, and prepared the way for the work of Christian missions. The possibility of triumphing over the prejudices so deeply implanted in the minds of the native Irish, had been already demonstrated by the success of the missions established and maintained for a series of years in the island of Achill, by the Rev. Edward Nangle; and at Dingle,

in the south-west of Ireland, a similar work had been crowned with success, notwithstanding the most violent persecutions.

From time to time the labours of some assiduous preacher, such as the Rev. Mr. Murray, at Askeaton, in Limerick, or the clergyman at Castle-island in Kerry, had been met by the conversion of hundreds of his parishioners. Such cases proved, beyond question, the impressibility of the Irish mind, and held out encouragement to systematic exertion at a favourable season. Such a season, as we have observed, did at length arrive; and the work of missions amongst the Romanists in Connaught was commenced with singular judgment, zeal, and success. The work has gradually proceeded, enlisting in its aid the services of Irish teachers, and converted Romish priests, until, in the diocese of Tuam alone, the bishop has recently been obliged to make an appeal for aid towards the building of no less than ten new churches for as many congregations of converted Romanists.

At the commencement of this article will be found the title of a little publication, which comprises a series of deeply interesting and delightful details on the origin and progress of this great work. We have before us several other publications connected with this movement, which bear testimony to the piety, and the excellent judgment of those who have taken its direction, and to the admirable organization which they have brought to bear on the object to which their energies are directed; but we do not deem it necessary to enter into details on this point, and shall content ourselves with observing that the arrangements are calculated to enlist at once the most intelligent of the population in furtherance of the work—to approach them in the way least calculated to awaken prejudice—and to make their peculiar tastes and feelings subservient to the promotion of the work of conversion; while, at the same time, the most unremitting labour and assiduity are ensured.

On the general mode of action we have to offer one or two remarks. It is conducted to a very great extent by lay agents: that is, all the subordinate and preparatory work is carried on by schoolmasters, readers, &c. Now we are aware that in the minds of many persons there is a kind of apprehension that the adoption of lay agency in a case like this is a species of irregularity—an infringement on the office of the ministry—and that missions ought to be conducted only by ordained ministers. But we think that, if they will take the trouble to peruse the publications of the "Irish Church Mission Society," they will find that such apprehensions are not borne out in this instance. They will find there, that lay missionaries are employed where it would be impossible for the clergy to obtain a hearing—where all the prejudices of the

people would be up in arms against them—and where it is necessary to prepare the way, by exciting attention and communicating knowledge, before the clergy can be called in. When that point has been attained the ordained missionary is eagerly sought for, and the Church is constituted, and placed in connexion with the lawful authorities. Every experienced clergyman will feel that there are times and circumstances in which the co-operation of some agency, not wearing a formal and authoritative character, is eminently desirable; and this is supplied, as it seems to us, exactly in the right way, in the Irish Church Missions. The lay agency is introductory and ancillary to that of the clergy.

The latter work to which we have referred commences its interesting narrative with the year 1846, at which time the impulse was first given—and remarkable to say—from England. This is not the first instance in which the work of missions has been attempted more successfully by comparative strangers than by the inhabitants. The missions of Augustine and of the Irish succeeded in England in the sixth and seventh centuries, while the native Britons were unable to undertake the work. The enmity and prejudices which often exist amongst neighbours interpose difficulties, while some third party may interfere with much more effect. Thus it was in this case: many of the Irish Protestants looked on the attempt to convert Romanists as perfectly hopeless, in consequence of the overwhelming power of the Irish priesthood; but the work was commenced with success by earnest-minded men from this country, and it has been successful.

The following account of the steps taken in this work will be perused with interest³:—

“It appears that, since the famine in 1846, the minds of the people have been gradually prepared for the reception of the faithful and affectionate preaching of the Gospel. Some simultaneous movement was made in England at this time, on behalf of the Romanist population in Ireland, to supply some thousands of them with tracts (it is computed not less than 20 or 30,000, at the least), through the medium of the Post-office: leading them to suspect that their priests had an object in keeping them from reading the Word of God; some important texts of which were also enclosed, together with an account of the reformation then going on in Germany under Ronge and Czerski, with copies of the Articles of Faith, which ‘The German Catholic Church’ drew up. These tracts—one in Irish and the other in English—the titles of which were, ‘A Voice from Heaven,’ and ‘A look out of Ireland into Germany,’ produced a most extraordinary effect upon the people—the tradesmen and farmers to whom they were addressed; *Romanists only*

³ Rise and Progress of Irish Church Mission Society, pp. 4—6.

received them, but no one knew whence they came, or by whom they were sent.

“ This well-devised and extensive scheme was not the only one of the kind, for, in August and September following, a similar mode of imparting knowledge and diffusing light amongst the benighted Irish was adopted with still greater success. Upon the second occasion the people generally seemed to profit by the experience of the past; and great numbers of persons, who were suspected of having received a letter took every possible care to conceal the fact, lest the priest should denounce them from the altar, and demand that the tracts be burned. Most of the letters on this occasion came from Edinburgh, though some passed through the office in London. The title of the tract referred to is, ‘ Irishmen’s Rights.’ It is written in a homely, cheerful style, in the form of a dialogue, proving that every Irishman has a *right* to read the Bible for himself.

“ A third letter, enclosing a copy of the ‘ Food of Man,’ was also forwarded soon afterwards, followed by three important addresses to the priests, all which are published at length in a work entitled—‘ The Point of Hope in Ireland’s present Crisis.’ ”

The way was also prepared by the rigour with which the Romish priesthood exacted their fees and dues from the people, and the failure of the miracles which they pretended to work for the cure of the potato-disease by sprinkling holy water on the potato-stalks !

At this crisis the Rev. A. R. C. Dallas, an English clergyman, whose extensive and practical acquaintance with the Romish system during his residence in foreign countries, and his frequent controversies with intelligent Romanists, combined with an early familiarity with the habits of military organization and discipline, eminently fitting him for the arduous undertaking of establishing missions in Ireland, undertook an extensive tour throughout that country, and addressed, in 1846, to the editor of the “ Morning Herald ” a letter comprising the following passages :—

“ “ The present crisis is one which, amongst other symptoms, leaves the door wide open for an extension of those efforts which have been hitherto so blessed. The progress already made has prepared the minds of the people ; and I cannot but consider the machinery of the Society, already referred to, as a peculiar adaptation, by the providence of God, for the crisis that has now arisen. There is no time to form any other plan, or to organize any other machine ; and none could be more suitable for the occasion, to the requirements of which, however, it must rise in power, in order to fulfil the great purpose in view.

“ “ The present concurrence of facilities invites to a decided and prompt effort for the enlightening and spiritual emancipation of the Irish people ; but the moment must not be lost. The current of feeling now agitating the Irish heart flows fast, and it must be taken at the

top of the tide. The emergency is pressing, and it calls for an immediate addition of power to the engine, by which adequate help is to be afforded. At least a hundred Irish readers should be immediately engaged and located in districts all over the west of Ireland. Thirty pounds is all that would be required to pay each of these for a year; and within that time the crisis would have been directed for good, by their instrumentality. But the effort would not be complete without a simultaneous offer of the Holy Scriptures in Irish and in English. Fifty or sixty colporteurs, carrying, amongst other things, very cheap Testaments, in both languages, and travelling in every direction, would supply this want. I would venture to suggest that some properly qualified persons should undertake to propose to the people of England the gathering of a special fund to be thus employed. . . . And why should not those among us, who know the value of religious truth, and have the means at their command, employ those means in seizing this favourable opportunity?"

The result of Mr. Dallas's exertions was the collection of a large fund in England—which was applied in aid of existing Church Societies, and especially in furtherance of Church Missions. The plans of those who were engaged in this truly blessed work gradually expanded, and it was resolved to establish regularly organized missions in various parts of Ireland. We shall only produce one instance of the course which was adopted; and it is in truth one which is enough to make "our hearts burn within us:"—

"The first place chosen for operations of a permanent nature, under the more immediate superintendence of Mr. Dallas (whilst seeking recreation and health in a ramble through the mountains of Galway), was a poor and miserable locality on the beautiful shores of Lough Corrib, called Castelkerke, where the school-house, originally built by the Rev. Edwin Moore and Captain and Mrs. Blake, was soon considerably enlarged. The nearest place of Protestant worship was fully fourteen English miles off, at Cong, which belongs to the same parochial division—the parish being eighteen miles in length, and nearly half as much in breadth.

"In the space of about five English miles, in which Castelkerke stands centrally, there is a population of full 2000 souls; of these, in consequence of early marriages, there are at least 500 children within the reach of the school-house. Upon opening the school, thirty-nine children were enrolled upon the list, thirty of whom were Roman Catholics; and, as it is placed in connexion with the Church Education Society of Ireland, two important objects have been secured—first, that the children attending shall receive a good sound secular education in connexion with the unrestricted use of the Scriptures, which alone can 'make them wise unto salvation;' and secondly, that, during the school hours at least, they shall be kept from the baneful influence of the

priests of Rome, who are not allowed to exercise any authority whatever in the schools of the Church Education Society for Ireland.

“The Ladies’ Auxiliary of that most excellent institution, the Irish Society, assisted by the ‘Special Fund for the Spiritual Exigencies of Ireland,’ lent their assistance in procuring the means of supporting an Irish reader among the people; and soon the school-house was filled to excess on Sundays, and on other occasions, to hear the glad tidings of salvation declared to them. Mr. Dallas afterwards procured for them the blessing of an ordained resident missionary, whose labours in another sphere we shall have occasion to refer to. The kindness of several Christian friends, who interested themselves in procuring food and clothing for the famishing bodies of the poor in this locality, can never be forgotten; and the care the people of Wonston took to supply their souls with the still more necessary food, even ‘the bread of life,’ in undertaking to collect the salary of the Scripture-reader who was then settled there, will prove, in the great day of the Lord, that ‘their labour was not in vain,’ and will be remembered to them (Heb. vi. 10) throughout eternity, when time shall be no more.

“The increased number of children attending the Castelkerke schools from the opposite side of the lough, now made it necessary to provide a larger and safer ferry-boat to convey them to and fro, called ‘the school boat,’ the materials having been liberally supplied by Captain Blake, the excellent resident landlord, whose exertions, combined with those of Mrs. Blake (which have since proved more than her slender frame and tender sympathies could bear), have greatly tended to advance the cause of the missions throughout the whole district from the first.

“An evening school was also opened, which has proved of great value; and the effect of the whole has been, that on the 12th of March, 1847, as many as fifty-four persons expressed their determination to leave the Church of Rome. On the 8th of April, the number on the day-roll was one hundred and sixteen, and on the night one, forty-three, exclusive of stragglers not entered; and on the 22nd day of the same month a letter was written to Mr. Dallas, by Captain and Mrs. Blake, from which I quote the following:—

“‘The school is still increasing. I must enlarge the school-room. What was intended as accommodation for the master was built as a continuation of the school-room, and only requires to have the end wall taken away to make the necessary addition: it is now ready for roofing, and will soon be completed. One hundred and fifty-three last Sunday at morning school, upwards of forty at lecture, and thirty at afternoon class; about twelve at the Irish class.

“‘April 26.—You would have been much delighted had you been with us yesterday. The school-house was quite *crammed* at Sunday school; and there were, at least, eighty at lecture; they paid great attention.

“‘May 4.—Thank God the schools are not affected by any thing, but continue daily to do well.

“‘May 22.—On Sunday two classes had to be taught in the open

air. It was a pleasant sight to see the poor ignorant people sitting round the teachers on the ground, listening to the Word of Life in their own tongue, and apparently with deeply-interested attention : few refuse to hear the Word now ; of course the object of many is very questionable, but who can tell where an arrow may strike.'

"These pleasing reports which Mr. Dallas received, during the summer of 1847, of the progress of the spiritual work at the little missionary station at Castelkerke induced him to visit Lough Corrib again in December, and encourage the labourers in their work. 'Mass' was to be said on the following day by the priest, in the mass-house (which was usual on every third Sunday); moreover, a faction-fight had been appointed to take place 'after mass,' very near the spot where mass was said, which was sure to draw a number of idlers together; yet upwards of 160 adults, and 147 children, *all Romanists*, attended Mr. Dallas's lecture in the school-room, when he tested the feelings of his auditors by asking for a show of hands, from "as many as were willing to form themselves into a regular congregation, if he should be able to obtain for them a regular ministry in their own Irish tongue, separating themselves from the bondage of that yoke of falsehood which had so long enslaved them, and seeking to be admitted, through the knowledge of Christ, into the glorious liberty of the children of God.' He bid all who felt thus to 'hold up their hands;' on which, when the Irish Scripture Reader had interpreted to them, *in Irish*, what was not so well understood by them in English, *every arm was raised!*

"The Rev. Edwin Moore, Rector of Cong, had not been unmindful of the state of things in this extreme end of his parish. He had frequently, although at great labour, given a large share of his attention to the people residing in and about Castelkerke; from the earliest formation of the school he superintended the teaching, and devoted one week-day in every alternate week to spiritual instruction in the school-room, which, under all the circumstances of his extensive charge, in a time of extraordinary destitution and distress, was more than could have been expected; nor was the bishop of the diocese kept in ignorance of this great movement; on being made acquainted with the facts, he manifested every disposition to do whatever could be done with propriety in the matter, and having made every inquiry, his lordship, on the personal representation of Mr. Dallas and the Rector of Cong, consented to ordain Mr. O'Callaghan, an intelligent Irish-speaking missionary, well suited for the work, whom Mr. Dallas had previously in training at Wonston, and engaged on the missions in Connemara from the first; the foundation-stone of whose parsonage was laid by Mr. Dallas and Captain Blake, on the 17th day of February, 1848."

We would not give much for the principles or feelings of any Churchman who would not from his inmost heart rejoice to read of such things, and who would not cordially aid, as far as he could, in the support of a work like this. It is true that the leaders of the Society are, we believe, of the class usually called

Evangelical, but a work like this evidently requires perfect harmony of view and action amongst its managers ; and, be the views of those managers what they may, they are engaged in a work second in importance to no missionary work of our times. We would gladly transfer to our pages much of what is comprised in the interesting tract which appears last on our list, " *Early Fruits of Irish Missions ;*" but here is some little account of the state of things after only four years' exertion in this promising field of missionary labour :—

" But, turning from the entreaties for help which the Secretary has received from the clergy in various parts of the country—calls which the funds of the Society make it impossible to respond to—the question of a subscriber will naturally be, What has the Society done among the people ? and to this inquiry my visit to Dublin in the first place would supply ample materials for a satisfactory answer. Mr. McCarthy, the valuable clerical agent of the Society here, bears testimony to the continually progressive work of reformation, which is evident amongst the Romanists of this city, and the blessing which is attending the various means the Society is employing for their conversion. A sermon on some point of the Romish controversy is preached at St. Michan's every Thursday. I heard one by Mr. Nangle, on the doctrine of Transubstantiation ; and another on the Invocation of Saints, by Mr. Dallas ; in both cases the church was crowded, and the attention riveted, and the readers assured me that there were several hundred Romanists. The effect is so felt, that Roman Catholic missionaries have come forward to endeavour to controvert the subjects of the sermons on the Thursdays, and to stem the torrent of heresy which they feel breaking in among their people ; for it is a fact, that many who constantly attend both churches have their eyes thus opened to judge of truth and error by the standard of the Word of God.

" Another great means of blessing is a class of inquirers which Mr. McCarthy holds every Friday evening ; and a more interesting scene it is impossible to describe than the one at which I was present. There were sixty-two sitting around him with their Bibles in their hands—all, except six, either just come out of Popery, or, if still within its pale, having taken that first great step which, as it were, unlocks the heaviest bolt of the dungeon—all brought to inquire of Scripture as the rule of faith—to bring their long-embraced errors ' to the law and to the testimony.' The fifth of Romans was the subject of one evening, and the doctrine of justification, from ver. 1—5, was powerfully urged upon them by Mr. McCarthy, who showed them the fallacy of the Romish doctrines in all its coils of error, questioning them so that by their own mouths they were condemned, and wresting from them every refuge of lies. I noticed one among them gradually remove from the class, and at last leave the room, saying, ' The Priest has satisfied my mind on this point, and I do not want to hear any more.' Others, and among them some very respectable tradesmen, appeared to feel the power of truth,

and to receive it in love—their countenances quite beamed with the light that shone on their hearts. This school of inquiry was begun and ended with prayer for the light of the Holy Spirit. I believe similar classes have been commenced by other clergymen, in other parts of the city; and their tendency is uniformly, to lead many minds, like the Bereans, to search the Scriptures daily.

“There are now readers in various parts of Dublin under this Society, whose work is to visit exclusively the Roman Catholics. These are superintended by M. McGuigan, who has been twelve years employed in missionary work, and who unites with ardent love to the souls of his fellow-creatures, singular simplicity of purpose and discrimination of judgment; and all these men are under Mr. McCarthy, who is particularly fitted for his work, adding to all the qualifications of a Christian minister much sound scholarship and critical accuracy of mind in the handling of controversial subjects. He receives the journals of the readers, and instructs them in their work once a week. Mr. Dallas met them to inquire into the conduct of each; and he rejoiced to receive such a testimony as proved that they were, as a body, self-denying, active, and obedient agents in the work.”—pp. 8—10.

From the missions in Dublin, the writer next takes us to those in the west of Ireland, and thus describes the present state of things there:—

“Mr. Dallas has been endeavouring to put the whole of this neglected country under missionary agency, and in nothing has the hand of God been more manifest than in the supply of those agents, and in their peculiar adaptation to the work. Within the last two years, five have been ordained by the Bishop of Tuam; all having been first proved as lay assistants; and two are now sent into the southern parts, men well approved and preparing for ordination. Mr. Conelly will there be missionary clergyman over the district which extends from Galway to Lettermore, and Mr. Jagoe will be the pastoral superintendent of Erris-anna. Mr. R. Ryder, a reformed priest, has the district of Ballyconree; Mr. Conerney, the wild region of Sellerna; Mr. Kilbride, that of Errismore; Mr. Kennedy has Salruck; and Mr. Moinah is stationed at Glan and Oughterard. These have all readers and schoolmasters under them, and in some cases Irish teachers. The Bishop of Tuam bears the strongest testimony to the value of these missionary clergymen. To the praise of that grace which has fitted them for their work, their simplicity of spirit, their diligent self-denial, and their faithful constancy in the midst of persecution and insult, are manifest to all. Perhaps the strongest testimonies to them are afforded by the array of opposition, and the weapons with which the enemy seeks to crush them and their work.

“The agents, working under them, are also efficient and faithful. They were all inspected upon the occasion of this journey. At Oughterard Mr. Dallas met twenty-two—heard the testimony of their superintendents—altered or changed their labours—and gave them a solemn

address, urging them in meekness to instruct those that oppose themselves; and arming them against the fiery trial they have to encounter. At Clifden Castle (where they have hitherto been sheltered and encouraged by those whose Christian love, and holy zeal, and wise judgment have been a rich blessing to all around) thirty-six of the Society's agents assembled to meet Mr. Dallas. It was a day of arduous work to listen to each separately—give to each their work afresh (having first conferred with all the clergy, and arranged every district)—and then to address them all on the spirit in which they should go forth, and the encouragements which were before them. He urged them to be faithful and courageous, taking as the groundwork of his address, Judges vii. 1—8, and Matt. x. ; and closing with fervent prayer for grace, and for blessing on them and their work. It was striking in every meeting of this kind how little there was to reprove, and how much had been done by these poor men, who were evidently growing in their work—watered themselves, as they watered others, from the living spring.

“The residences of the missionaries are but a few degrees better than the cabins around them; and the simplicity of their mode of living in these barren wilds would somewhat astonish the most unaspiring of the English clergy.

“But one more testimony must yet be referred to,—the fruits of the mission among the people generally. Had it been permitted to the labourers of the last two years only to sow in hope and to exercise long patience, it would have afforded no cause for wonder; but it is given them to gather already a harvest of souls—to see, as well as to hope, that their labour is not in vain in the Lord. The Society has been the means of forming thirteen congregations of converts, who unite in the school-room or cabin to join in the Irish service, or to hear the word preached in their own tongue. Their attention is very marked. To select one instance alone. We attended the service one Sunday at Sellerna, seven Irish miles from Clifden, a wild district along the bay of the Atlantic. When Mr. Dallas first visited this people two years ago, they were without school, Bible, or any means of grace. He assembled the people by the road-side to hear the word of God. He then offered to obtain for them a school, provided they would promise to attend themselves, and send their children. The question was repeated in Irish, adding, ‘let those who are thus disposed hold up their hands.’ The hands of all assembled were held up at once. The school was promptly built through individual liberality. The mission was begun—their present devoted minister, Mr. Conerney, was ordained by the Bishop of Tuam, and is now resident amongst them; and the early fruit of his missionary ministry is evident in harvest sheaves of blessing.

“The neat white school-room was crammed with people. At least between four and five hundred were waiting for the service when we arrived; and this in spite of threats from the Romanists, in the previous week, that they would pull down the house if he preached there. The service was read in Irish by Mr. Conerney; and though a mob assembled near the house, and their appearance was most disturbing, the

people showed no alarm, and were distracted in attention only for a short time. The sermon, by Mr. Dallas, was evidently felt; and the communion was afterwards administered by him and the other clergy present, to seventy-one persons; about sixty of whom were converts, whose reverent demeanour was most striking. Mr. Conerney said that there were between sixty and seventy catechumens, who had earnestly desired to join the communion that day; but he had not admitted them, that he might have more time to judge of their consistency, and right apprehension of the Sacrament. He also added that, in this district of 2000, he thought that at least half were ready to become Protestants in profession. But the barrier of most fearful opposition has as yet kept many from coming out publicly in the midst of persecution, which leaves the converts without work, starved and naked; the land around them having been lately bought by Papists, the converts are exposed to suffering beyond many of the stations. The details of the opposition which we witnessed you have read in the clergyman's letters I have referred to; and you will rejoice to hear, that in all this most persecuted district only one convert has relapsed. The inhabitants of all the district earn their scanty subsistence by fishing. The priests not only influenced the masters to exclude every convert from the fishing trade, but also, by cursing them and their boats, made the people around believe that no success could possibly attend them if they had 'jumpers,' as they call them, in their crews. Numbers of these poor people would have died of starvation, had not some Christian friends exerted themselves on their behalf. With subscriptions, chiefly from Scotland, they bought two boats for convert fishermen, and had them taught how to cure their fish in an improved way, which secured to them increased custom, beyond their old companions. When we were at Sellerna, there had been no fishing weather for some days; and on that Sunday morning Mr. Dallas had an opportunity of seeing the evidence of their consistency in the observance of the Sabbath. The sea to the far distant horizon was dotted with fishing boats, of which twenty-three were counted; two boats were, however, in the bay by the quay unmanned. On asking why those boats were not out with the others, the reply from a Romanist was, 'Those are the jumpers' boats, and they do not go out on a Sunday.'

"There was indeed, at every station, precious evidence that the Lord is working with his ministers, and 'confirming the word with signs following.' At Ballyconree, Mr. Ryder mentioned that, with the exception of two families, he might consider the whole village as being favourable to the truth. Here also Mr. Dallas administered the Lord's Supper, for the first time, to sixty-five converts, who had been under preparatory instruction from their minister since their Confirmation. He afterwards baptized two children at this station. At the same time the first stone of a new school-room was laid; the cabin where the school was kept, and in which also they met for service, being too small for one-third of the congregation who attended. I must pass over two other most interesting scenes of a similar kind, one at Derrigimla, and

another at Glan; in each of which a new school-room, to serve also as a church, has been commenced: and the sites were densely filled with congregations of several hundreds, who with joyous hearts listened to Mr. Dallas's address, and joined in his prayer for a blessing upon the work, with the life of feeling, the expression of which is so peculiar to Ireland. In all these places, the increase of converts, and of scholars, had made the present hovel school-houses quite incapable of containing the children or the congregations.

"I cannot close without one word on the instruction supplied to the children. The Society has twenty-eight schools in this county. To each of those we visited there has been fearful opposition by the priests; who, by bribes and by punishments of no gentle measure, endeavour to bring the children back to their schools. Can it be expected that these blind leaders of the blind should witness 2500 children rescued from their grasp without vexation and dismay? Can we wonder that every effort should be used by the powers of Satan to regain possession of the future generation of Ireland, and to destroy that seed of Scriptural truth, which shall ultimately be their ruin? Yet in these schools do we witness the strength of God perfected in weakness,—his praise out of the mouth of babes and sucklings. Some few have been drawn away for a time; but in no school, much as the children suffer from hunger, is there long or material diminution of numbers. Every new school that is established is quickly filled; in many the power of the truths they learn is manifest, out of school, in their answers to the Romanists; and the beating and ill treatment these little ones have received has only made them more firm and bold in confessing the faith of Christ, having an answer from the Bible always ready for the opposer."

After perusing these remarkable and striking accounts of the Irish missions, we may fairly appeal to our readers, whether any instances can be pointed out in the history of modern missions in which a greater measure of success has attended the exertions of Christian missionaries. There is no comparison between the effects produced here, and those produced in heathen countries. And yet the general opinion—and we own ourselves to have shared in that opinion—was, that the persecution of converts was so violent in Ireland, and the prejudices of the people so strong, that a mission to the heathen would be more likely to be successful than one to the Romanists of Ireland. Its difficulties are undoubtedly great; and we must say that, humanly speaking, nothing else except the remarkable combination of Christian *wisdom* with charity which was shown in the commencement of the Irish missions could have rendered them successful. To the Rev. A. Dallas the cause appears to be chiefly indebted, and we must say, that his labours and his zeal appear to be truly apostolical.

And now, having endeavoured to present a brief outline of the missions of the Church in Ireland, which bid fair to be as successful as the most earnest of her well-wishers could desire, we would appeal to every one who really prefers Protestantism to Romanism, whether a Church, which is capable of carrying on such missions, is not doing its work in Ireland, and whether the imputation of apathy, or indolence, or inefficiency, can any longer be with justice applied.

We are far from meaning to deny that until recently the Church of Ireland has remained, to a great degree, stationary—that in some districts it may even have lost ground within the last century—that the Reformation was never carried out successfully in Ireland—and that the objects which the State hoped to have seen carried out through the Church Establishment have been but partially realized. But, admitting all this, we are prepared to show that the Church is not fairly chargeable with these evils; that they are attributable to the state of society in Ireland, and to the neglect of former Governments; and that, as the circumstances in which the Church now stands are different from those in which she formerly stood, it may be reasonably expected that a success will now attend her efforts which did not attend them formerly.

The Reformation was successful in England in carrying with it the great mass of the people. In Ireland the case was not so. The Reformation was planted in a soil unfitted to retain it; it was not supported by adequate power: it was violently assailed before it had time to take root; and it was made unpopular by its connexion with the English Government. The Episcopate, the clergy, and most of the laity conformed for a time; but rebellion, stirred up by foreign powers, and continued for a whole generation, detached the greater part of the population from their bishops and from the Reformed Church, and re-established the power of the Papacy. The condition of Ireland was extremely unfavourable to the Reformation. In the sixteenth century there was neither civilization, education, or settled law—Ireland was in a state of barbarism. There were no schools or universities; unlike England, which could boast of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Colleges at Eton, and Winchester, and elsewhere; and the whole population were sunk in dense ignorance. The invention of printing, which in other countries promoted inquiry, was unknown for a long time in Ireland—in fact, till *long after* the introduction of the Reformation: the Irish language, then nearly universal, opposed an impediment in the way of English preachers. The country had been in a state of barbarous anarchy for three centuries, during which

England had not thought it worth her while to do more than retain a certain territory in Ireland called the English "pale," with the nominal *suzerainty* over the remainder. The greater part of Ireland was under the dominion of petty kings, princes, and chieftains of various kinds, and presented a strange scene of never-ending tumult, outrage, murder, and pillage,—only varied by occasional rebellion against the English power.

The historical work, the title of which we have first mentioned at the commencement of this Article, is one which throws much light on the state of society generally in Ireland during the ages which preceded the Reformation. It consists of the Latin annals of Ireland, compiled by John Clyn, a friar of the Franciscan Convent at Kilkenny, in the fourteenth century, with continuations by other hands; together with a chronicle of about the same date, written at the Abbey of New Ross, in Wexford; and a later chronicle compiled by Thady Dowling, Chancellor of the Cathedral of Leighlin, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. These curious chronicles, which form a part of the valuable series of publications on Irish history and antiquities undertaken by the Irish Archæological Society, have been most ably and carefully edited by the Very Rev. R. Butler, Dean of Clonmacnois, whose reputation as a scholar and an antiquarian is fully sustained by the work before us. The preface which Dean Butler has prefixed to his edition of Clyn's Annals exhibits a thorough acquaintance with the state of Ireland during the period preceding the Reformation; and we feel that, in quoting the words of so careful a student of history, we are in no danger of over-stating the case.

Dean Butler observes that, during the reigns of King John and Henry III., the English authority appeared about to consolidate itself in Ireland. The country was divided into shires; the king's justices made their circuits; the bishoprics were filled with the royal licence; the Irish chieftains paid their tribute, and obeyed the royal summons, and seem to have considered themselves as English lords: the country was peaceful and prosperous, and the English treasury was enriched by money transmitted from Ireland. Feuds there were between different families, but not to the extent to which they afterwards arose. But in the reign of Edward I. the English Government appears to have withdrawn attention from Ireland to Scotland, and advantage was taken of this remissness by Edward Bruce, who, with a Scottish army, invaded and laid waste a great part of Ireland,—an event from which the decline of the English power, and the commencement of Irish anarchy, may be dated. To cite Dean Butler's words:—

"Many generations passed before the devastating effects of the

Scottish invasion, passing thus like a stream of lava through the country, were done away. The animosity between the English and the Irish was embittered, the sense of the greatness of the English power was diminished, the authority of law and order was impaired, the castle and the farm-house were alike ruined. The castle was more easily rebuilt than the more important farm-house. The noble may have had other resources; in later times we know that his castle was repaired at the expense of the district; he was bound by stronger ties to the country; and when his castle was rebuilt, it was at least comparatively secure: but when the homestead was wrecked and burned, and the haggard robbed of its stacks, and the bawn left without horse or cow, and 'all his gear were gone,' the farmer, as he looked about him in despair, might well be excused if he fled away to some safer country; or if, listening to hunger, that evil counsellor, he became an idler or a kerne, ready to plunder as he had been plundered, and eating up the produce of other men's labours.

"If he endeavoured to remain, what was before him, but, poor and dispirited, deprived of his accustomed comforts, and of his comparative respectability, to sink hopelessly into a lower stage of society, and to yield to its customs; or rather to turn in sullen or in passionate anger from the civilization in which he no longer had a share, and to resent, as an injury, the existence of comforts which were his once, but were to be his no more, and to hate and to scorn their possessors?

"Such, doubtless, was the history of the degradation of many English freeholders consequent upon the Scottish invasion; nor could the degradation be limited to the retainer alone. In a country in which there is no foreign interference, no rank of society can stand apart from others, and in proportion to its height it needs the more numerous supporters. The castle-walls can no more keep out the influence of the social maxims and principles of the lower ranks of the people than they can keep out the contagion of their diseases, and the lord necessarily partook of the degradation of the vassal.

"To the Scottish invasion, then, may, at least partly, be ascribed the barbarism and the consequent weakness of the English in Ireland during the greater part of the fourteenth and the whole of the fifteenth century. In the thirty years that elapsed between that event and the close of Clyn's Annals, that barbarism had made great progress. The power of the central government grew weaker; the lords, whether of Irish or of English blood, became more independent and irresponsible, and, consequently, more arbitrary and tyrannical; and private feuds, resulting in open violence, became of more frequent occurrence. The control of law nearly ceased, and little remained, as a rule of conduct, except the will of the stronger. It then became a question whether this anarchy should continue, or whether it should result in the prevalence of either the English or the Irish system, or, as seemed more probable and more reasonable, whether some third system should not

be developed, formed from the amalgamation of these two, and the natural growth of the circumstances of this country."—pp. 15, 16.

Dean Butler traces, with much distinctness, the progress of degradation by which all laws, whether English or Irish, became gradually obsolete, and the country presented a scene of savage dissension and anarchy. He proceeds to some further details, which we must place before the reader:—

"During the times contained in these annals the English Government had not power to control the excesses of its subjects, or to repress the attacks of its opponents. The great Anglo-Irish families had become septa. In Clyn's Latin, the St. Aubyns, now corrupted into Tobin, and the Archdeacons, now transformed into the patronymic Mac Odo, or Codyrs, are 'nationes et cognomina;' and he speaks of the Hoddinets and Cantetons, 'cum multis de sanguine eorum.' If the Irish chiefs acknowledged no common authority, and felt no common interest, the same division prevailed amongst the lords of English descent. Englishman was now opposed to Englishman, and sought to revenge himself by the help of the Irish; nor did the English refuse their aid to the Irish when plundering their own countrymen. When Brian O'Brien ravaged Ossory, and slew the loyal English of Aghaboe and Aghamacart, he had the help of the English of Ely.

"The country was fast verging towards anarchy, and it was not easy to stay its descent. The sword of the Lord Justice, if put into the hands of any of the native Lords, of the Ormondes or of the Kildares, was used as an instrument to avenge their own wrongs, or to promote their own interests, rather than to execute impartial justice, and to promote the welfare of the whole country. Such also was the case during the lieutenancy of any of the great English lords, who had estates or claims in Ireland, such as the great Mortimers; and, perhaps, nothing brought the royal authority into greater disrepute than the use of it by these men as a cover for private revenge or for private gain. Nor were the evils fewer, if the administration of the government was intrusted to Englishmen unconnected with this country. Men of eminence, so situated, would scarcely accept the office; we know that Pembridge altogether refused it; and men of inferior rank and reputation, when invested with deputed and transient authority, were scorned by the haughty Irish lords, and were freely charged by them, and perhaps justly charged, with the grossest peculation and malversation. The castles of Athlone, Roscommon, Rinduin, and Bunratty,—say the Irish lords to Edward in 1343,—were lost, because his treasurers did not pay the constables the wages charged in their accounts; and they continued to charge for castles and constables, after the castles had been destroyed. Officials liable to such imputations could have no moral influence; and when some sturdy and honest man, like Sir Thomas Rokeby, who sold his plate to pay his soldiers, saying that he would eat off wooden platters and pay in gold and silver,—or when some bold and vigorous soldiers, like Sir Robert

Jfford, or Sir Anthony Lucy, held the King's commission,—they were hampered by the narrowness of their allowances, and were thwarted by the old peers and ancient officials. The very success of their exertions brought with it no lasting national advantage. If they put down disturbance for a time, and reduced the English dominions to order and submission, yet, at the termination of their authority, there was a renewal of lawlessness; and the only lasting effect of their vigour was the weakening of the national props and buttresses of internal government, and the consequent increase of anarchy and disturbance.”—pp. 19—21.

A melancholy and dark picture indeed! And this was the state of things which continued almost to the period of the Reformation, and formed the minds and habits of the people who were to be reformed! There could not well be a more unfavourable soil for reformation of any kind to take root in. These people were, without doubt, superstitious, but religion had no hold in them; they were utterly demoralized and degraded.

“The social evils of Ireland,” says Dean Butler, “in the time now under our review, seem to have been but little mitigated by the influence of religion. When the Anglo-Irish nobles were gradually falling into Irish customs, and were confederating, whenever it served their purpose, as readily with Irish against English as with English against Irish, we find national differences and dissensions, where we should least wish to find them, in the monastery and the convent. Although the authorities, as well ecclesiastical as civil, favoured the English party, the strife seems not to have been altogether unequal. ‘In 1325,’ writes Clyn, ‘there was discord, as it were universally, amongst all the poor religious of Ireland, some of them upholding, promoting, and cherishing the part of their own nation, and blood, and tongue; others of them canvassing for the offices of prelates and superiors.’ And he adds, that in the same year, at the general chapter of the Order, held at Lyons, the convents of Cork, Buttevant, Limerick, and Ardfert, were taken from the Irish friars, and assigned as a fifth custody to the English.

“In those evil days neither the persons nor the places dedicated to religion were safe from violence. We read in Clyn :

“‘In the year 1323, on the Friday within the octaves of Easter, Philip Talon, with his son and about twenty-six of the Codhltanys, was slain by Edmund Butler, Rector of Tullow, who, aided by the Cantitons, dragged them out of the church, and burned the church of Shamolyn, with their women and children, and the reliques of Saint Molung.

“‘In 1336, on Thursday, the 3rd Ides of April, Master Howell de Bathe, Archdeacon of Ossory, a man of literature and munificence, with Andrew Avenel and Adam de Bathe, was killed by the O'Bryns of Duffyr, in defence of the goods of his church and parish.’

“ But, perhaps, the most striking entry on this subject is the following :

“ In 1346, on Friday, the 3rd Nones of May, Dermicius Mac Gilpatrick (surnamed Monoculus, in Irish *Caeoch*), who ever gave himself up to plots and treacheries, little regarding perjury, burned the town of Achabo, having taken and brought O'Carroll with him, and raging against the cemetery, the church, and the shrine of St. Canice, that most holy abbot, the patron of the county and the founder of the abbey, like a degenerate son against a father, he burned them and consumed them in unsparing fire.”

In the pages of Dowling, the later annalist in Dean Butler's collection, the state of Ireland is described in the same tone. One fact is sufficient to show the condition of the Church at that time. In 1522, Mauritius Deoran, Bishop of Leighlin, was *murdered* by the Archdeacon of the diocese, because he had reproved him for sin, and intended to proceed by ecclesiastical censures. To this we may add the testimony of one of the records preserved in the State Paper Office, and describing the state of Ireland in 1515.

“ Some sayeth, that the prelates of the church and clergye is muche cause of all the mysse order of the land ; for ther is no archebyssshop, ne byssshop, abbot, ne pryor, parson, ne vycar, ne any other person of the Church, highe or lowe, greate or smalle, Englyshe or Iryshe, that useyth to preache the worde of Godde, saveing the poor fryers beggers; and there wodde [where word] of Godde to cesse, ther canne be no grace, and wythoute the specyall (*grace*) of Godde, this lande may never be reformyd. Also the Church of thys lande use not to lerne any other scyence, but the Lawe of Canon, for covetyse of lucre transytory ; all other scyence whereof grows none suche lucre, the parsons of the Church dothe despyce.”—*State Papers*, Part III. Vol. ii. pp. 15, 16.

We think that the evidence we have produced as to the utterly demoralized, lawless, and ignorant state of the Irish clergy and laity in the sixteenth century, goes far to explain the want of success in the attempt to introduce the Reformation there. It is very true that Christianity has often been introduced amongst barbarous and savage nations, and has civilized them ; but it has generally been a slow and gradual process, and has been preceded or accompanied by some instruction and training of the faculties. In England, the Reformation had not only to deal with an orderly and civilized people, but was enabled to make use of the press for the advancement of its cause. Its adherents were amongst the best scholars and divines of the day. Yet, even so, it was nearly twenty years after the abolition of the Papal supremacy in England, before any effectual reformation took place.

Again, in Scotland, the Reformation was preached for a great length of time before it was finally adopted by the nation. A strong, and even violent party, was gradually formed in its behalf. But in Ireland the case was quite different. There were no materials for constructing a religious party in Ireland at that time. The clergy were ignorant and depraved; the laity were profoundly ignorant and irreligious. There were no universities, and no scholars to prosecute inquiry. The art of printing had not been introduced. Educated Englishmen could not preach in Irish. Archbishop Brown, the chief promoter of the Reformation during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., was an Englishman; and so were the only other prelates of note, or ability, or activity, of whom we hear in these times. Thus the Irish part of the population were not, in fact, prepared in any way by instruction to receive the truths of the Reformation; and it can surely be no matter of surprise that they were but little inclined towards them. Without doubt the government acted in the only way in its power for the promotion of the Reformation in Ireland; that is to say, it enacted laws, issued proclamations, saw that they were attended to, and appointed the best men that it could find to vacant bishoprics; but the circumstances of the times were most unpropitious. Had Ireland been really subject to the English dominion, the authority of the State would probably have been sufficient to cause the Irish to adopt the Reformation permanently, as they did, in fact, for a time. Had education and effective preaching prepared the way, the native population would have probably accepted the Reformation. But, in the absence of such conditions of success, it is not a matter of the least surprise that the issue was the virtual triumph of Romanism, and the secession of the greater part of the population from their Bishops and clergy.

The materials for the history of the Reformation in Ireland are by no means abundant: such as they are, they will be found in Bishop Mant's History of the Irish Church. But an important addition has recently been made to Irish Church history by the publication of all the documents in the State Paper Office relating to the Irish Church during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. This highly valuable work, the title of which will be found at the commencement of these pages, is the result of the well-directed researches of Mr. Evelyn P. Shirley, who has added many notes and illustrations evincing much careful investigation, and very full knowledge of his subject. Mr. Shirley has very judiciously preserved all the characteristics of the original autograph documents from which he has made transcripts; and although to the more common reader the

extremely antiquated spelling, and the numerous faults of the originals will operate as a bar to the perusal of the work, these very circumstances will only enhance its value, as a faithful and accurate transcript, to the careful investigator of history.

The series of documents commences A. D. 1547, the first year of Edward VI.; and almost at the commencement we have a scheme of George Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, for the erection of a University in Dublin (p. 5). This plan, which reflects the highest credit on its author, contemplated the restoration of the Cathedral Church of St. Patrick (lately suppressed), and its becoming at once a College and a Chapter, like Cardinal Wolsey's foundation at Oxford, with its lecturers, fellows, students, &c. The plan did not take effect: in fact, there was no University in Ireland till 1591, upwards of forty years after the introduction of the Reformation, and apparently no schools; the monasteries having been the only places in which any knowledge of letters was preserved or imparted. We must extract a few passages from Archbishop Browne's Device, or Petition, to the English Government, which refer to other matters of interest:—

“ Itm, That comission under the kings great seall here maye be directed to suche as to his hieghnis shalbe thoght good, ad audiendas et terminandas causas ecciasticas, to th'intent that thereby the people may be occasioned to leave and omitt the popishe trede, whiche many of them now imbraseth, and also to swere all bysshoppes and preistes to the obedience of the Kings maiestie and his successou^r as their immediate hed and goūno^r under god and for th'executioⁿ of other his Ma^{ty} pcedings accordyng th'order used in Inglande.

“ Itm, That twoo Archedeacons of Dubliñ may be againe restored to ayde and assist th'archebysshop there for the tyme being whiche was taken awaie at the supp'ssion of Saint Patricks, and this the rather that there is no bysshop in Christendome w^otowe an archdeacon, but onely Dubliñ, and so the saide Archebysshop the wors hable to supplie his chardg who had befor the saide supp'ssion ij Archedeacons.
[they to finde ij lectours.]

“ Itm, That now immediatly may be sent thither iii to be Bysshoppes and to preche, eūy one of theym to have a sufficient lyving to th'intent that neither they throughe default or lyving be bordenous to any pson, and yet may withoute that care moste diligently and earnestly travaill in setting forthe to the people by an uniforme doctryne the words of god and the Chry^{stian} pceding^t of the Kinges Ma^{ty} as it is here in Inglande.

“ ffyrste for th'erec^ton of an unyversitie to be established

whin the Realme of Irlande by Dublin to be ther remanent for ever as well for th'encrease of gods divine gr̄vice as the Kings Ma^{ties} immortall fame, & the unspeakeable reformacōn of that realme and for educacion of students & youth, whiche may from tyme to tyme growe, aswell in the knowlege of god th'auto^r of all goodnes, wthout whom, the knowlege of the kinge, the obedience of his Lawes, shall neū be hade ther, the lacke wherof hath been only the ruyn & decaye of that realme, and so by pces of tyme the same students beyng repayred to ther natyve shyres shall by ther learnynge and goode educacion be bothe example of goode lyvinge & also a lyvely trompe to call that barbarous nacion from evill to goode, & consequently from goode to bett^r, & so to be pfight & Civill."—pp. 9—11.

These extracts touch on some of the difficulties in the way of the Reformation at that time. The first—the reluctance of some of the bishops and clergy to permit any alterations or reform—was to be expected; but although, during the reign of Edward VI., this acted as a serious impediment, that difficulty ceased in the reign of Elizabeth, when the whole hierarchy adopted the Reformation. But the petition next but one, requesting that three men should be sent over from *England* to be bishops and to "preach," indicates a more serious difficulty—a *want of proper agents in Ireland*. To obtain preachers of the right sort it was necessary to send to England! But then these preachers, when they came, could be of almost no use in three out of four provinces of Ireland, where the Irish language and habits almost exclusively prevailed. Here was the grand difficulty. Where were the means for reforming the native Irish? What means were there for "calling that barbarous nation from evil to good?" Archbishop Browne rightly looked to the University for this; but the University was not yet founded.

The bishops and clergy were, in many cases, miserably poor. As to the latter, we should suppose their tithes must have been about as valuable as the tithes of the American "backwoods," the products being little more than timber and peat. The tithe of Agistment indeed gave them meat to eat, but cattle could have been scarcely saleable in such a wild state of society. The bishoprics were but poorly endowed in many cases; so that, altogether, the clergy were in a very destitute state in the sixteenth century, and the churches fell to ruin in the time of war, which was almost perpetual. In the paper before us, we find Archbishop Browne requiring especially that the bishops to be sent over should have *competent maintenance*; and, further on in

the volume, we find various instances in which bishoprics are sought for particular persons, on account of their small value, or are recommended to be held, *in commendam*, with other bishoprics or benefices, for the same reason.

The next letters in this collection are valuable, as showing the succession of the Episcopate in Ireland. We have, first, a letter from Edmund Butler, Archbishop of Cashel, who had been consecrated archbishop in 1527, long before the abolition of the Papal jurisdiction. This prelate was now a willing advocate of the Reformation introduced by King Edward VI. We extract the letter itself, addressed to Seymour, Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector:—

“ Pleasid yo^r noble grace to be adūtisid how hitherto accord-
ing the charge committid to me I haue done the best I coude for
the quiete of thies pties sithnes th deptu^r of the countess doager
of Oarmonde, & althogh sundrie roberres and offences have bene
committid sithens, as I hau certefied therther, yet be reason of
yo^r graces lettres at sundrie times sent hither, & other prudent
devices addressed from them, many inconueniences haue the less
taken effect, & do stande in such case of reforma^{cō}n as god will-
ing things shalbe wthout difficultie redressid, and for asm^{ch} as I
doubt not yo^r good grace wth that moste nob^{le} counseill will pryde
redresse in sundrie things worthi reforma^{cō}n, I putt in sus-
pence toto truble the same wth any further particulariter^e being
the hering & discussing of the circumstance (illegible)
tak bett^r place here then elsewhere, as for c^ūmstances & pol-
icies in reforma^{cō}n of the people here, I neu^r sawe the waye for
to prosper therin as M^r Bellinghame attempt^d & achevid in so
short a time, who hath oppenid the veri gate of the right refor-
ma^{cō}n, whos nature as I judge will not triffill w^t any unfruitfull
c^ūstance. There repairith thather Walt^r Cowley at this time,
whos truth & his fathers doth nowe apere in many things, & out
of doubt in myne opinion, is a great discouraging uniūsally here
to the people, seinge theire destru^{cō}n, for their earnest truth in
declara^{cō}n of abuses, and forasm^{ch} as the one deyed there, in
p^rsute thereof, & the other repairing thother, who hath aft^r longe
durans sustain^d m^{ch} domadge, I beseech yo^r grace to be his good
Lorde & to geve him wherebi occasōn may grow to encorradge
the comēn people to be earnest in awanusing thing^s tending to the
King^s Ma^{tes} hono^r & the surti^e of this his highnes^e pore realme;
so as be meanes therof truth shalbe the less extinct, assurring yo^r
Grace that I knowe him to be of honeste disposi^{cō}n, & one that
hath great experiance, who can do right good Syvice. thus

Almighti god send unto yo^r noble grace yo^r valiant hartes disure,
 From kilkenny the xxvth day of february

“Yo^r Gracs bounden orato^r

“Edmūd of Casshell.

“To the Duck of Sofmsetts right noble grace Lord Gouⁿo^r of
 the king^s Ma^{tie}s mooste Royall p^{ro}tecto^r of his highnes^s
 Realms & Domynions & highe Thesaurer of England.”

Walter Cowley, who is so highly commended in the above letter, which was written in 1548, was, as Mr. Shirley remarks, general surveyor of the abbey lands in Ireland, and a decided partisan of the reformed faith. Archbishop Butler died about two years after in possession of his see. The case of Christopher Bodekin, Archbishop of Tuam, a letter from whom is printed, is still more remarkable. He was appointed Bishop of Kilmacduagh in 1533 or 1534, and held this see with that of Tuam, to which he was translated in 1536. This prelate retained his see, from the period of his appointment by King Henry VIII., up to the year 1572, fourteen years after Queen Elizabeth had come to the throne.

It seems that, for a considerable time, Archbishop Browne laboured in the cause of the Reformation in Ireland without aid from any of the bishops, except Staples, Bishop of Meath, who, like himself, was an Englishman. In the latter part of the reign of Edward VI., however, he was further aided by Bale and Goodacre, who were consecrated to Ossory and Armagh; the former of which sees was vacant by death, and the latter by the retirement of Dowdal to the continent, after his opposition to the introduction of the Book of Common Prayer. Just previously to the account of this, we have a letter from Sir James Croft, Lord Deputy of Ireland, to Sir William Cecil, complaining of the ignorance and negligence of the Irish bishops, and requesting learned men to be sent over from England, in the following terms:—

“Beyng a man not learned, nether sene in any other thing worthie of the chardge comy^{tt}ed to me, I am besyde myne other cares, burdened with the setting forth of religion, wiche to my skylle I cause to be amended in euery place where I travall: and nevertheless through the negligence of the Bysshopes and other spyrituall mynistres, it is so barely looked unto, as the olde seremonies yet remayne in meny places / The Busshops as I find, be negligent and fewe lerned, and none of any good zeale as it semeth, wherfor yf it wolde please yo^r to move the Counsaill that for suche busshoppricks as be here voyde, some lerned men mought be sent ouer to tak chardg, and so to preche and sett forth the kings pcedinge, I wolde trust so to mayntayne them, as they mought do good to meny, and sett forth this as it ought to be /

And yf this cannot be brought to passe, I pray yo^r sende me some lerned man to remayne with me, by whose counsaill I may the better direct the blynd and obstinate busshops, and what stypend soeuer yo^r pmys I will gyve it / praying yo^r to helpe me with spede, for I have gret want of suche a one, so I betak yo^r to god, ffrom Kylmanam the xvth of Marche 1551.

“Yo^r to comaund

“James Croft.

“To the right honorable Willm̄ Ceycill knight one of the two pryncipall Secreteries to the Kings Majestie.”

One especial value of Mr. Shirley's publication will be, to furnish additional and conclusive evidence of the erroneousness of the statements often put forward in Parliament and elsewhere by the opponents of the Church. Nothing is more common than the argument, that the Roman Catholic Church, having been deprived of its property by the State, and the Established Church having been endowed therewith, the Roman Catholics have been most cruelly and unjustly treated, and the Established Church may, and ought to be deprived of property to which it has no right except what arises from a mere Act of Parliament. It is represented as a sect which arose at the Reformation, and which, in fact, plundered the rightful owners of their property, with the aid of the civil power. Now the real state of the case, as Mr. Shirley's work very plainly shows, is, that the archbishops, and bishops, and clergy of Ireland generally consented to the Reformation in the time of Elizabeth. The Roman Catholic prelacy and clergy of Queen Mary's reign became the reformed bishops and clergy of Elizabeth's; the people, to a great extent, conformed to the worship of the Reformed Church; and, the Church of Ireland being thus freed from the Papal dominion and errors, the Pope sent missionary after missionary into Ireland to regain his dominion, ordained bishops to sees that were already occupied—schismatical bishops; and stirred up the King of Spain, in conjunction with the native Irish chieftains, to make war on England. Hence a series of bloody rebellions, during which the Jesuits and other Romish emissaries were enabled to poison the minds of a large proportion of the people against their bishops and clergy as adherents of the English. The English religion became unpopular, because the English name was hated: to this day “Sassenach” implies “Protestant” as well as Englishman, and conveys the notion of an enemy. Romanism was really established by the sword in Ireland; for, had not rebellion broken out, Ireland would probably, in the course of Elizabeth's reign, have been brought into obedience to the Reformation.

The undeniable fact, that Ireland was not really subject to the British Crown till the end of the reign of Elizabeth—that the English laws were not received in the greater part of Ireland at the period of the Reformation—and that the people were wholly unprepared by education for any alteration in religion, being, in fact, ignorant of the first elements of religious truth—and the total want of fit agents for conducting a movement in favour of the Reformation—will, to any reasonable mind, sufficiently account for the comparative failure of the attempt, in the time of Elizabeth, to remove the evil of Popery. Then followed the conciliation and encouragement held out to Romanism in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. by the Government—a system of policy remarkably parallel to that recently adopted by the State, and having the same effect—the continual increase of Romish aggression, insolence, and intolerance. Then followed the massacre of 150,000 Irish Protestants by the Romanists, and a general rebellion. Cromwell extinguished this rebellion in blood, and restored the dominion of England. Scarcely had the Church time to take root again in Ireland after the Restoration, when the Popish party, under James II., rose in arms; and, when Protestant ascendancy was established by force of arms under King William, the Government henceforth seem to have looked merely to Protestantism in Ireland as a useful political faction—a convenient instrument of Government, and to have absolutely put aside all notion of rendering the Church efficient by a careful employment of patronage, or of encouraging any efforts for the conversion of the Romish population. A period of apathy on the part of the Church herself supervened: it was deemed a hopeless or an unnecessary task to attempt the conversion of Romanists; and it has only been within the last twenty years, when the dangers of the times, and the religious movements of the age, have shaken men out of many of their antiquated notions, and pointed out to them the path of duty, that the work has been begun in earnest, and with so much success as to afford the highest encouragement to those who are engaged in it, and grounds of thankfulness to all who wish for the prevalence of truth over error. The clergy of Ireland at the present day are a widely different class from those wealthy sinecurists of the last century, whose worldliness and self-indulgence are quoted by the enemies of religion, and assumed to characterize the Church in Ireland. They are now a conscientious, a zealous, and an impoverished body; and the principles which have carried them stedfastly and uncomplainingly through trials and sufferings, hold out reasonable security for their perseverance in accomplishing the arduous mission intrusted to them.

ART. III.—*Dealings with the Inquisition ; or, Papal Roman Priests and her Jesuits : with Important Disclosures.*
 Rev. GIACINTO ACHILLI, D.D., late Prior and Visitor
 Dominican Order, Head Professor of Theology, and
 the Master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace, &c. L
 Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1851.

“How can you trust the word of a renegade?” exclaims the Romanist, and echoes the Romanizer. If again we ap-
 the well-authenticated accounts of Anglican travellers,
 immediately told that they were all narrow-minded “
 tant” bigots, who saw every thing “*Catholic*” with that
 intolerance of vision which characterizes the genuine Engli-
 a perverse and pragmatistical species of barbarian, who wil-
 upon calling black black, and white white, in spite of
 overwhelming evidence which proves to demonstration the
 untenableness of such an old-fashioned notion. If again we
 to the disclosures made by those still living in the
 Church, we discover immediately that the very fact of
 making such statements is enough to destroy their credi-
 And *lastly*, when we cite history—acknowledged history—
 witness-box, we are told that, deeply as such things are
 deplored, they are now no longer in existence, in short that
 is, “*nous avons changé tout cela !*”

Now uncandid, and illiberal, and unpious though it
 cannot conceal it from ourselves, and we *will not* conceal
 our readers, that all these objections are, in our opin-
 ion, temptible and dishonest subterfuges ; and that all these
 of evidence are to be admitted into court when we arraign
 the Church of Rome of “having a golden cup in her hand
 abominations.”

As to the first kind of evidence, it is certainly not infer-
 that of an accomplice or accessory who turns king’s evi-
 and yet our civil courts admit this. It is not less
 trusted than that of a military deserter ; and yet our great
 manders listen to the tales of such men ; ay, and not only
 frequently *act* upon the information thus gained. Of course
 must be used and discretion exercised in both instances : but
 is all. Let us take another case. Do we disbelieve the
 of heathen abominations which are extant in the works of

Christians, or even *early heretics*, because those Christians or heretics had once themselves been heathens, or had perhaps officiated as priests in the temples of those idols whose rites they divulge!

We are inclined, too, to admit the testimony of Anglican travellers as to matters of fact. However insular prejudice may warp the judgment, or at times, we regret to say, and that not unfrequently, close the heart of the Englishman; it does not take from him the use of his eyes, nor prevent his being able to transcribe in his journal information derived from authentic sources. For instance, he *sees*, as *we have seen*, two images of the same saint (we do not like to mix up with the pollutions of Romish idolatry the name of her who is blessed among women) brought from distant places to meet each other; he hears greater miraculous virtue attributed to one image than to another image of the same person. Are we to disbelieve our own eyes and ears, then, because we are English Churchmen?

With regard to the third class of evidence, we shall perhaps be better understood if we cite two or three of the many facts of the kind which have come under our own observation.

A French lady expressed to an English woman, on whose veracity we can rely, the exceeding uneasiness which she felt at the thought of sending her little girl for the first time to confession; her uneasiness arising from the obscene questions which she knew would be addressed by the priest to the child.

Thus does Rome feed the lambs of Christ's flock with the apples of Sodom and the grapes of Gomorrah!

A Roman Catholic friend told us the following anecdote:—A lady went to a priest to confess; who, the same day, seeing a young friend of his, said, "Do you know, this morning there came to me to confession a lady who has an amour with her manservant."

So much for the inviolability of the seal of confession!

Now we know these and similar facts to be true, and we see no reason for disbelieving them because they were related by Romanists.

To render the last head of evidence available, we must compare facts and statements, documents and depositions; and the result of such an investigation is, that however the eagles of Pagan Rome may have belied the motto, the crimes of Papal Rome have fully realized the

"*Vestigia nulla retrorsum*"

of her ancient poets.

We have been led into a longer discussion on this preliminary subject than we had intended, and shall therefore do little more than select some of the most striking passages from the work

before us. We know nothing of the writer, except from common report, beyond what these pages convey. We regret to see that, in throwing off the errors of Rome, he has adopted others of a most pernicious nature; that he denies the office and powers of the apostolical ministry, and necessarily holds inadequate and, in some cases, erroneous views on the Sacraments of the Gospel and the ordinances of the Church. We should, however, rather pity and pray for, than harshly condemn, the victim of that fearful system from which but few escape without bearing marks of the fire. Dr. Achilli, indeed, appears to us to be a sincere believer in the Bible, and a devout worshipper of Christ; though he has a zeal for God which is not according to knowledge. We should conceive him to be a man of earnest mind and kind heart, but somewhat deficient in taste and judgment. The work, however, bears upon it, even in its egotism and verbiage, the stamp of truthfulness of heart and simplicity of purpose.

The first extract which we shall give is from Dr. Achilli's first letter to the late Pope, Gregory XVI., as giving a fair statement of facts:—

“Who are generally the most wicked persons in every locality? (I am speaking only of Italy, indeed of Southern Italy—a country emphatically Roman Catholic.) Forgive me, holy father; but it is a matter of fact,—priests and monks; whatever iniquity, wickedness, and abomination has ever existed upon the earth, you will find among them. Haughtiness, luxury, ambition, pride,—where do they most abound? In your temples. There the excessive love of money, falsehood, fraud, duplicity, cover themselves with a sacred veil, and are almost in security from profane censures. And oh! how great are the horrors of the cloisters (*sepulchra dealbata*), where ignorance and superstition, laziness, indolence, calumny, quarrels, immorality of every description, not only live, but reign! The most abominable vices, long banished from all society, have there taken refuge, and there they will continue miserably to dwell, until God, outraged by them, shall rain down upon them the curse of Sodom and Gomorrah.” —p. 62.

Let us remind our readers that SANCTITY is one of the characteristics of the true Church, and that the holy celibacy of the Romish clergy is one of those points which excites the reverential awe and fervent admiration of those who halt between England and Rome.

The following passage, occurring in a second letter to the same Pontiff, puts the matter of *practical* idolatry in its true light. The italics are our own.

“Who is there among you that does not adore the saints, does not

lore and kiss their relics? It is useless to urge the distinction about sorts of worship which you make in the schools. *The people know it not, because they have never been taught it. It is shut up in your books, from whence it never comes out, except to be learnt by those who have no support and defend it against attack.* IN SHORT IT IS THE DOCTRINE OF CONTROVERSY, NOT OF PRACTICE.

"If you regulated the practice by the doctrine, you would prohibit kneeling before images and relics; but you are the first to kneel. You would not permit the use of incense to relics and images, practised from antiquity in honour of God alone, but it is you who offer incense to them."—p. 70.

He afterwards adds,—

"You come upon us with the distinction of the school, between the worship and adoration of images.

"Who are you that dare to distinguish where the law precludes all distinction? It is God who says, in the second commandment, 'thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them.'"

In our opinion the Catholic deserts his rightful vantage-ground, when he condescends to argue with the Romanist as to the theoretical nature of an overt act of sin. Idolatry is as clearly forbidden as adultery; and though we are well aware that the absence of the outward act does not necessarily imply the absence of inward guilt in either case, yet it is equally certain that the commission of the outward act does equally in both cases involve the transgression of the divine command.

We have heard of the name, though we have never perused the pages of a work, entitled, *The Innocent Adulteress*; surely such a title would well suit an apology for the Church of Rome:—

"But let us inquire what is the Inquisition of the present day in Rome? It is the very same that was instituted at the Council of Verona, to burn Arnold of Brescia; the same that was established at the third Council of the Lateran, to sanction the slaughter of the Albigenses, and the Waldenses, the massacre of the people, the destruction of the city; the same that was confirmed at the Council of Constance, to burn alive two holy men, John Huss and Jerome of Prague; that which at Florence subjected Savonarola to the torture; and at Rome condemned Aonio Paleario, and Pietro Carnesecchi. It is the self-same Inquisition, with that of Pope Caraffa, and of Fr. Michele Ghislieri, who built the Palace, called the *Holy Office*, where so many victims fell a sacrifice to their barbarity, and where, at the present moment, the Roman Inquisition still exists. Its laws are always the same. *The Black Book*, or *Praxis Sacræ Romanæ Inquisitionis*, is always the model for that which is to succeed it. This book is a large manuscript volume, in folio, and is carefully preserved by the head of the Inquisition. It is called *Libro Nero*, the *Black Book*,

because it has a cover of that colour ; or, as an Inquisitor explained to me, *Libro Necro*, which, in the Greek language, signifies 'the book of the dead.'

"In this book is the criminal code, with all the punishments for every supposed crime ; also the mode of conducting the trial, so as to elicit the guilt of the accused, and the manner of receiving the accusations. I had this book in my hand on one occasion, as I have related above, and read therein the proceedings relative to my own case ; and I also saw in this same volume some very astounding particulars : for example, in the list of punishments I read concerning the bit, or, as it is called by us, the *mordacchia*, which is a very simple contrivance to confine the tongue, and compress it between two cylinders, composed of iron and wood, and furnished with spikes. This horrible instrument not only wounds the tongue, and occasions excessive pain, but also, from the swelling it produces, frequently places the sufferer in danger of suffocation. This torture is generally had recourse to in cases considered as blasphemy against God, the Virgin, the Saints, or the Pope ; so that, according to the Inquisition, it is as great a crime to speak in disparagement of a Pope, who may be a very detestable character, as to blaspheme the holy name of God. Be that as it may, this torture has been in use till the present period ; and, to say nothing of the exhibitions of this nature which were displayed in Romagna, in the time of Gregory XVI., by the Inquisitor Ancarani, in Umbria, by Stefanelli, Salva, and others, we may admire the inquisitorial zeal of Cardinal Feretti, the cousin of his present Holiness, who condescended more than once to employ these means, when he was Bishop of Rieti and Fermo."—p. 110.

Such is the maternal tenderness which "the mother of Churches" evinces towards her children, if she entertains the slightest suspicion of their undutifulness, and which we can only compare to the parental fondness of those who passed their sons and their daughters through the fire to Moloch :—

"Concerning the method of conducting a process," says Dr. Achilli, "I read in the *Libro Necro* as follows :—With respect to the examination, and the duty of the examiners, either the prisoner confesses, and he is proved guilty from his own confession, or, he does not confess, and is equally guilty on the evidence of witnesses. If a prisoner confesses the whole of what he is accused, he is unquestionably guilty of the whole ; but if he confesses only a part, he ought still to be regarded as guilty of the whole, since what he has confessed, proves him to be capable of guilt as to the other points of accusation. And here the precept is to be kept in view, 'no one is obliged to condemn himself,' *nemo tenetur prodere seipsum*. Nevertheless, the judge should do all in his power to induce the culprit to confess, since confession tends to the glory of God. And as the respect due to the glory of God requires that no one particular should be omitted, not even a

are attempt, so the judge is bound to put in force, not only the ordinary means which the Inquisition possesses, but whatever may enter into his thoughts, as fitting to lead to a confession. Bodily torture has ever been found the most salutary and efficient means of leading to spiritual repentance. Therefore, the choice of the most befitting mode of torture is left to the judge of the Inquisition, who determines according to the age, the sex, and the constitution of the party. He will be prudent in its use, always being mindful, at the same time, to procure what is required from it,—the confession of the delinquent. If, notwithstanding all the means employed, the unfortunate wretch still denies his guilt, he is to be considered as a victim of the devil, and, as such, deserves no compassion from the servants of God, nor the pity or indulgence of holy mother Church; he is a son of perdition. Let him perish, then, among the damned, and let his place be no longer found among the living!"—p. 111.

We own an obligation, which we hasten to acknowledge, to the compilers of the *Libro Nero*. We never, until reading the paragraph which we have just transcribed, fully comprehended the force of the Psalmist's words, when he says, *The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel*.

Such is the *Libro Nero*. It would seem, however, that the authors and perpetrators of these atrocities forget that there is a book of a still darker hue, of a more fearful import,—that there is a dungeon far gloomier than that of the Inquisition.

We speak strongly, for we feel strongly; neither have we the wish or the intention of doing otherwise. We desire not either that bastard charity, or that iron self-control, which can speak or write without expressing loathing and abhorrence for the Romish Inquisition.

Dr. Achilli gives us an interesting account of the mode in which this terrible tribunal proceeds to obtain a conviction:—

"Titius is accused of having eaten meat on Friday or Saturday. The Inquisition does not permit the name of the accuser to appear, neither those of the witnesses. The accusation is laid that Titius has eaten meat in the house of Caius. Sempronius is the accuser, and he summons the family of Caius to give evidence; but as these have been accomplices in the same affair, they cannot be induced to depose against Titius. Perhaps other witnesses may be brought who may be equally incompetent; in which case, the wary judge endeavours to draw from the prisoner himself sufficient to inculcate him. He will inquire respecting several other families the points which he wishes to know with regard to that of Caius. He will try to learn at what other houses Titius has been accustomed to eat, in order to know concerning the house of Caius where the meat was eaten. The accusation sets

forth, that on such a day, at such an hour, Titius went to the house of Caius, where the whole family were present; and that all sat down at table, &c. &c. If Titius admits all the circumstantial matters brought forward by the accuser, with respect to time, place, and persons, but is silent, or denies entirely the only crime imputed to him, he stands convicted; the accuser has no necessity to bring forward witnesses; judgment is pronounced.

"This practice is still employed by the Inquisition. In the year 1842 I was accused of having spoken in a certain house against the worship of saints. If the judge had made my accusation known (as is the case in all other tribunals throughout the world), saying to me, 'You are accused of having, in such a house, spoken of such and such matters, in the presence of so and so,'—I should have known my accuser by the part he would take in the question. But instead of interrogating me in a straightforward manner, I was made to give a description of the house in question, together with that of several other houses; to describe the persons belonging to it, and many other persons at the same time; to discuss the real subject of the accusation, mixed up with other irrelevant matters, in order to mislead me as much as possible, and prevent me from getting any insight whatever of the points of which I was accused, or of the persons who had accused me. Whether I confessed or not, I was to be declared guilty, or, as they term it, *reo convinto*."—p. 113.

This trickery and falsehood, so widely practised, so systematically maintained, so determinately defended by the Roman Church, is, in our opinion, one of the clearest proofs that she is not "led by THE SPIRIT"—we do not say that she is devoid of the Spirit. The Church Catholic, as a whole, and the body of each of the baptized in particular, is the temple of the Holy Ghost; but, as an individual member of Christ's body, who is systematically guilty of lying, is most undoubtedly not "led by THE SPIRIT," and though a child of Abraham according to the flesh, is inwardly a child of him who is a liar and the father of it: so in like manner a branch of Christ's Church which is guilty of the same sin, adopts the same parent.

There is no point which is represented in Scripture as more essentially distinguishing the Powers of Good and Evil—the Heavenly King and the Prince of Darkness,—than Truth, or the absence of it. And there is no point, we unhesitatingly assert, which more strikingly and essentially distinguishes the *principles* and the *practices* of England and Rome, than this—that the Church of England is free from falsehood, whilst the Church of Rome abounds with it.

We will not press the argument at present to its full extent; but we cannot help observing, *en passant*, that the dishonesty,

duplicity, and double dealing exhibited by nearly all those who have left our Church, both before and after their secession, and by many of those who still halt between two opinions, tells plainly enough by *what* spirit they are led.

But we must return to Dr. Achilli, and extract two painfully-interesting passages, which show how the Roman Church inflicts upon her children that most fearful of the curses which God denounced against his people—*The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter, and toward the young one that cometh out from between her feet, and toward her children that she shall bear,—and, illustrating the manner in which they who “lord it over God’s heritage” instruct “the wife” to “reverence her husband.”*

We are indeed in this, as in other cases, strongly reminded of the judicial blindness which God inflicts as a punishment for idolatry: “God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient, *whisperers, backbiters, covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful.*” In truth, however, there are *other points* in which the Papal Rome of our day resembles the Pagan Rome of St. Paul’s celebrated description. But we tarry.

“During my residence,” says Achilli, “at Viterbo, my native town, where I was public professor and teacher in the Church *di Gradi*, I was one day applied to by a lady of prepossessing appearance, whom I then saw for the first time. She requested with much eagerness to see me in the sacristy; and, as I entered the apartment where she was waiting for me, she begged the sacristan to leave us alone, and, suddenly closing the door, presented a moving spectacle to my eyes. Throwing off her bonnet, and letting loose in a moment her long and beautiful hair, the lady fell upon her knees before me, and gave vent to her grief in abundance of sighs and tears. On my endeavouring to encourage her, and to persuade her to rise and unfold her mind to me, she at length, in a voice broken by sobs, thus addressed me:—

“‘No, father, I will never rise from this posture, unless you first promise to pardon me my heavy transgression.’ . . .

“‘Signora,’ replied I, ‘it belongs to God to pardon our transgressions. If you have in any way injured me, so far I can forgive you; but I confess I have no cause of complaint against you, with whom, indeed, I have not even the pleasure of being acquainted.’

“‘I have been guilty of a great sin, for which no priest will grant me absolution, unless you will beforehand remit it to me.’

“‘You must explain yourself more fully; as yet I have no idea of what you allude to.’

“‘It is now about a year since I last received absolution from my

confessor ; and the last few days he has entirely forbid me his presence, telling me that I am damned. I have tried others, and all tell me the same thing. One, however, has lately informed me, that if I wished to be saved and pardoned, I must apply to you, who, after the Pope, are the only one that can graut me absolution.'

"Signora, there is some mistake here ; explain yourself : of what description is your sin ?"

"It is a sin against the Holy Office."

"Well, but I have nothing to do with the Holy Office.'

"How ? Are not you Father Achilli, the Vicar of the Holy Office ?"

"You have been misinformed, Signora ; I am Achilli, the deputy master of the Holy Palace, not Office : you may see my name, with this title, prefixed to all works that are printed here, in lieu of that of the master himself. I assure you that neither my principal nor myself have any authority in cases that regard the Inquisition.'

"The good lady hereupon rose from her knees, arranged her hair, wiped the tears from her eyes, and asked leave to relate her case to me ; and, having sat down, began as follows :—

"It is not quite a year since that I was going, about the time of Easter, according to my usual custom, to confess my sins to my parish priest. He being well acquainted with myself, and all my family, began to interrogate me respecting my son, the only one I have, a young man, twenty-four years of age, full of patriotic ardour, but with little respect for the priests. It happened that I observed to the curate, that, notwithstanding my remonstrances, my son was in the habit of saying, that the business of a priest was a complete deception, and that the head of all the impostors was the Pope himself. Would I had never told him ! The curate would hear no further. 'It is your duty,' said he, 'to denounce your son to the Inquisition.' Imagine what I felt at this intimation ! To be the accuser of my own son ! 'Such is the case,' observed he ; 'there is no help for it. I cannot absolve you, neither can any one else, until the thing is done.' And indeed from every one else I have had the same refusal. It is now twelve months since I have received absolution ; and in this present year many misfortunes have befallen me. Ten days ago I tried again, and promised, in order that I might receive absolution, that I would denounce my son ; but it was all in vain, until I had actually done so. I inquired, then, to whom I ought to go to prefer the accusation ; and I was told, to the Bishop or the Vicar of the Holy Office ; and they named yourself to me. Twice already have I been here with the intention of doing what was required of me, and as often have I recollected that I was a mother, and was overwhelmed with horror at the idea ! On Sunday last I came to your church to pray to the Virgin Mother of Christ to aid me through this difficulty ; and I remember that when I recited the rosary in her honour, I turned to pray also to the Son, saying, 'O Lord Jesus, thou wast also accused before the chief priests by a traitorous disciple : but thou didst not

permit that thy Mother should take part in that accusation. Behold, then, I also am a mother; and though my son is a sinner, whilst thou wast most just, do not, I implore thee, require that his own mother should be his accuser! Whilst I was making this prayer, the preaching began. I inquired the preacher's name, and they told me yours. I feigned to pay attention to the discourse, but I was wholly occupied in looking at you, and reflecting, with many sighs, that I was under the obligation to accuse to you my own child! In the midst of my agitation, a thought suddenly relieved me,—I did not see the Inquisitor in your countenance. Young, animated, and with marks of sensibility, it seemed that you would not be too harsh with my son; I thought I would entreat you first to correct him yourself, to reprimand, and to threaten him, without inflicting actual punishment upon him."—p. 119.

Achilli advised her to change her confessor, and be silent about her son; a course which she gratefully adopted. We regret that space precludes us from quoting the eloquent burst of noble indignation, which "this horrible act of treason" calls forth from the writer:—

"In what is called the Holy Office," adds he, "every thing is allowable that tends to their own purposes (of the inquisitors). To gain possession of a secret no means are to be disregarded. . . . And this most infamous Inquisition, a hundred times destroyed, and as often renewed, still exists in Rome, as in the barbarous ages; the only difference being, that the same iniquities are at present practised there with a little more secrecy and caution than formerly: and this for the sake of prudence, that the Holy See may not be subjected to the animadversions and censure of the world at large."—p. 120.

We proceed, then, to the second narrative of the same kind:—

"One day, when I was busy, a lady was announced, who, without sending in her name, earnestly desired to see me. I imagined she only came with some request concerning the delegate, and, therefore, sent word that I was too much occupied at that moment to be able to see her. The lady persisted, and I sent the same excuse. At last, seeing that I was firm, the lady handed a letter to the lay-brother, sealed with a large seal, and directed to 'The Very Reverend Father, Professor G. Achilli, Gradi, Viterbo.' The seal was that of the Roman Inquisition, signed by the Commissary-General. The letter was as follows:—

"VERY REVEREND FATHER,—The Sacred Congregation of the most Eminent and Reverend Cardinals, in their sitting of Wednesday, the . . . have desired me to hand over to you the enclosed form of denunciation, according to which you will have the goodness to examine and interrogate the lady, who is the bearer of it, avoiding to ask

her name, the place she comes from, and her connexion with the party accused; all which are already known to the Sacred Congregation. For this purpose I am authorized to invest you with all necessary authority on this particular occasion, and for this time only. I recommend to you all necessary prudence, and to be mindful of the inviolable secrecy due to the Holy Office, the slightest breach of which is punished with ecclesiastic censure, and is finally referred to the Pope.

“You will have the goodness to send back, with all diligence, after the performance of this duty, not only the formula of questions, with the answers to them, but also the present letter, of which no copy is to be taken.

“May the Lord prosper you!
 “*Rome, from the Palace of the Holy Office,
 March, 1832.*”

“When I had finished reading this letter, I felt a curiosity to see this mysterious visitor. I therefore descended to the apartment where she was waiting for me, and I saw a lady of about thirty years of age, well dressed, and in a style that announced her to belong to the wealthier class: her accent showed that she came from another part of the country. She received me with some degree of consternation in her manner, and replied to me, half trembling, and with downcast eyes, and evident anxiety. . . .

“*Signora,*’ said Achilli, ‘I have received a letter through you; the contents must be known to you. Will you inform me in what manner you obtained it?’

“From my confessor: I do not know whether directly from Rome, or through the Bishop.’

“Can you make it convenient to prefer your accusation another time?’

“I pray you, let me do so at present, since to-morrow I am obliged to return home.’

* * * * *

“Well, then,’ said I, ‘let us to business: I should imagine it would not occupy much time—what is your opinion?’

“I then sat down before a table and unfolded the formulary of questions, which were comprised in a printed sheet. I looked over the paper to ascertain its tenor, and of what it treated. I thought no more of the lady; my mind was entirely occupied in considering how I should proceed, when a deep sigh aroused me, and made me turn my eyes towards her. She began to weep outright.

“What is the matter, *Signora*? why do you weep?’

“Tears and sobs were her only reply. I endeavoured to speak comfort to her.

* * * * *

“She grew calmer by degrees, and I began my task. The formula was in Latin: I had to translate it into Italian: her own answers were to be written down exactly.

* * * * *

“ ‘ Now, Signora, you must remember that it is your duty to declare the truth. I suppose it is no trifling affair that has induced you to denounce a person to the Inquisition; above all, I desire to know what may have been your motives.’

“ ‘ To save me from a hell.’

“ ‘ Sometimes it happens that in seeking to avoid one hell, we may fall into another; that in endeavouring to silence a scruple, we incur remorse; and that the means we take to save the soul of another, may endanger our own. Tell me, from what kind of hell do you seek to be delivered by this act?’

“ ‘ The hell that I experience in entering a church. It is not every one who goes there that finds it a paradise. God is there, Jesus Christ, the most holy Madonna, saints, angels, and holy water. It is there we are baptized, confess, and receive the grace of God. I alone participate in none of these ordinances in the church; therefore it has become hateful to me, and the priests are odious in my sight.’

“ ‘ And how does all this happen?’

“ ‘ Father, it is as I say. You will understand it all. Relieve me from this load, and I shall hope afterwards to make peace with God and the saints, and be delivered from this hell.’

“ ‘ Well, what is the deposition—the accusation you have to make?’

“ ‘ Allow me, oh father, to relate my story from the beginning—I cannot tell you by halves.’

“ So saying, she remained thoughtful a few moments, and then exclaimed,—

“ ‘ I hardly know where to begin. I would inform you—but’—

“ ‘ Courage! relate the affair simply as it is. I wish not to know either more or less than you choose to tell me. For example, I ask neither your name, your place of residence, nor what connexion you have with the party accused.’

“ ‘ Ah! father, these are the express conditions on which I consented to disclose what I have to unfold. . . . Oh! is it possible that at this price alone I am to recover my peace!—at this, and at no other, to be admitted anew to the privilege of confession, and the benefit of the other sacraments! That to be a Christian I must consent to betray another!—to betray the person whom in all the world I best love!—enjoined to do so both by Divine and human laws!’

“ As she concluded, she arose, and I observed that with the fingers of her right hand she pressed upon her left, and turned round a ring that was there on the annular finger. She then resumed,—

“ ‘ Where, then, shall we in future hope to place confidence? how trust in the sacredness of vows pledged at the altar? . . . Oh! what would *he* say if he knew what occupies me at this moment? And can I return joyfully to him who little suspects what I am doing, to still live with him, and call him by the tenderest names, until the day comes, or perhaps the night, when the officers of justice shall secretly enter the house, apprehend, and take him away—and to what place? To the dungeons of the Holy Office! And who would have placed him

there? I myself by the very act I am going to commit. But if I do not do so, I am in a state of perdition, since there will be no longer pardon or absolution for me. Excommunication, from which no one can deliver me, will be my fate. And he also will be excommunicated. His soul will be for ever lost, unless it be purified in the Inquisition. Both of us to lose all hope of salvation and eternal life! and that because we refuse to make fitting sacrifice on earth. These, father, are the thoughts that agitate me, that divide my soul, that have led me here, and that have since sealed my lips. What ought I to do? what reveal? I am miserable, because I listen at once to the flesh and the Spirit, and which ever way I force myself to act, I am always divided against myself; Oh! why are not you who are called fathers, husbands as well; then, as other men, you would have wives to love; and you would better comprehend these matters, and would see the value of the text, 'Do not to others what ye would not that men should do unto you!'

" 'Let us come to an end, Signora. You have promised the Inquisition to make an accusation, and that as a matter of duty, or rather, from scruples of conscience. When you made this promise, you no doubt imagined you did what was right.'

" 'No, father, I do not deceive myself; I never thought I was doing right: in every point of view I considered I was doing wrong. Nevertheless, I judged it necessary, as it is necessary to have an arm or a foot cut off that is in a state of gangrene. I looked upon it as a castigation from the Almighty, as if my house had been burned, or a heavy beam had fallen on my shoulders. I thought that God was angry with me on account of my sins, and that to appease Him I must sacrifice to Him what was most dear to me. . . . Father, I am here to make a sacrifice of myself on the altar, I regret to say it, of the Inquisition.'

" 'And do you desire, Signora, that I should be the priest on the occasion? It is an office I have never performed. . . . I thought that you were come to make your deposition voluntarily, of your own free will; and even in that case I should have had some hesitation in receiving it. . . . In the present case, I will by no means lend my hand to an act of violence. . . . I find throughout the whole of the Bible a continual invitation to seek God, and to find Him there is but one way, which is Jesus Christ. . . . Moreover, He says to us, 'Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.' And this is more particularly addressed to sinners, whose duty it is to go to Christ; and it is ours to endeavour to invite, to lead, to bring them to Him. Do you understand me, Signora—to Him, and not to the Inquisition?'—pp. 128—131.

The gratitude expressed by the lady to her deliverer was most intense; and she gladly promised not to betray him. She had revealed to her confessor some intemperate language which her husband had uttered regarding the Pope, the bishop, and the priests. "I told my confessor of this," she said, "not to accuse

my husband, but to learn what course I had better pursue with him ;” adding, that at times he was so excited as scarcely to know the meaning of the words he uttered. “ But, without further inquiry, my confessor enjoined me to denounce him to the Inquisition.” And to prevail on her to commit this atrocious crime, the confessor assured her, that unless she perpetrated it, both her husband and herself “ would be undoubtedly damned.”

“ ‘ And in confirmation of this,’ she added, ‘ I once read in some old work a story of a certain woman who had refused before her death to make one of these disclosures ; and in consequence, not only was her soul condemned to the torments of hell, but her body also found no rest in the grave, being continually forced to leave it, until, being conjured with holy water to declare the cause of its disquiet, it replied, that it was so punished because it had not obeyed the injunction it had received to accuse certain heretics to the Inquisition ; but as all present earnestly prayed to the Madonna, it was granted to this unhappy body to return to life for the space of half an hour, that it might prefer its accusation to the Inquisition ; after which it died anew.’

“ ‘ And do you believe this story ?’

“ ‘ I was unwilling to do so ; but the priest showed me that the book was printed, *con licenza dè superiori*. To tell the exact truth, my intention was to obey our holy Church in this barbarous law, and then to commit suicide, leaving behind me a letter to my husband, explaining the motives that had led me to the act.’ ”—p. 133.

After some further conversation Achilli and his visitor departed. The priest immediately destroyed the papers, and the lady sought a new confessor. “ She died,” adds our author, “ like a good Christian, loving Jesus, her Redeemer, and believing in his good tidings, and detesting, with all her heart, the errors of the Church of Rome.”

This was not a solitary case. “ I have given,” says Achilli, “ but one instance, but could relate many more of the same character. The wife of a bricklayer, whose name I never knew, about the same time, came to me at Viterbo, to accuse her husband, by order of her confessor. She came from Vitorchiano, a fief of the Roman Senate. I sent her away, however, telling her that I had nothing to do with the Inquisition. Several came to me from other parts, no fewer than four or five ; and all these were wives, who had come to denounce their husbands to the Inquisition. I took care to give them all the same answer. And if so many cases of this sort came to my own knowledge, how many more must there not have been, who have applied to the vicars themselves, or to the inquisitors of the Holy Office ?”

There has been of late an unwise reserve, a culpable *reticence*

about the crimes of the Romish clergy. For our own part, we are of opinion that the more that the real working of the celibacy system is known, the less will any persons of sound mind be inclined to look on it with favour or toleration. At all times the truth should be spoken; but at the present crisis he is guilty of treason who conceals it. Achilli mentions a report, that in Ancona two inquisitors had seduced wives and daughters, in order to induce them to accuse their respective husbands and fathers. From what we have seen and heard, we should think this more than probable. He also relates, as a *matter of fact*, that, during his stay there, in September, 1842, an inquisitor endeavoured to persuade two virtuous girls to accuse their uncles of some alleged profanation, in order to have a pretext for his impeachment. The inquisitor was angry with this honest man, because he had forbidden him his house, and thought, by throwing him into prison, to be able at all hours to visit the nieces, erroneously imagining them to be favourably disposed towards him.

We would also observe that the following particulars of the asceticism, practised by the Dominicans, do not appear altogether agreeable to the Catholic standard.

"They," said Achilli, "profess never to eat meat in the refectory, or room for their common meals; and it is true that in the refectory itself they do not eat it; but there is another room near it, which they call by another name, where they eat meat constantly. On Good Friday they are commanded by their rules to eat bread and drink water: but, having done so, for the sake of appearance, they go one after the other into another room, where a good dinner is prepared for them all."

We have kept our most astounding extract for the last; an extract which shows that even now the Holy Office is spreading the branches of its upas-tree into realms that own the enlightened sway of England:—

"'I am a Roman Catholic priest,' says the writer of this singular communication, 'and as soon as I was ordained, being very anxious to preach the Gospel to the poor Hindoos, I left Rome, on the 2nd of March, 1840, being then twenty-three years of age, and was sent by *Propaganda Fide* to India; and there being able to speak the English language, I was appointed, by the Roman Catholic Bishop of Bombay, as military chaplain, and was sent to a military camp at Belgaum.'

These circumstances induced him to examine the evidences for the distinctive doctrines of Romanism, and he became convinced that they were "in perfect contradiction to the word of God," &c.

Therefore I opened my mind to the Rev. Mr. Jackson, who was military Protestant chaplain at Belgaum, and a great friend of mine. He advised me to write to Dr. Carr, Bishop of Bombay, which I did, and his lordship was pleased to answer me in a very polite manner, begging me to write my sentiments about the real presence of our Lord Jesus Christ in the sacrament, and a treatise on the spiritual power of the Pope, which I also did; and then he wrote to me to go to Bombay where I embraced the Protestant religion, that is to say, the true religion of the Gospel." [After these occurrences,]

"A Spanish Jesuit priest, whom I never saw before, called on me in a secular dress; and speaking the Italian language well, he told me that he was an Italian layman, and having heard that I was an Italian, he called on me: but he did not mention any thing about religion, saying he did not care about it; and he was very kind to me. He called on me four or five times; till one day, being a very agreeable evening, he begged me to take a round with him, which I did. And we went near the [Roman] Catholic Church, and to my great surprise, I was taken by four men, and forced to go to the vicar-general, where they forced me to write a letter to the Protestant minister, Mr. Valentine, in whose house I lived, stating my intention to return to the [Roman] Catholic religion; which, I am very sorry to say, I did. They then closed me in a room till Sunday, when the vicar took me by force to the pulpit, and dictated to me what I was to say to the congregation; and he obliged me to declare that I left the [Roman] Catholic religion for worldly motives; which was quite contrary to my sentiments. When night came they took me from the room where I was closed and delivered me to a captain of a French ship, as a prisoner, with the order to take care of me to Marseilles, where he delivered me to the bishop, who, with a French priest, sent me to Rome. From Rome I was sent, as a punishment, to a convent at Perugia, where I remained for five years, till I got again my liberty and returned to Rome; this was in November, 1848," &c.

* * * * *

"ROME, 26th of February, 1850."

And now we bid adieu to this exceedingly interesting volume, and its very agreeable, though decidedly heterodox, author. Yet, ere we conclude this essay, we must remind and urge upon our readers that it is no system of bygone ages, no narrative of long past events, which we have been considering, but the outward action and the inward life, the inherent nature, and the essential being of that tremendous Power which aims at nothing less than the closing our Bibles and enslaving our souls, the destruction of our faith, the pollution of our worship, and the annihilation of our Church.

One would have thought that no lover of either "civil or religious liberty" could have sympathized with the Church of the Inquisition; that no sincere Christian, who had not the misfor-

tune to be born within her pale, could have viewed her manifold corruptions of the primitive faith and practice without raising his voice in clear and indignant condemnation of her errors and her crimes ; that no true-hearted Englishman but would be shocked and disgusted by the treachery of her principles and the profligacy of her priests.

Yet this is the Church, which has been favoured by Conservative and flattered by Whig, endowed by Peel and patronized by Russell ; this is the Church, whose chief pastor has been thrust back upon his reluctant people by the bayonet of Republicans who have once more re-established the Holy Inquisition ; this is the Church, whose aggression upon ourselves we are called upon to bear with passiveness and silence ; this is the Church, whose system, whose doctrine, whose devotion, and whose practical working are held up to our eyes as models of all but perfect excellence by men who have been fed from the bosom and taught at the knees of our English Mother.

ART. IV.—*The Church Apostolic, Primitive, and Anglican. A Series of Sermons. By the Rev. JOHN COLLINGWOOD, M.A., Minister of Duke-street Episcopal Chapel, Westminster; one of the Masters of Christ's Hospital, &c. Published by request. London: Rivingtons.*

THE events which are passing before our eyes are applying a very severe test to the principles of Churchmen in more senses than one. Men of learning, of ability, and of piety, have been falling away from our communion, and adopting, in their extreme developments, the errors of the Church of Rome; and, however we may explain the fact, such persons have all, previously to their secession, been advocates of what they have called "Church principles," or "Catholic principles." The world, in general, connects these circumstances together in its own way, and very naturally concludes that what are called "Church principles," lead to Romanism; and, in one sense, the world is right in its inference. "Church principles" of a certain sort—or what are called "Church principles" by those who hold them—have doubtless paved the way for secession to Rome. But the expression has really become so vague, in consequence of the very different opinions included under it, that to the generality of persons it appears to convey no distinct notions at all.

For instance, it has become apparent for a considerable time, that persons of ability and of education are able to persuade themselves that they may hold almost all the tenets of the Church of Rome, while still remaining in the external communion of the English Church. Now, when such persons speak of "Church principles," as they often do, they mean nothing more or less than "Roman Catholic" principles. The supremacy of the See of Rome is one of their "Church" principles; transubstantiation is another; the adoration of the host, another; general conformity to Rome, another.

Here, then, is *one* view of Church principles. It would be difficult to suppose that persons who think thus could form a party in the Church of England for any length of time; but the evidence of fact establishes it beyond all doubt. Ten years have now elapsed since Messrs. Ward and Oakley first publicly avowed and maintained the principle, that it was possible to hold the whole cycle of Roman doctrine in the Church of England;

and, although the original propounders of the notion have since found their position untenable, and have actually unthemselves to the communion, whose tenets they had embraced there has been, ever since, a class of men who have acted on the same principles: and these men have always been warm advocates of "Church principles." Messrs. Ward, Oakley, Maskell, Allies, Wilberforce, the clergy of St. Saviour's, and others who have followed their example, have been amongst the most energetic asserters of "Church" or "Catholic" principles, previously to their secession.

But there is *another* view of Church principles, and one which is much more prevalent. We refer to the class of doctrines which distinguish those who are, in the most correct application of the term, "Tractarians." The section of the Church, here referred to, and which is also sometimes designated by the name of *individual*, is virtually under the direction of the chief remaining authors of the "Tracts for the Times." The majority of the more conspicuous and learned advocates of what are called "Church principles," are either directly associated with the leaders of this section of the Church, or under their influence. If such men do not always openly co-operate with the "Tractarian" body, they are, at least, influenced by it, and take care never to oppose it. Numbers of persons, however, chiefly among the younger clergy, and those laity who have been at either University, are, to a great extent, disciples of the "Tractarian" school. With all this section of the Church, speaking in general terms, "Church principles" mean something different from that which Romanizers understand by the expression. They mean that class of principles which took their general shape and colouring from the "Tracts for the Times," and their leading authors. Now the abiding characteristic of this system is, we think, a theoretical view of the unity of the Church, which it is anxious to realize, in spite of all obstacles which present themselves in the way. It is a system which is impatient of every thing that appears to interpose a barrier to the restoration of external and visible Christian communion between Apostolically descended Churches throughout the world. It is disposed accordingly to dwell only on the points of resemblance and union between the English and the Roman communions, and to avoid every expression and argument which tends to keep up differences of tenet, and to prevent intercommunion. It seeks to soothe the prejudice and irritation on either side, by taking the most favourable views of Roman doctrine; accepting the explanations which its best defenders have offered; bringing out the merits, beauties, and excellencies which it discovers in the Church of

ome; and in all respects treating that Church as a sister, or a
other Church, reunion with which is in the highest degree
sirable, or even essential. At the same time, the Church of
England is recognized as a branch of the one Catholic Church,
in which it is not right to separate; while all censure, how-
ever, of those who actually join the Church of Rome, is refrained
from; and such a step is not regarded as involving any schism,
heresy, or grievous sin.

Now, it is evident that "Church," or "Catholic" principles,
amongst those who entertain this class of views, mean something
different from what other Churchmen understand by the expres-
sion. They do not, indeed, involve actual submission of indi-
viduals to the See of Rome; but they mean the suppression of the
differences between the Church of Rome and the Church of England
—the gradual undoing much of the work of the Reformation, which
is regarded with undisguised hostility—the removal of the Pro-
testant and negative aspect of the English Church, and the re-
modelling of her doctrine and discipline on what is conceived to
be the Catholic ideal of a Church—a system which varies accord-
ing to the notions of individuals, but which is generally com-
pounded of primitive and mediæval doctrine and practice, with, in
many cases, a large infusion of modern Romanism. Such are
"Church principles" as understood by the leading minds of the
Tractarian body, and more or less carried out throughout the
whole connexion, and by its press.

And then, in the third place, there is no inconsiderable number
of persons who have maintained "Church principles" in various
ways, but in a very different sense indeed from either of the
parties above referred to. We allude to such writers as
Dr. Hook, Dr. Wordsworth, Messrs. Perceval and Palmer, Chan-
cellor Harrington, Mr. Morgan, and the author of the volume
of Sermons before us, who, amidst all their maintenance of the
rights and spiritual characteristics of the Church of Christ, have
never hesitated to denounce the errors of the Church of Rome,
or shrank from defending substantially the cause of the Reforma-
tion. The difference between the principles of this class of men
and the others of whom we have spoken above, appears to consist in
this—that while in the one case the desire for unity is so intense
that all obstacles are either overlooked or else attempted to be
removed; in the other, the desire for unity throughout Christen-
dom is balanced by the strongest resolution to adhere to known
truth at all hazards, and even if it should apparently prevent the
realization of unity. "Church principles," in their view, involves
no suppression of the errors of Romanism, no withholding of
witness; but, on the contrary, the boldest and fullest testimony

against them, as well as against every species of error opposed to the truth of the Gospel as set forth by the Church of England. "Church principles" may involve, in their opinion, the succession of a ministry, with its valid ordinations, and its peculiar and exclusive right of administering the sacraments, derived immediately from the commission of our Lord, addressed to the Apostles,—may involve the duty of submitting private judgment to the lawful spiritual authority of our own branch of the Catholic Church, and still more to the judgment and doctrine of all ages from the beginning,—may involve the continuity of the Church in England as a branch, but a reformed branch, of the Church universal, inheriting all the rights, powers, and privileges conferred by the Apostles on those Churches which they founded,—may regard the Church as more than a merely voluntary and human association,—may view its sacraments as not mere emblems, but as means of grace. All this, and more, may be conceived by such men to be included in Church principles. They may, to some extent, go along with "Tractarians" in the assertion of the truths they hold in common; but the great and essential difference between their principles is this—that the one class frames an ideal of Church unity and order, and will not recognize the practical impediments existing in the Church of Rome to the realization of unity, but seek to throw down our own barriers, and trust to the good feelings of our opponents; while the other would maintain our barriers until Rome shall relinquish her errors: their love of unity is not greater than their love of truth. The one class excludes the notion of Protestantism from its Catholicism, or Church principles; the other holds Protestantism (as included in the Formularies of the Church of England) as an essential element in its Catholicism.

Now here are *three* clearly-marked divisions amongst those who profess to hold "Church principles;" or, in other words, here are three different sets of principles included under that designation. This appears to involve the use of the term in great difficulty: it tends to confound together the most strongly-marked differences. Persons may denounce "Church principles," and they may not be blameable for so doing, because they may reject what is blameable. As long as all persons professing to hold "Church principles" were understood to be opposed to Rome and Romish doctrine, there was no great risk of material confusion in men's minds; but the case is very different now, when "Church principles" in some men's mouths mean "Roman Catholic" principles, and in others "Anti-Protestant" principles. The expression has an objectionable meaning in all such cases, and this appears to involve in considerable difficulty those sound and orthodox

members of the Church of England who may employ it as expressive of their own views, without distinctly specifying the classes of opinions which are accepted or rejected in these uses of the term. We should be disposed to say, indeed, that it would be preferable for those writers who do not wish to support the views of the two first classes above alluded to, to make use of such terms as "Church of England," or "Anglican," in preference to "Church," or "Catholic" principles, the former terms being rarely if ever used by the classes alluded to for the purpose of designating their principles. At present, we confess that we do not understand a man's meaning when he professes to advocate "Church principles." Some years ago, there was less difficulty in understanding the term; but now we do not know what is intended by it. We see men advertising books in support of "Church principles," or hear them claiming sympathy and co-operation on the ground of "Church principles;" but we know not whether they are friends or foes.

We have observed, at the commencement of this paper, that these times are peculiarly trying to men's principles. They must lead every thoughtful member of the Church of England, who is really attached to that communion in which he is placed, and who maintains "Church of England principles," to examine whether his own views necessarily conduct to Romanism. He will feel, that if indeed his principles do naturally and necessarily tend to that result, there must be some great and grievous flaw in them. He may be deceived in his Church theories; but he cannot be deceived as to the positive sinfulness of worshipping images and praying to saints, or as to the error of purgatory, of indulgences, or of the Papal Supremacy. These are points on which no adequately-informed Churchman can entertain any doubt whether the Church of Rome be in error or no; so that the discovery that his principles led to the adoption of those errors could have no other effect but that of causing him to distrust those principles, and to examine them more narrowly. And there are plenty of persons in all directions to assure him that his principles will infallibly land him at Rome. The Romanist, and the Latitudinarian, and the Dissenter, all concur in the assurance, and he might attach some weight to their statements were they less evidently dictated by the desire of promoting their respective views; for Romanism would willingly be placed in contrast with a system which did not claim to be a Church; and Dissent and Latitudinarianism would gladly remove those principles which prevent the triumph of their own.

But we think that, deeply trying as these times undoubtedly are, no true advocate of "Church of England" principles will find

reason to be distrustful of those principles, if he carefully examined them. Those principles have been held by most of our great theologians and writers since the period of the Reformation, and yet none of them fell away to Romanism. Hooker and Andrewes, Cosin, Bramhall and Laud, Taylor, Mede, Hammond, and Beveridge, Ball, Pearson, and Bingham, Daubeny, Jebb, Van Mildert, and Rose, were men who advocated, to a greater or less extent, those principles which we are assured lead to Romanism; nevertheless, as a matter of fact, Romanism found amongst these men its most powerful opponents. Pearson, and Beveridge, and Van Mildert, who revered the authority of the primitive Church, did not find themselves obliged, in consequence, to acknowledge that of the Papacy. Hall, Jeremy Taylor, Hammond, and others who maintained the Divine right of Episcopacy, or allowed the necessity of valid ordination, did not forsake the communion of the English Church, even when it was abolished by law. In short, the principles of Churchmen have been proved, by the experience of three centuries, not to lead practically to Romanism. The most learned and pious of our divines have always upheld them. They have been the principles of many of our most eminent Archbishops and Bishops; and never have they paved the way to Romanism. It is only within the last ten or twelve years that so-called "Church principles" have led to secessions from the Church of England; but the influence of the new school or party is there clearly perceptible. No two systems are more essentially different than that of the old "Anglican" theology, still upheld by a large class of men in this country, and the new "Tractarian" theology, which omits the Protestant element altogether. A sound English Churchman is protected by his position against tendencies to Rome. If he be in orders, he has subscribed Articles which involve a distinct repudiation of Romish errors, and which he cannot rightly have subscribed without having ascertained for himself the truth and reasonableness of the doctrine which they teach. Here, therefore, is a strong foundation laid, which must necessarily define, to a great degree, his future course of thought. If he engages in speculations or inquiries in reference to the Church or to Christian doctrine, he has still to bring his speculations or inferences to the test of the original principles which lie at the foundation of his doctrine. As a member of the Church of England, he has no right to permit his speculations and theories to run counter to the doctrines of his own Church, which he has deliberately subscribed. If he has *thoroughly* done his duty to God, and to the obligations of conscience, in subscribing the Articles of the Church, he will be little likely to be shaken in his faith afterwards.

In making these remarks, we have been addressing ourselves chiefly to those Churchmen who prefer the old Theology of the Church of England to the new Tractarian Theology—who have never placed much confidence in the latter, though unwilling to make common cause with any class of men whose tendencies are decidedly towards Dissent or Rationalism; and there *is* such a class amongst Evangelicals, though we shall be far from imputing such views to all who act with them. We cannot expect that our remarks will have any weight with those who are *decided* partisans of the Tractarian school; still there are others, many others, who are as yet substantially right, and to whom we would venture to offer a few words of caution. Recent secessions must, we think, have led many such persons to doubt whether the system which is productive of such results is altogether a trustworthy one. We know that it is not unusual to point out *other* causes for those secessions; and very probably there is more or less truth in the assertion, that some persons may have fallen away in consequence of the interference of the State in Church questions of importance, or because the liberties of the Church, or its discipline, or its principles, or its ritualism have not been carried out sufficiently. Doubtless individuals may have been more or less influenced by such considerations in separating from the Church of England: but we must say, that it would be most delusive to ascribe the secessions to such causes alone. Those causes would never have produced the results to which they have led, if men's minds had not been for a series of years taught to overlook the differences between the Church of Rome and the Church of England, in the effort to realize a general union between all branches of the Christian Church, reformed and unreformed. When men had been taught for years to discover every fault and short-coming in their own Church, and to overlook or explain away every error and corruption in another;—when they had been taught to admire and practise as far as possible the devotions of a corrupt Church, to peruse its theology, to imitate its ceremonial, and to look with displeasure on all attempts to point out its idolatry and its errors;—when the Reformation has been for a series of years denounced as uncatholic, and when no warning is ever heard against the errors which it resisted, and which survive to the present day in an exaggerated form;—when this system has been pertinaciously continued without change, year after year, notwithstanding the secessions to which it has given rise;—we do say, that when all this is considered, it appears to be the most absolute infatuation to omit the influence of “Tractarianism,” when the causes of the secessions are referred to. Of course the Tractarian press, and the leaders of

the party, cannot be expected to admit that their own principles and teaching have contributed to the secessions; but others may exercise a more independent judgment, and may, before it is too late, extricate themselves from a dangerous connexion. We would remind them, that experience has led many a sound and honest Churchman ere now to sever himself from further association with those whose course he perceived to be deviating from the way of truth. Tractarianism at its commencement, and for a time, retained more or less of a Church of England and Protestant character, as Archdeacon Sinclair has pointed out, in his recent Charge to the Clergy of Middlesex; and while it retained that character in a degree, and was frank and open in its opposition to Romanism, it received the aid and countenance of many men, who were reduced to silence and estrangement, or brought to open opposition, as its character gradually changed, and became more strongly developed. We have now seen under the influence of this system changes of opinion which could little have been anticipated. Who could have imagined, some years since, that such men as Mr. Manning would have altered their views so widely? We remember publications of his, and of others who have also left us, which appeared to afford reasonable pledges for the soundness of their belief; and yet we have seen the ultimate effects of their continued association with the Tractarian body. Such facts as this are replete with warning to younger men; and we trust that those amongst them, who can *now* subscribe the Articles of the Church of England with a sincere and honest adhesion, will be induced to be on their guard, and not permit themselves to be led by any evidence of piety, of learning, or of zeal, to associate themselves any further with a system which has been proved to lead to unsettlement of belief. What has already led to such lamentable results, will, beyond doubt, continue to produce them; and, on a full survey of probabilities, we must express an apprehension that, sooner or later, the leaders of the Tractarian body will, for the most part, unless they adopt a very different course from what they are now doing, become members of the Church of Rome. We believe them to have no present intention of joining that communion; they have as little intention as Messrs. Newman, Oakley, or Manning had some years since; but, nevertheless, we fear that the policy they have pursued for years, and their obstinate persistance in that policy, notwithstanding the effects it has produced, and the consequent excitement of the public mind, will, in the end, induce them, or compel them to secede. What will then be the position of their present followers? In the contemplation of such possibilities, should not every prudent and sincere member of the Church of

England hasten to withdraw from the risk of being involved in such temptation as may thence arise? And is it not his wisest and best course to rally around the Church herself as far as he may, instead of following party leaders; to endeavour to occupy in the most efficient manner the position in which Divine Providence has placed him; to give his support, as far as possible, to the episcopate of his Church, which is now assailed in every direction, and to declare himself openly and manfully in behalf of those Reformation doctrines of the Church, which are ignored or attacked at the present time?

These are not times in which Churchmen should scrutinize with an unfriendly eye the actions of their bishops. We all know that the prelates of the Church are not infallible, and that this or that individual bishop may, especially in these times of perplexity and difficulty, not exhibit the gentleness, or the leniency, or the firmness, or the courage, or the clear-sightedness, or the strict correctness of doctrine, that we might desire. But we must not let ourselves be carried away by the evil advice of partisans, to unite in any factious opposition, any disrespectful or proud-spirited independence of action, or any appeals to the public against the authority of bishops. There may be great temptations to do so, when individuals or their friends are, in their opinion, harshly treated; but it is the duty of Churchmen to consider the general interests of the whole Church in the first place, and to permit no private feelings to influence them to a questionable course of proceeding. In thus acting they would be merely playing the game of all the enemies of the Church of England, whose hopes of witnessing her destruction depend almost entirely on the dissensions amongst her members; and they would be acting under the direction of a party, which is at present in a transition state, without fixed principles, and gradually passing over to Rome.

We have been led to these reflections by the perusal of the very sound and ably-written work, the title of which we have placed at the commencement of this paper. Its object is to lay before English Churchmen a brief and popular statement of some of the chief grounds on which our attachment is claimed for the Church of England as a true branch of the Christian Church. The firm and clear statements of principle in this series of Sermons, coupled with its publication "by request," furnishes an additional proof (if it were wanting) that even notwithstanding all the prevalent jealousy in such matters, caused by the extravagancies and treacheries of so many nominal Churchmen, there is still a full and a favourable hearing for those who seek to maintain the rights of the Church of England as an Apostolical Church, against

the levelling principles of Dissent on the one hand, and the insolent aggressions of Romanism on the other.

In Mr. Collingwood we recognize, with the highest satisfaction, a writer, whose principles are thoroughly trustworthy, and who has the courage to think for himself, and to express with frankness and independence of mind those principles of fidelity to the English Church, which it has been the fashion, amongst certain classes of *soi-disant* Churchmen, to ridicule and condemn as "Anglican," "Protestant," and "Uncatholic."

The general outline of the argument in the volume before us is to point out the claims of the Church of England as a true and Apostolical Church, possessed of a legitimate ministry, and to contrast therewith the position of Dissent, as existing in a state of unauthorized separation, and destitute of a lawful ministry. On the other hand, the errors of Romanism and the unfoundedness of its claims are distinctly and ably argued, with a view to maintain the protest of the Church of England. We must here introduce the reader to Mr. Collingwood, and permit the latter to reply in his own words to the objections which may be raised to his work:—

"With regard to the principles advocated in these Sermons, it is possible that objections may be raised against them from two opposite quarters. The fear may be entertained by some, that they must necessarily have a tendency towards Romanism, because priests of the English Church, by whom principles, in a very limited degree similar, were formerly advocated, have already joined, while others are said to be about to join, the Romish communion. It might be sufficient on this point to say, that no abuse or perversion of any thing in itself lawful can thereby destroy its lawful use. But, moreover, it is not true, in fact, that any have joined the Romish Church, *because* of the principles advocated in these Sermons; but rather because, instead of taking those principles as their foundation, they have used them simply as means to an end. Men have joined the Romish Church, some from morbid enthusiasm, some from an unsound theory of Catholicism; some from disappointed ambition and wounded vanity; all from, more or less, regarding our spiritual mother *ab extra* instead of *ab intra*. They formed to themselves a false ideal of a Christian Church; and then, because the Church of England did not come up to their own unreal standard, therefore they forsook her communion, dazzled by the *apparently* greater similarity of that subtle Church which, if we may apply the passage without irreverence, is willing and anxious to be, in a very different manner to the great Apostle, *all things to all men*, if *by any means* she may lure *some* to her fold. They who have forsaken the Anglican Church were, it is notorious, accustomed to adopt an apologetic, a half-compassionate tone towards her; a tone very different indeed to that in which any true-hearted English Churchman

speaks of the Church of his baptism. They have gone out from her, because they were never, in reality, of her; because their *real* principles and the principles of the Church of England are *contrary the one to the other*."—pp. vi. vii.

There is much truth in these remarks: the unhappy persons here referred to never appear to have realized the character and position of the English Church: Catholicism was to them an "ideal" from the beginning: the English Church was never regarded as its embodiment—as a system to be contended for—even as preferable to Romanism. The tone was always as is here observed, "apologetic" and "half-compassionate." It never was a tone of cordial, earnest trust in the Church of England. On the other hand, it gradually ceased to express any repugnance to Rome: it became imbued with a false charity and liberality which would not even tolerate the exposure of Romish error. Mr. Collingwood refers to this amiable but mistaken feeling in the following passage:—

"But it may be that a different charge may be brought against some portions of this volume; a charge of 'throwing stones;' a charge of wantonly and maliciously attacking that which one, deservedly honoured by the English Church, has so well called a 'rival communion;' a charge which would, if urged from some quarters, be of a very painful nature. It so happened that when preparing the materials for the lectures on the papal supremacy, the arrogant and insolent denunciation of the English Church, which Dr. Wiseman put forth to 'the faithful,' in his Lenten Indult, fell into my hands. I confess that my indignation, as a priest of that Church, was very strongly excited, and I may have gone into the question at greater length than I should otherwise have done. But, to throw aside the plea of special provocation, surely there is very much higher ground to be taken on this subject. Is it not a fact that, from an amiable but mistaken feeling, the *suppressio veri* with regard to Rome has been too long tried? Is it not a fact that a delusive notion of *charity*, a desire of 'winning by gentle love,' have had too much weight with many, who are yet amongst the staunchest and soundest ministers of the English Church? Is it not true, not that our CATHOLICISM has been brought too prominently forward, for that can never be, but that our PROTESTANTISM has been too much kept in the back ground? And what has been the result? Let the 'Lenten Indult,' and the 'Final Appeal' of Dr. Wiseman; let the perversions to Rome which ever and anon show us too plainly that men, holding 'all Roman doctrine,' alas, that it should again be said! have long been ministering at England's altars, supply an answer to the question."—pp. vii. viii.

Undoubtedly there can be no more serious and important question than that which refers to the reasons which determine us to be or remain attached to a religious communion. To those

who are wholly irreligious, of course, this question, or any other affecting religious duty, will be wholly uninteresting. They care not whether truth or falsehood obtain the upper hand, and recognize no claims except those of "the god of this world." And others who are not without religious feelings, are unhappily led by prevalent errors and want of knowledge to views in reference to the Church which are in a high degree absurd and unreasonable. There is a prevalent want of intelligence on the subject which it is not difficult to account for; but which is most undesirable, especially in the present times. Mr. Collingwood touches on the subject thus:—

"If, for instance, we were to put the question to you individually, Why do you belong to the Church? the replies would probably be well-nigh as various as the persons by whom they would be delivered. One perhaps would say, I belong to the Church, because I was baptized into it by the early care of pious parents; another, Because the Church is *established* by the civil power of this kingdom; another, Because I admire the sublimity of its Liturgy and the beautiful order of its services; but how very few, comparatively, are there who would say,—simply because they have never had such a view of the subject put before them, and demonstrated to them,—I belong to the Church, because the Church is a *divinely constituted society*, founded by our Lord Jesus Christ, as the 'One fold under One Shepherd'—as the only *appointed* channel of his grace, the only *appointed* means of spreading his religion over the whole world: because, through the ordinances of the Church only, can I be *certain* that the merits of my Redeemer's death and passion are applied to my individual soul, in the way in which that Divine Redeemer Himself directed they should be applied. Again, with respect to our own particular branch of the Universal Church, how general is the misconception which prevails concerning it. How very many persons there are who say, and think, that the Church of England dates her existence from the sixteenth century, from the Reformation; that our venerable Reformers were her *founders*; that she stands on precisely the same level with regard to *authority*, as any other of the numerous bodies of Christians, which have existed since that time, and which still continue to exist; a necessary and natural consequence of which opinion is, that *Church Membership*, as such, is, by those persons, very little regarded. Too many think that, provided 'they name the name of Christ,' provided they believe in the Son of God, provided, in short, they are *Christians*, whether they are or are not *Churchmen* is a matter of very small importance. They distinguish between Doctrine and Discipline; they regard one as of divine, the other as of human origin, and therefore deem themselves warranted in holding to the one, and despising, or at least disregarding, the other. They consider men may be just as acceptable in God's sight, without conforming to any particular system of ecclesiastical polity as of Divine origin."—pp. 2, 3.

The course of instruction comprised in these discourses is commenced by an outline of the establishment of the Jewish Church with its priesthood, and of the substitution of the Christian Church in its place with an Apostolical ministry. In the second Sermon the Church is considered as a spiritual and a visible society: and the nature of its government is then introduced in the following manner:—

“ But it is time that, leaving the consideration of this branch of our subject, we examine the very important question, How was the Church, which we have traced from its foundation by Jesus Christ, governed? how, or rather, by whom, were its divinely constituted ordinances administered? who were they, who, as the branches of the Vine, were gradually spread round about the parent stem, were invested with authority to *minister about holy things*? That there must have been, independently of the testimony of Scripture, that there must have been, in the very nature of things, a system of government organized, and a body of men appointed and selected, by whom that government was to be carried on, is surely a self-evident proposition. Inasmuch as no well-regulated society ever did or can subsist without officers to govern it, and without some subordination among those officers, and inasmuch as it appears that the Christian Church is a regularly organized society, it must of necessity have an organized system of government, a regularly appointed body of officers. ‘For as,’ to use the words of Bishop Beveridge, ‘there is no nation in the world, but where they profess some kind of religion or another, so there is no religion professed in the world, but where they have some persons or other set apart for the celebration of the several rites and ceremonies in it—without which it is impossible that any religion should subsist. For if no places were set apart for the worship of God, men would soon worship Him no where; if no time, they would never worship Him; so if no persons were set apart for it, none would ever do it at all, at least not so as they ought.’ ‘When we think of the Church as a kingdom,’ says a modern writer, ‘we are led to consider its outward form and development. We look for a positive institution and a visible order. There must be a sovereign, the Father of his people, ruling with absolute, yet paternal authority over a given realm. There must be dutiful, affectionate, and loyal service. We anticipate a settled policy, laws, and ordinances, some of permanent, others of occasional obligation. We expect to find delegated powers; an appointed legislature and executive; we are not surprised when we hear of official distinctions, a succession of persons, temporal and local relations. In a word, we are prepared to meet the question of Church Government.’ ”—pp. 37—39.

The three theories of Church Government are then stated—viz., Independency—Presbyterianism—and Episcopacy. To these might be added another theory which Mr. Collingwood, perhaps discreetly, omitted to notice. We refer to that notion, or theory, or claim, which is now so frequently put forward—the government

of the Church by the laity. In fact, we now hear sentiments frequently expressed, which, under the pretence of jealousy of priestly domination, go to the absolute subjugation of the clergy to the will of the populace. The declarations which are heard on this subject appear to be not unfrequently dictated rather by a spirit of pride and insubordination which will not brook control, than by any desire for the religious welfare of the community; and while we admit, with regret, that some few individual clergy have been less conciliatory and humble in their tone than they ought to have been, we must add that some of the laity have evinced an intemperance and a pride which may cause uneasiness and anxiety in the Church at large, but can neither tend to the promotion of true religion, the strengthening of the Church, the healing of her divisions, or even the attainment of the objects aimed at by the persons referred to. Every sincere member of the Church would rejoice to see the laity take a still more lively interest in all its concerns than they do; and we believe there are but few amongst the bishops and clergy who would not be willing to see the laity aiding amongst us, as they do in America, in Church legislation, more especially in temporal matters; but really, when we see so much jealousy exhibited towards the clergy in some directions, it is almost enough to make us pause before we actually consent to subject the Church to the strife likely to be caused by an infusion of such dangerous elements into her government. The truth however, we believe, is, that such schismatical and unreasonable doctrines as we refer to, are not generally approved by any class of men in the Church of England, except by the irreligious, or by those who would not only overthrow the Church government of the English Church, but its Creeds, Articles, and Liturgy, and remodel our ecclesiastical system on the examples supplied by Germany. The genuine members of the Church of England—the communicants of the Church—who evince their interest in that Church by partaking of the means of grace she is empowered to offer—are not amongst the brawlers against priestly power; and to them might safely be entrusted a share in the government of the Church. In the present state of England, we conceive that nothing could be more dangerous than the indiscriminate admission of the laity to any Church legislature: there are men who in Parliament and elsewhere are for ever intermeddling in Church matters, in the most offensive way—whose violence and almost brutality, are an absolute profanation to the sacred subjects on which they touch—and whose bitter and savage personalities do not spare the most exalted station, or the purest and most admirable conduct. We should be sorry to see the Church subjected to the arbitrary dictation of men like these, or even

able to their interference in any way. It is amongst our deepest degradations that men of this class should be able to set up as Church Reformers. But we must return to Mr. Collingwood.

His third Sermon commences with a full and satisfactory exposition of the doctrine of the Church of England, in reference to the form of Church government, gathered from the whole of the authorized formularies. He next proceeds to state the nature of the proofs for Episcopacy and the succession of the ministry, which are deducible from holy Scripture, and then enters on his argument in support of the following propositions: "First, that the government of the Church and the power of ordination were vested in the holy Apostles; secondly, that during the lifetime of the Apostles there existed in the Church a threefold order of the ministry; and, thirdly, that to the first order alone, and exclusively, was delegated by the Apostles the government of the Church, and the power of ordination." The inference to be drawn from these facts is, that in the Church "no one can have a right to minister about holy things, unless he can prove his commission to do so by direct and unbroken succession from the Apostles; unless, in other words, he has received Episcopal ordination. It will follow also that it is the bounden duty of all Christians to live under one system of Church government; to be, in fact, and not in name only, one fold under one shepherd, Jesus Christ the righteous."—p. 59.

We shall not follow the argument through its various branches so ably and well propounded in the succeeding discourses. We have seldom, if ever, seen a plainer and more popular exposition of the subject than in Mr. Collingwood's pages. His style is not above the comprehension of any educated congregation; his argument is clear and forcible, neither obscured by redundancy of fact and quotation, nor so condensed as to task the attention of his hearers too severely. He carries us with him entirely in his demonstrations from Scripture of the Apostolical origin, and the obligation of Episcopacy, and of an Apostolical ministry in the Christian Church, and in his subsequent proof that this form of government existed, and was held binding in the primitive Church. But we would refer the reader to the volume itself, in preference to any attempt to take him over ground, which must be more or less familiar to many who peruse these pages.

We would now refer to that portion of Mr. Collingwood's work, in which he meets the objections which are raised to all such statements of principles as he has so far made; nor can we do better than state these objections in his own words, which will at once prove how fully alive he is to the antagonism which

in every direction encounters us, and furnish an outline of the mode in which he meets the opponents of his principles:—

“ Now we are perfectly aware that different kinds of objections will be taken to much that we have said, especially in the last two Lectures, by very different classes of persons. These objections may be fitly ranged under three heads. Many who, we doubt not, feel the strongest love for the Church of their Baptism, will probably acknowledge the abstract truth of the position we have taken, and of the arguments we have brought forward to establish it, but at the same time will doubt the propriety, or the expediency, of advocating that position dogmatically. They will shrink from establishing the truth of their own principles, if such a course must necessarily convict every one who differs from those principles of unsoundness. Others, who as well belong to our communion, will probably be afraid of the source from whence many of the arguments in support of the Apostolical succession, and the exclusive right of bishops to ordain, are derived. They have been so accustomed to confound together primitive Christianity and popery; so accustomed to think every thing prior to the Reformation—not positively *scriptural*, not, that is, clearly laid down *in detail* in the pages of Scripture—as papistical, and therefore contrary to the principles of every true Protestant, that they are afraid,—and God forbid that we should venture to blame them for *entertaining* that fear, provided always it be not inaccessible to sound argument—they are afraid to attach so high a value to Church membership, and to Church discipline, lest they should unwittingly verge upon popish error; lest they should be, unawares, drawn into the snare of Romish superstition. We have to the first objection a twofold answer: we say, as we said in our first Lecture, it does seem the duty of every minister of the English Church to set before those whom God has committed to his charge, the arguments by which she can be proved to be a true and living branch of the ‘One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church,’ quite independently of any controversy, either with the Romish or Protestant dissenter. We say Romish dissenter, because never forget, that if the Church of England be a true Church, the Romanist, in this country, is quite as much guilty of the sin of schism, only in a different way, as the Protestant dissenter. The one denies the authority of the Church altogether; the other, false to the principles of his own primitive purity, knowing well that there ought to be in one place neither ‘many shepherds, nor many flocks,’ still, as Novatian did against Cornelius, schismatically sets up bishop against bishop, priest against priest, and altar against altar.

“ But we say more than this. We say that schism, or separation from the visible Church of Christ, either is sinful, or it is not. If it be not, why do we pray, as we have just prayed, that God would deliver us from it? Why do the holy Scriptures every where denounce it? Why did the early Christians shrink from it with such horror as

'an unheard-of thing?' But if it be a sin causelessly to rend asunder by divisions the Church, that body of which Christ is the Head, then do we confidently say that we are bound, by every tie of duty to that Divine Master, *whose we are, and whom we serve*, by every tie of love and affection for you over whom we are placed *in the Lord*, not only to set before you the duty of conforming to the Church, but also the arguments whereby nonconformity, as a violation of Christian unity, is proved to be contrary alike to the teaching of God's word, and the practice of those who lived the nearest to the Apostolic times. We say that no imputation of want of charity can fairly be laid at the door of any minister of the Church, who endeavours firmly and faithfully, but yet, withal; calmly and temperately, in a spirit of love towards all men, but *especially towards them which are of the household of faith*, to set before his people the great duty, and the inestimable privilege of Church membership; to point out to them the great responsibility which, by virtue of their high position, attaches to them as *very members incorporate of the body of Christ*, 'in order that,' to apply the words of Cyprian,—'in order that, while the discrimination of truth may be a test to our hearts and minds, the perfect faith of them that are approved may shine forth in the manifest light.'

"And with regard to the second objection, the fear, viz., of the source from which the arguments of our two last Lectures have been derived, the fear of verging upon Romish error and Romish superstition—the fear is, in truth, altogether groundless; and for this very plain reason:—The ecclesiastical writers, from whose works we have drawn such striking testimony in support of the Apostolical succession, in support of the view we have taken with respect to the Christian Church, and the Christian ministry, all lived long before any thing whatever had been heard of the monstrous claim to an universal supremacy, which the Bishop of Rome has, since those times, set up and maintained. In the times of which we have been speaking, the Bishop of Rome—we say, the Bishop of Rome, for the term pope was then common to all bishops,—the Bishop of Rome possessed precisely the same kind of authority which the Archbishop of Canterbury possesses now: he governed his own province, and that only; and possessed no authority whatever over any other bishop. We will demonstrate this, if God will, when the course of our subject brings us to speak of our Reformation; we mention it now, simply that you may not entertain the slightest fear that we have been treading on Romish ground, or bringing forward Romish arguments."—pp. 148—152.

We pass over with reluctance the interesting Lectures in which Mr. Collingwood describes the state of the primitive Church, and details their sentiments in reference to Baptism and the holy Eucharist; including the subjects of infant baptism, confirmation, the rules for administering the Lord's Supper, and the abuses and errors of Romanism in reference to that sacrament, the primitive worship, prayers for the dead, the ancient discipline

and penances. We must also dismiss, with only a passing word of commendation, the well-written discourse in which the Apostolical origin and early independence of the British Church are detailed, and in which the alleged rights of the Roman Pontiff, as grounded on the mission of Augustine, are fairly and fully discussed, and proved to be without reasonable foundation.

We come now to the eleventh Sermon, "on the Supremacy of St. Peter," in which the scriptural argument on that important subject is detailed. The passage of Scripture chiefly under consideration is Matt. xvi. 17—19, on which Mr. Collingwood makes the following comments:—

"Let us then see, in the first place, what is meant by the term, Supremacy of the Pope; what dominion it is which he claims to exercise over the whole Christian world. Let us see the nature of 'that copestone,' we use the words of a modern Romanist, 'that copestone to the entire edifice,' that is, to the, so called, Catholic Church, 'whereby it is fastened and held together, and close united, and at the same time crowned; that which at once secures and adorns, strengthens and completes it.' The Supremacy of the Pope, then, 'signifies nothing more, than that the Pope, or Bishop of Rome, as the successor of St. Peter, possesses authority and jurisdiction, in things spiritual, over the entire Church; so as to constitute its visible head, and the vicegerent of Christ on earth.'"—p. 229.

"The Romanist contends, that by the words of the text, 'St. Peter was invested by our Saviour with a superiority not merely of dignity, but of jurisdiction also, over the rest of the Apostles,' a superiority not merely personal, but extending to every Bishop of Rome, for the time being, as St. Peter's successor. The principal other passages of Scripture which, as they say, corroborate this theory, are one in the 21st chapter of St. John, extending from the 15th to the 17th verse, where St. Peter is three times charged to *feed the lambs and the sheep* of Christ, and another in Luke 22nd, ver. 31st, where our Lord tells Peter, *that he had prayed, that Satan might not have power over him*. It is indeed most painful to be forced to inquire into a subject of such a nature, to be compelled to institute any examination respecting the position in the Christian Church of the great Apostle of the Circumcision. On their heads must the responsibility rest, who have exalted the, so called, successor of St. Peter, to a position which that *pillar* of the Church never thought of claiming for himself.

"With regard to the words of our text, without going into any detailed etymological criticism concerning them, suffice it to say, that the closest version of the original in English would be, *Thou art a stone, and on this rock will I build my Church*. According then to the Romish theory, the moment these words were pronounced, St. Peter acquired a dignity and a jurisdiction also, in perpetuity, superior to the rest of the Apostles. Let us see how this theory is borne out by other passages of Scripture. You remember, on one occasion, the mother of

ames and John desired a superior place in the kingdom of our Lord for their sons. We read, *And when the ten heard it, they were moved with indignation against the two brethren.* Now mark this, remembering always that these words were uttered *after* the declaration to St. Peter, *But Jesus called them unto him and said, Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister: And whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant.* Again our Lord says to all the Apostles, *Be not ye called Rabbi: for one is your master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren.* Again we read, *Then there arose a reasoning among them, which of them should be greatest. And Jesus, perceiving the thought of their heart, took a child, and set him by him, And said unto them, Whosoever shall receive this child in my name, receiveth me: and whosoever shall receive me receiveth him that sent me: for he that is least among you all, the same shall be great.* Clearly, therefore, neither Peter nor his brethren could have understood the promise of Christ to St. Peter, as the Romanists understand it; if they had, they surely would not have *disputed*, which of them should be the greatest. They must have looked on that question as perfectly settled in St. Peter's favour, and would have regarded him with deference accordingly. And with regard to the commission, or power of the keys, *promised* to St. Peter in the text, we find the very same power actually conferred, after the resurrection, upon *all* the Apostles. We read, *Then said Jesus to them again, Peace be unto you: as my Father hath sent me, even so send I you. And when he had said this, he breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive ye the Holy Ghost: Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.* Sacerdotal power was *promised* to St. Peter before, but not *conferred* till *after* the resurrection, and then on *him* in common with the other Apostles. Now, my brethren, we say confidently, that, even could we offer no feasible explanation of the words of our text, the passages of Scripture we have adduced, do completely negative the supposition, that any *jurisdiction* over the rest of the Apostles was, thereby, conferred upon St. Peter."—pp. 231—234.

We look on this argument against the Romish interpretation of the text, Matt. xvi. 17—19, as amounting to demonstration. It is clear, that if the Apostles had understood that text as Romanists do, they could not have disputed for the supremacy as they did, or Peter would have asserted his supremacy in case of any dissension. The subject is further discussed in reference to the subsequent history of the New Testament, and it is shown clearly that St. Peter never did, in fact, exercise any jurisdiction over the other Apostles. It would indeed be almost incredible, that intelligent and educated persons should persuade themselves that the Papal Supremacy is traceable in holy Scripture, had not con-

tinual experience evinced the unhappy aptitude of the human mind to believe any thing or nothing, as it pleases. Truth has no compulsory power, as they might remember who, on all occasions, would leave it unaided to gain the ascendancy. Educated men have disbelieved the Christian religion; educated men have denied the inspiration of Scripture; educated men have believed the revelations of Mormonism, or the miracles of Irvingism; and therefore it can be little matter of surprise that educated men have found the supremacy of St. Peter and of the See of Rome in the holy Scripture. It would be difficult to imagine what they *would* not see there, if the Church of Rome directed them to do so.

But there is another view of the question, the importance of which we are glad to see Mr. Collingwood fully aware of. We refer to the very different accounts which the advocates of Rome give of the origin of the Papal Supremacy. The inconsistency and contradiction which those writers have evinced, furnish sufficient evidence of the error of the system they uphold. If St. Peter was made Primate and Vicar of Christ, with powers of transmitting his authority to the bishops of Rome, we should of course expect to see, not only St. Peter himself, but his successors acting as primates and recognized as such in the Church. Accordingly, the great mass of Romish writers, from the time of the Reformation, boldly asserted that the Popes were always recognized as Primates and Vicars of the Christ. They produced their proofs in abundance from early history. They referred to the decretals of the Popes in the first and second centuries, in which those bishops exercised very satisfactorily "the plenitude of the Apostolical power." But as ill luck would have it, an age of criticism had at length come; and these decretals and all their other early evidences were proved, and at length *admitted* reluctantly, to be spurious; or else weak, insufficient, and even inconsistent with the claims of the Papacy. At length, after endeavouring for ages to prove that the Papal Supremacy had been universally acknowledged, even from the beginning, the advocates of Rome have found it necessary to give up the point. It is now admitted that the Supremacy *did not exist always*: that the Apostles probably knew nothing of it—that St. Peter himself appears not to have understood it—that it was hidden from the early fathers, and from the Churches of the first three centuries—that it began to develop itself in the fourth century, and gradually increased in after ages. Such is the "Development" theory of the Papacy, which resigns to us the Scriptures and the first three centuries, as furnishing no clear evidence of the existence of the supremacy of St. Peter or his successors. Mr.

Collingwood makes the following remarks in reference to this subject:—

“Let us, then, see, first of all, by the testimony of another Romanist, what jurisdiction the Bishop of Rome now claims. The tenth session of the council of Florence, held in 1573, for the execution of the decrees of the council of Trent, asserted that ‘full power was delegated to the Bishop of Rome, *in the person of Peter, to feed, regulate, and govern* the universal Church, as expressed in the general councils and *by* canons.’ ‘This,’ says the writer we are quoting, ‘this is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church on the authority of the Pope.’ Early, therefore, if St. Peter did not possess any supremacy himself, could delegate none to his, so called, successor. But, leaving the scriptural evidence for a moment out of the question, if the Bishop of Rome had any just claim to universal dominion, that dominion will show itself, clearly and plainly, in the very earliest ages: if we can find traces of it, therefore, in the times immediately succeeding the age of the Apostles, we have a fair right to say, that such a dominion, as exercised in medieval and modern times, is a manifest usurpation. We are perfectly aware that the *modern* Romanist will deny the validity of this conclusion.—He will say that the supremacy of the Pope, by its own right, *existed* from the beginning, but that it was not *developed* till three or four hundred years. An ingenious theory, only, unfortunately for those who advance it, it is suicidal—it is self-destructive, inasmuch as it cuts the ground, at once, from under the feet of those who, for many hundred years, maintained, most strenuously, that the primitive Fathers always acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope; and that the primitive bishops always obeyed it:—inasmuch as it contradicts the testimony of one of the ablest of their own writers, to which we have before referred:—inasmuch as one of the greatest bishops that the world has ever produced, writing against this very theory of development, first propounded by a French Calvinist, says distinctly, that ‘the faith *per se* varies in the Church; that the faith which came from God had its summation *at once*; that it was well known from the beginning:—inasmuch as the, so called, ‘Vicar Apostolic of the London district,’ a few Sundays ago, asserted, ‘that during the first three hundred years of the Church, her form, her constitution, her canons, her whole structure, were *essentially and completely* formed:’—inasmuch as, another Romish writer says, ‘It is most true, that the Roman Catholics have ever held the doctrines of their Church to be unchangeable; and that it is the doctrine of their Creed, that what their faith ever has been, *such it was from the beginning, such it now is, and such it ever will be.*’ It is not, indeed, difficult to understand the origin of this theory; but what can we say of the Church which adopts it? The Church of Rome knows perfectly well that, if she appeals to primitive antiquity, the supremacy of the Pope, the invocation of saints, the worship of images, transubstantiation, purgatory, the excessive honour, to use the noblest term, paid to the Virgin Mary, cannot, for one moment, be defended as arti-

cles of faith held by the early Christians; and therefore, throwing the winds the testimony of the Fathers, she tells us *now*, that all these doctrines existed, in embryo, in the early Church, but were not developed till a subsequent period. Why, my brethren, talk of the 'variations of Protestantism!' talk of the *divisions* of English Churchmen, of the *inconsistency* of the Anglican Church! Surely that Church has no right to cast a stone at any other, which, in the days when Scripture was a sealed book to all but the clergy, and to very many even of them, made Scripture her great authority; which, in the days when the writings of antiquity were buried in the library of the monastery, confidently appealed to the records of primitive Christianity; but which *now*, when the invention of printing has opened to all men the sacred Scriptures and the writings of the Fathers, has recourse to a miserable theory of development, a theory 'subversive of all that is most valuable and sacred in morals, politics, and religion:'—a theory by which the Bible, Ecclesiastical History, *the faith once for all delivered to the saints*, are made absolutely dead letters; and Christian doctrine is made dependent upon frail and fallible men, who shall add to the creed of the holy Catholic Church, by *developing* new articles of the Christian faith. Let Rome harmonize her own 'variations' before she taunts us with inconsistency. Let her say to which system she chooses to adhere, to that of Rome primitive, Rome medieval, or Rome modern? To Ecclesiastical History or to Development? to Bossuet or to Newman?"

From the discussion of the Papal Supremacy, Mr. Collingwood turns to the causes and the results of the Reformation. We need not say that the writer before us is not one of those who are ashamed of the Reformation, or who adopt in its behalf any feeble or apologetic tone. His vindication of the Reformation is placed on the right grounds—the absolute necessity of the case. He describes the state of the Church before the Reformation in the language of those who were eye-witnesses of the corruptions that were deplored. He shows the contrast between medieval errors and the truth which superseded them. He rebuts the charge of schism advanced by the advocates of superstition against those who effected the Reformation, and shows that on all grounds and in all ways the Church of England at least is free from the imputation of having needlessly divided the communion of Christendom.

Space forbids our following Mr. Collingwood through this concluding portion of his sound and able work; but we can say that we have risen from its perusal with renewed gratitude for the possession of a faith so capable of full and satisfactory defence, that which the Church of England inculcates; and with no ordinary satisfaction in the knowledge that, amidst the extreme trials which beset the faith of Churchmen in the present day—amidst the temptations to degenerate from the sound and high principles of our old divines, towards Popery, or Puritanism, or Rationalism

—there are still to be found not a few, who like the excellent and honest author of the work before us, keep on the steady tenor of their way, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left—men who love the Church of England because they are satisfied that her constitution and succession are Apostolical, and that her faith and doctrines, in their natural sense, are in all points in accordance with God's Holy Word. Those who are thus minded, are, whatever else they may be, faithful members of the Church of England; and we confess that as we can scarcely think that faithfulness to the Church implies less than this, so we do not see that it implies more. We trust that, notwithstanding the dissensions of the present times, the number of those who are thus faithful to the Church of England, is not diminishing but increasing; nor are we without hopes, that various circumstances may tend to lessen gradually the divisions which unhappily exist. To that desirable result we conceive that the publication of works like that before us will contribute, in convincing men that fidelity to the Church and its Episcopacy, as Apostolical, involves no diminution of the protest against Romish error—no joining in fellowship with those who have ceased to make that protest and to act upon it,

ART. V. — *Lavengro: The Scholar—The Gypsy—The Priest.*
By GEORGE BORROW, Author of “*The Bible in Spain*,” and
“*The Gypsies in Spain*.” In 3 vols. London: Murray. 1851.

A STRANGE book is the book before us, and a strange mind has its concoctor George Borrow, the missionary and the boxer; but, above all, the sardonic humorist. There is something of the Mephistopheles in his composition, and something of the Don Quixote; and we must say, that a more extraordinary and incongruous conjunction of ideas could scarcely be imagined than that suggested by the vagrant tastes and the solemn profession of this most eccentric of mortals. Yes, oddity; that is the one essential characteristic of the man and of his book;—now we are pleased, now we are offended; now we are amused, now we are bored: but the one perpetual running commentary must ever be, How very odd!

Mr. Borrow's politics, religion, and philosophy are staunch and English in the main, though a little one-sided, and of a somewhat old-fashioned school; but perhaps none the worse for that. We certainly do not love “her of Rome:” no one can accuse us of a latent affection for that antiquated damsel, who has bewitched, alas! so many “red-cross knights;” yet our author's antipathy exceeds our mark by some inches at the least. But what then? We need not ask for a theologian in Mr. Borrow. His antipathies are wholesome, most of them at least, and do not seem to have seared his heart or affections.

Then, again, it is not necessary to hate foreigners, Frenchmen, for instance, now-a-days,—which, as we opine at least, our author does devoutly, and as a matter of religious principle. Nor is German literature absolutely good for nothing, though George Borrow passes such condign judgment on it; but “*Wilhelm Tell*” is a dull play (he is right there)—not Schiller's finest, as Augustus Schlegel said with his usual pompous pedantry, but decidedly his most laboured and least genial, despite the beauty of its lyrics. But Mr. Borrow is no critic; he says so himself; so we need not dispute concerning tastes with him. We would rather wander at his side within the bounds of his own enchanted childhood, and dwell in fancy over some of his earlier and happier adventures, which have a peculiar wild-wood freshness and fragrance of their own; for as for his London life, he must

pardon us for saying that, in our estimation, it is well-nigh "nought."

Indeed, when Mr. Borrow describes ordinary mortals of this work-a-day world, he generally seems to deal with them as strangers, as though he felt there were a gulf betwixt him and them,—that they were creatures of various spheres; he sees all such men and things through a peculiar medium of his own, much as one from a far-distant land might survey us Englishmen, having slight cognizance of our language, habits, ways of thinking. Indeed, Mr. Borrow seems almost a denizen of another world from that of the majority of his fellow-men: he is amongst us, yet not of us. We are almost tempted to conjecture, that some mistake must have been made at his birth,—that if it be not irreverent to say so, the heavenly spirit entrusted to bear his soul to its mortal tenement below went wrong in his star altogether,—that the Borrow soul was intended for either Mercury the volatile, or Mars the combative, or perhaps some planet out of our system, ten billion leagues away, scarcely a fixed star, but very possibly a comet. However this may be, here we have him on mother earth; and, so having, we must deal with him as best we may, and, "as a stranger, give him welcome."

To begin with the beginning, though we by no means promise to end with the end,—our patience may break down at any moment (and so, no doubt, may our readers', who are at perfect liberty accordingly to betake themselves at once to more solid and serious fare),—but to begin with the beginning, thus quoth George Borrow: "On an evening of July, in the year 18—, at East D—, a beautiful little town in a certain district of *East Anglia*, I first saw the light." East Anglia! what a characteristic localization! Would one not suppose the writer were born at least a thousand years ago? He was the son, we learn, of a Cornish "gentillâtre," or one possessing old armorial bearings, but neither rich nor mighty, and a mother of French and Huguenot descent; despite which fact, and his real affection for his mother, Mr. Borrow, as we have said, can plainly not abide the French. His father held his Majesty's commission; and, marching with the regiment from post to post, his family seem to have traversed almost the length and breadth of the British Islands. Our hero had an elder brother, whom he describes enthusiastically, and seems to have loved very dearly: indeed, some of the passages referring to him go farther to redeem his heart than any thing else in "Lavengro," or "The Bible in Spain" either.

Mr. Borrow himself was an extraordinary child of course: dark, silent, sullen, backward in the extreme, and inordinately

queer; at first very delicate, subsequently hardy and robust. He was generally disliked; but one man formed a good opinion of him, a wandering Jew. Here is the strange, though not peculiarly "eventful" history. It is abundantly characteristic:—

"There was, however, one individual who, in the days of my childhood, was disposed to form a favourable opinion of me. One day, a Jew—I have quite forgotten the circumstance, but I was long subsequently informed of it—one day a travelling Jew knocked at the door of a farm-house in which we had taken apartments; I was near at hand sitting in the bright sunshine, drawing strange lines on the dust with my fingers, an ape and dog were my companions; the Jew looked at me and asked me some questions, to which, though I was quite able to speak, I returned no answer. On the door being opened, the Jew, after a few words, probably relating to pedlery, demanded who the child was, sitting in the sun; the maid replied, that I was her mistress's youngest son, a child weak *here*, pointing to her forehead. The Jew looked at me again, and then said, 'Pon my conscience, my dear, I believe that you must be troubled there yourself to tell me any such thing. It is not my habit to speak to children, inasmuch as I hate them, because they often follow me and fling stones after me; but I no sooner looked at that child than I was forced to speak to it—his not answering me shows his sense, for it has never been the custom of the wise to fling away their words in indifferent talk and conversation; the child is a sweet child, and has all the look of one of our people's children. Fool, indeed! did I not see his eyes sparkle just now when the monkey seized the dog by the ear?—they shone like my own diamonds—does your good lady want any—real and fine? Were it not for what you tell me, I should say it was a prophet's child. Fool, indeed! he can write already, or I'll forfeit the box which I carry on my back, and for which I should be loth to take two hundred pounds!' He then leaned forward to inspect the lines which I had traced. All of a sudden he started back, and grew white as a sheet; then, taking off his hat, he made some strange gestures to me, cringing, chattering, and showing his teeth, and shortly departed, muttering something about 'holy letters,' and talking to himself in a strange tongue. The words of the Jew were in due course of time reported to my mother, who treasured them in her heart, and from that moment began to entertain brighter hopes of her youngest born than she had ever before ventured to foster."—Vol. i. pp. 14—16.

Strange this, is it not? exceedingly so; yet we apprehend, true in the main, though perhaps a story which has lost nothing of oddity in the telling. There *are* strange things in heaven and in earth. We, who are superstitious, *pleasantly so*, we, at least, make no scruple in admitting the fact. There is one thing, however, for which we rather distrust Mr. Borrow: it is his intimate acquaintance with *Snakes*: we must confess to an antipathy to that reptile, partly constitutional, and partly, *we think*, Christian; re-

remembering the awful purpose to which the creature was once abused—remembering also the curse still borne by his race; and snake-lealers and snake-worshippers have always in our eyes something peculiarly mysterious and suspicious about them and their dealings. We really entertain our doubts whether a certain amount of Black Art may not enter into the incantations of Indian jugglers, (remember the magicians of Egypt!) and we read with no little horror of those Moorish disciples in Africa, of that Saint of Snakes, Seedna Eiser, who, when under the influence of their maddening snake-worship, receive what would otherwise be mortal wounds from the most venomous of serpents without permanent injury, only falling into temporary trances as the consequence (this is a well-authenticated fact), and who actually devour the large common snake of their country, “the father of tumefaction,” as he is called, *alive*, beginning at the tail, whilst the head and body are writhing round, and inflicting wounds on their almost insane devourers. We suspect that such men are under nothing less than satanic influence, however enlightened wisecracks may sneer, and our hearts scarcely warm towards Mr. Borrow for his curious serpent-reminders, though we do *not* suspect him of certain evil-doings! He tells how, at the age of three, he grasped a viper in his play, which seemed gratified rather than otherwise by his tender attentions, but was infuriated by his brother, who wanted to protect little George from the bright yellow reptile. Mr. Borrow intimates here, that he possesses a power over sundry wild animals; and we learn from subsequent relations that he and the horse are remarkable good friends. This we allow to be a permissible *liaison*; but we cannot say as much for flirting with snakes—cold, slimy, mysterious, and to our feelings essentially disagreeable creatures. We have seen pet snakes, of course perfectly harmless, crawling about rooms and winding up ladies’ dresses, arms, and necks, but we were not quite comfortable, and never should be in such vicinity. However, to this pressure of the snake by his childish hands, Mr. Borrow apparently attributes his becoming hale and vigorous; so, of course, on this view of the case, he is bound to be grateful to the tribe. Later, he catches a viper and tames it, and frightens some gypsies with it, who do him the honour of taking him for a little fiend, whom the said gypsies accordingly at once proceed to worship, their religion appearing to consist in the adoration of the Prince of Darkness and his *satellites*, if we may use the term. But the king of serpent-stories is certainly that concerning the king of the serpents, and this we shall accordingly proceed to extract, though the said extract be somewhat long. This story, we must premise, is told by an old man of the same tribe with Wordsworth’s “leech-gatherer

on the lonely moor," who makes a livelihood by collecting herbs, and hunting vipers to obtain their oil. He is of course familiar with the serpentine tribe, and sometimes takes them home to play with, but owns to having become a little nervous from his having once seen the king of the vipers! Here we start:

"'The king of the vipers!' said I, interrupting him; 'have the vipers a king?' 'As sure as we have,' said the old man—'as sure as we have King George to rule over us, have these reptiles a king to rule over them.' 'And where did you see him?' said I. 'I will tell you,' said the old man, 'though I don't like talking about the matter. It may be about seven years ago that I happened to be far down yonder to the west, on the other side of England, nearly two hundred miles from here, following my business. It was a very sultry day, I remember, and I had been out several hours catching creatures. It might be about three o'clock in the afternoon, when I found myself on some heathy land near the sea, on the ridge of a hill, the side of which, nearly as far down as the sea, was heath; but on the top there was arable ground, which had been planted, and from which the harvest had been gathered—oats or barley, I know not which—but I remember that the ground was covered with stubble. Well, about three o'clock, as I told you before, what with the heat of the day and from having walked about for hours in a lazy way, I felt very tired; so I determined to have a sleep, and I laid myself down, my head just on the ridge of the hill, towards the field, and my body over the side down amongst the heath; my bag, which was nearly filled with creatures, lay at a little distance from my face; the creatures were struggling in it, I remember, and I thought to myself, how much more comfortably off I was than they; I was taking my ease on the nice open hill, cooled with the breezes, whilst they were in the nasty close bag, coiling about one another, and breaking their very hearts, all to no purpose: and I felt quite comfortable and happy in the thought, and little by little closed my eyes, and fell into the sweetest snooze that ever I was in in all my life; and there I lay over the hill's side, with my head half in the field, I don't know how long, all dead asleep. At last it seemed to me that I heard a noise in my sleep, something like a thing moving, very faint, however, far away; then it died, and then it came again upon my ear as I slept, and now it appeared almost as if I heard crackle, crackle; then it died again, or I became yet more dead asleep than before, I know not which, but I certainly lay some time without hearing it. All of a sudden I became awake, and there was I, on the ridge of the hill, with my cheek on the ground towards the stubble, with a noise in my ear like that of something moving towards me, amongst the stubble of the field; well, I lay a moment or two listening to the noise, and then I became frightened, for I did not like the noise at all, it sounded so odd; so I rolled myself on my belly, and looked towards the stubble. Mercy upon us! there was a huge snake, or rather a dreadful viper, for it was all yellow and gold, moving towards me, bearing its head about

A foot and a half above the ground, the dry stubble crackling beneath its outrageous belly. It might be about five yards off when I first saw it, making straight towards me, child, as if it would devour me. I lay quite still, for I was stupified with horror, whilst the creature came still nearer; and now it was nearly upon me, when it suddenly drew back a little, and then—what do you think?—it lifted its head and chest high in the air, and high over my face as I looked up, flickering at me with its tongue as if it would fly at my face. Child, what I felt at that moment I can scarcely say, but it was a sufficient punishment for all the sins I ever committed; and there we two were, I looking up at the viper, and the viper looking down upon me, flickering at me with its tongue. It was only the kindness of God that saved me: all at once there was a loud noise, the report of a gun, for a fowler was shooting at a covey of birds, a little way off in the stubble. Whereupon the viper sunk its head, and immediately made off over the ridge of the hill, down in the direction of the sea. As it passed by me, however—and it passed close by me—it hesitated a moment, as if it was doubtful whether it should not seize me; it did not, however, but made off down the hill. It has often struck me that he was angry with me, and came upon me unawares for presuming to meddle with his people, as I have always been in the habit of doing.'

“‘But,’ said I, ‘how do you know that it was the king of the vipers?’

“‘How do I know?’ said the old man; ‘who else should it be? There was as much difference between it and the other reptiles as between King George and other people.’”—Vol. i. pp. 54—57.

This, we think, is a capital story in its way, told after a very characteristic fashion: it breathes, too, that mysterious horror for the serpent tribe which we ourselves have not been backward in confessing. Few things are more pleasant, we think, than a fictitious shudder, not *too* real or overpowering, but just that slight creeping sensation which seems to make you feel that mysteries on every side surround you; that you are girt with an atmosphere of wonder. Mr. Borrow, like ourselves, is superstitious; this we gather from his repeated references to fairy lore. In ghosts he seems less learned; the more the pity; for nothing do we like better than a good ghost story. We shall pass, however, to its best substitute, an Irish incident, connected with “the good people,” to which Mr. Borrow professes to bear evidence, and which will afford, at the same time, a specimen of one of those many pugilistic encounters with which the pages of Lavengro are studded. A great lover of pugilism is Mr. Borrow, and even regrets the palmy days of “the ring,” in which he is quite right in thinking that there was *something* to admire, namely, the powers of both physical and mental endurance displayed by the votaries of the art of Pollux. Certainly pugilistic encounters, barbarous

as they always must seem, when two men stand up to maul and perhaps to kill one another for *money*, have, in other respects, never been so humanized as amongst ourselves, owing to the frank and generous tone of feeling in which the combatants were at least supposed to test their abilities, and the many rules and regulations which rendered it very possible for courage and endurance to win the day against vastly superior powers, when unsupported by a like degree of pluck. Nevertheless, such a national diversion as "the ring," though certainly far less disgraceful than the ancient circus, is not, we think, to be encouraged; it involves too reckless a disregard for human life, and must, we suspect, always tend to brutalize, more or less, both the partakers and beholders. Wrestling, as practised in Cornwall and the lake districts, seems to us far less open to serious objections, and perhaps deserving of encouragement, when placed under proper regulations, and separated from some of its usual concomitants. It has (who can deny?) a decided tendency to harden the frame and to invigorate the spirit, and may possibly be made the occasion for the display of generous feeling. We are aware of the moral and religious objections, that it tends to foster sentiments of rivalry, and a taste for combativeness; but in the present condition of man, it must, we fear, be confessed that the roots of evil are closely interwoven with all pleasures and diversions whatever; notwithstanding which, these must, we think, be sanctioned and provided. The sport of archery is extinct; nor see we, under existing circumstances, how it can be generally or beneficially revived. Firing at a mark is dangerous, and, we suspect, only a provocative to poaching. Gymnastics, in the shape of climbing poles, &c., are fitter for boys than youths or men, and have rather a tendency, we think, to degrade an adult population which should too frequently indulge in them. What remains save our glorious national game of cricket, which supersedes in itself a host of minor diversions, we admit,—of which, as Englishmen, we can scarcely be too proud, and of which we can scarcely endeavour to spread the delight too widely,—furnishing, as it does, an occasion for the display of athletic force, artistic skill, and even active grace,—bringing men for the time back to the condition of happy children;—the most innocent, the most healthful, the most noble, perhaps, of all mere *diversions*. But still cricket can scarcely stand quite alone; it is not all times of the year in which it can be played; and so wrestling, we think, may come in, occasionally at least, as a subordinate diversion, not without its own practical uses. We have omitted from our list the one only rustic or national sport in which women can take an active part,—we mean dancing. This is, of course, attended with many grave ob-

jections, yet we do believe the advantages immensely to outweigh them ; but then, strange as the assertion may appear to some of our readers, we should think dancing among the poor, where Church principles and the Church system were not brought to bear upon them, in the highest degree injurious : and this last remark applies in no small measure to wrestling also ; for it is religion, and true religion, wide and deep, which finds a place, for all that is innocent and happy,—which can alone counteract man's natural tendency to abuse the powers and enjoyments God has bestowed upon him. To render dancing at all harmless, or comparatively so, preferable in the main to the dulness and barbarism which result from the confinement of the wives and daughters of the poor to their homes, and the consequent isolation of the sterner sex at all seasons of popular rejoicing (the one circumstance *this*, we need not say, to which the too common boorishness of our English poor is to be attributed) ; to render dancing innocuous, we say, there must be a constant intercourse betwixt the clergy and the working classes ; a sympathetic and benevolent pastoral superintendence must ordinarily be exercised over all sports. The clergyman, the squire of the parish, ay, and their wives also, must resort together to the wrestling-grounds, or the village green, for the dance around the maypole ; the use of bad words must be checked, nay, must, as far as possible, be rooted out ; (it is one of the most crying sins of our country, and its consequences are truly *awful!*)—modesty, grace, and liveliness must be encouraged to consort together ; and *if* all this be done, our readers may rest assured that the conventicle will have few charms for such a people.

We have been led far further than we intended in this our digression “*apropos*” of pugilistic encounters, and Mr. Borrow's laudations of them, but there are few subjects of more serious importance in the present day than that of popular sports and diversions, concerning which we have been led thus briefly to indicate a few of our most deeply-rooted practical convictions. The sooner this matter is taken in hand by our lords of the manor generally, the better ; though no doubt a very serious obstacle is presented by the present disastrous economical experiment which the nation is trying, in the mad pursuit of cheapness, at the cost not only of national security, but eventually (if persisted in), of the very existence of the most healthful portion of the working classes ; we mean the agricultural labourers. But not to rush into the wide field of political economy (merely recording our opinion that whilst the science is fully to be recognized, its main exponents amongst ourselves, from Adam Smith, downwards, have been characterized by a melancholy deficiency in the breadth

of their mental powers, and a singularly unfortunate misapprehension of first principles)—leave we these addle-pated theorists, to return to Ireland and its fairies in the company of Mr. Borrow.

He has now become a boy of fourteen or fifteen, and has already had the hap to witness and take part in pugilistic encounters apparently innumerable, in England and her northern sister, Scotia. Scotch boys he describes as peculiarly pugnacious, but less scientific than the English in their practice of the national art: by the by, we may take occasion to remark here that Mr. Borrow, though evidently a superior pugilist, does not exhibit vanity or pretension in the record of his own valorous deeds, and never seems unpleasantly anxious to *shine*: in fact, his manner of recording sundry incidents which do not reflect a splendid light on his own personal prowess,—(witness, for instance, vol. i. p. 99, and again, p. 106.)—goes farther than any thing else in these volumes, perhaps, to impress us with a general sense of his regard for truth. Otherwise, we might be tempted to suspect him of too often indulging in the marvellous and the inventive. However, he is now in Ireland, with his father and brother, and a detachment of the regiment, learning Irish, (he has a positive rage for all languages, French of course excepted,) and apparently idling to the best of his ability. He goes to see his brother, his “darling brother,” as he calls him somewhere,—for though three years younger, George Borrow seems somehow rather to patronise his elder, who, though a fine fellow, is not quite as tall and large-limbed as he, endowed with gentler and finer tastes, and a less roving and eccentric spirit; however he pays John a visit, and John tells him a story of a certain Irish peasant, called Jerry Grant, a fairy man, that is, “a person in league with fairies and spirits, and able to work much harm by supernatural means, on which account they” (the peasants) “hold him in great awe.” It seems moreover that he is a mighty strong and tall fellow. Indeed George has just met him himself out on the moor, accompanied by a certain mysterious dog, and he has carried away the impression that the dog and his master were decidedly “eerie.” Now it seems that a certain corporal in the regiment, a very Hercules of a man, called Bagg, has also come across this wonderful individual. George recounts how Bagg started for a certain old ruined castle on the moor, rather expecting to meet the redoubtable Jerry, and wishing to fathom “the mystery of his history:” being a soldier, not a sailor, he had of course a less craving appetite for the supernatural; nevertheless his curiosity had been excited by the strange rumours he had listened to, and besides he held the man for a rebel and robber, whom his military duty almost enjoined him to apprehend. And so follows this story,

which it will be understood that John is telling, and George is listening to:—

“‘It was now late in the afternoon, near sunset, when about half-way over the bog he met a man’

“‘And that man was’

“‘Jerry Grant! there’s no doubt of it. Bagg says it was the most sudden thing in the world. He was moving along, making the best of his way, thinking of nothing at all save a public-house at Swanton Morley, which he intends to take when he gets home, and the regiment is disbanded—though I hope that will not be for some time yet: he had just leaped a turf-hole, and was moving on, when, at the distance of about six yards before him, he saw a fellow coming straight towards him. Bagg says that he stopped short, as suddenly as if he had heard the word halt, when marching at double quick time. It was quite a surprise, he says, and he can’t imagine how the fellow was so close upon him before he was aware. He was an immense tall fellow—Bagg thinks at least two inches taller than himself—very well dressed in a blue coat and buff breeches, for all the world like a squire when going out hunting. Bagg, however, saw at once that he had a roguish air, and he was on his guard in a moment. ‘Good evening to ye, sodger,’ says the fellow, stepping close up to Bagg, and staring him in the face. ‘Good evening to you, sir! I hope you are well,’ says Bagg. ‘You are looking after some one?’ says the fellow. ‘Just so, sir,’ says Bagg, and forthwith seized him by the collar; the man laughed, Bagg says it was such a strange awkward laugh. ‘Do you know whom you have got hold of, sodger?’ said he. ‘I believe I do, sir,’ said Bagg, ‘and in that belief will hold you fast in the name of King George, and the quarter sessions;’ the next moment he was sprawling with his heels in the air. Bagg says there was nothing remarkable in that; he was only flung by a kind of wrestling trick, which he could easily have baffled, had he been aware of it. ‘You will not do that again, sir,’ said he, as he got up and put himself on his guard. The fellow laughed again more strangely and awkwardly than before; then, bending his body and moving his head from one side to the other as a cat does before she springs, and crying out, ‘Here’s for ye, sodger!’ he made a dart at Bagg, rushing in with his head foremost. ‘That will do, sir,’ says Bagg, and, drawing himself back, he put in a left-handed blow with all the force of his body and arm, just over the fellow’s right eye—Bagg is a left-handed hitter, you must know—and it was a blow of that kind which won him his famous battle at Edinburgh with the big Highland sergeant. Bagg says that he was quite satisfied with the blow, more especially when he saw the fellow reel, fling out his arms, and fall to the ground. ‘And now, sir,’ said he, ‘I’ll make bold to hand you over to the quarter sessions, and, if there is a hundred pounds for taking you, who has more right to it than myself?’ So he went forward, but ere he could lay hold of his man the other was again on his legs, and was prepared to renew the combat. They grappled each other—Bagg

says he had not much fear of the result, as he now felt himself the best man, the other seeming half stunned with the blow—but just then there came on a blast, a horrible roaring wind bearing night upon its wings, snow, and sleet, and hail. Bagg says he had the fellow by the throat quite fast, as he thought, but suddenly he became bewildered, and knew not where he was; and the man seemed to melt away from his grasp, and the wind howled more and more, and the night poured down darker and darker; the snow and the sleet thicker and more blinding. ‘Lord have mercy upon us!’ said Bagg.’—Vol. i. pp. 160—163.

We think this, too, a good story in its way. Singular are the powers of the “smith” recounted in the next chapter, who, by the utterance of a certain word, or words, influences the author’s steed to madness, and even gives *him* an extraordinary thrill for the moment; calming the animal again, who rears and kicks with the utmost desperation, by the utterance of another word in a voice singularly modified, but sweet and almost plaintive. We believe this story, wonderful as it may appear, for there are indisputable facts on record which prove the existence of the powers attributed to the smith. Must there not be sorcery in this matter? Could mere sound produce such an effect? But we do not wish to plunge back again into the recondite question of dealings with the wicked one, and shall not be seduced by the tempting nature of the inquiry. Of his first ride Mr. Borrow gives us a characteristic and spirited description: he loves horses, and writes well of them as follows, though we see not why the skit at the canine race was needed in such a passage: the dog is indeed more dependent than the horse, but is he not the emblem of strength, fidelity, and loyalty? unquestionably admirable qualities, though the two latter may seem a little out of fashion:—but hear our author:—

“It was thus that the passion for the equine race was first awakened within me—a passion which, up to the present time, has been rather on the increase than diminishing. It is no blind passion; the horse being a noble and generous creature, intended by the All-Wise to be the helper and friend of man, to whom he stands next in the order of creation. On many occasions of my life I have been much indebted to the horse, and have found in him a friend and coadjutor, when human help and sympathy were not to be obtained. It is therefore natural enough that I should love the horse, but the love which I entertain for him has always been blended with respect; for I soon perceived that, though disposed to be the friend and helper of man, he is by no means inclined to be his slave; in which respect he differs from the dog, who will crouch when beaten; whereas the horse spurns, for he is aware of his own worth, and that he carries death within the horn of his heel. If, therefore, I found it easy to love the horse, I found it equally natural to respect him.”—Vol. i. pp. 170, 171.

Our author now leaves Ireland, and returns for a little while to a calmer English life: there is much that is entertaining hereabouts; the portraiture of the "emigré" priest, the interview with the quaker-banker, and again the meeting with the gypsies who call God, Duvel. Then comes the first great sickness in our author's life, and his first attack from a certain nameless dread or horror, which nearly drives him to frenzy, and to which he appears to be constitutionally liable at seasons. Then we have his recovery; his employment in an attorney's office for long and weary hours; his discovery of the great Welsh bard "Ab Gwilym," one of the five or six mightiest spirits, he assures us, which have illumined by their genius this nether world of ours; then we have George's strange outlandish ways, which give his worthy father no little trouble; and his elder brother John's selection of the profession of an artist, a painter, and departure for Rome accordingly. George thinks he would have achieved great things had he not been unhappily deficient in perseverance, without which, as he most wisely remarks, nothing great is to be achieved, at least in art; (we are not sure that this holds good in poetry as emphatically as in painting or music, because the former art is so much the less technical, and all things may be said to minister to it, all study, all experience, all knowledge of men and things;) then again we have our author's lighting upon a Danish treasure, certain glorious lawless ballads, which fill his soul with joy and wonder as they did that of "Fouquè" before him. Then comes a really admirable chapter concerning an individual of the Hazlitt class, a Germaniser and philosophical unbeliever; it is no caricature, but a perfect portraiture, and yet how splendidly does it convey the vanity of the fellow. We recommend the study of this chapter xxiii. to most men, and are all but tempted to extract it "in extenso."

After this, we have a country squire of the old school, not dashed off so badly; more pugilists; itinerary methodists, for whom Mr. Borrow has a special affection; gypsies; battles royal; family discussions respecting George's future fortunes, for it seems admitted that he will never do for an attorney; his father's sickness unto death; his brother's return to receive his last blessing; and that father's closing scene. As a specimen of Mr. Borrow's more moving style, we shall extract this last, which seems to us very striking in its way, and which also ends the first volume:

"At the dead hour of night, it might be about two, I was awakened from sleep by a cry which sounded from the room immediately below that in which I slept. I knew the cry, it was the cry of my mother; and I also knew its import, yet I made no effort to rise, for I was for the moment paralyzed. Again the cry sounded, yet still I lay motion-

less—the stupidity of horror was upon me. A third time, and it was then that, by a violent effort, bursting the spell which appeared to bind me, I sprang from the bed and rushed down stairs. My mother was running wildly about the room; she had awoke, and found my father senseless in the bed by her side. I essayed to raise him, and after a few efforts supported him in the bed in a sitting posture. My brother now rushed in, and, snatching up a light that was burning, he held it to my father's face. 'The surgeon, the surgeon!' he cried; then, dropping the light, he ran out of the room followed by my mother; I remained alone, supporting the senseless form of my father; the light had been extinguished by the fall, and an almost total darkness reigned in the room. The form pressed heavily against my bosom—at last methought it moved. Yes, I was right, there was a heaving of the breast, and then a gasping. Were those words which I heard? Yes, they were words, low and indistinct at first, and then audible. The mind of the dying man was reverting to former scenes. I heard him mention names which I had often heard him mention before. It was an awful moment; I felt stupified, but I still contrived to support my dying father. There was a pause, again my father spoke: I heard him speak of Minden, and of Meredith, the old Minden serjeant, and then he uttered another name, which at one period of his life was much in his lips, the name of but this is a solemn moment! There was a deep gasp: I shook, and thought all was over; but I was mistaken—my father moved, and revived for a moment; he supported himself in bed without my assistance. I make no doubt that for a moment he was perfectly sensible, and it was then that, clasping his hands, he uttered another name clearly, distinctly—it was the name of Christ. With that name upon his lips, the brave old soldier sank back upon my bosom, and, with his hands still clasped, yielded up his soul." —Vol. i. pp. 358—360.

And here we almost think that our quotations must find their term. The youthful Borrow starts for London: he resolves to live by literature, especially by the publication of his wonderful translations from Ab Gwilym and the Danish, of which he gives us a few crackjaw and most prosaic specimens. Here we find the portraiture of a rationalistic publisher, not peculiarly engaging, and so very singular, as to be decidedly abnormal in his idiosyncrasy. Then we have London Bridge, and a certain old woman who keeps a stall on it, and possesses a book which she values as her only treasure, De Foe's *Life of Moll Flanders*, with whom Mr. Borrow strikes up a hasty friendship. Then we have the starting of a review, abuse of criticism and literary men, all sorts of out-of-the-way literary experiences; some amusing matter, but, we think, *more* trash. Then a certain tiresome Armenian bothers us a good deal; we have also a gypsy adventure at Greenwich fair,—not devoid of a certain wild originality:—we have the

account of a composition of a species of early novel or tale, which Mr. Borrow sells for twenty pounds; and various encounters with a certain Francis Ardry, "and his lady," neither of the twain remarkably respectable. We are glad when Mr. Borrow turns his back upon the great city, where he certainly seems any thing but in his element, and gets out into the woods and fields again. Then we have mystic roamings on Stonehenge, confabulations with returned convicts, a visit to a certain queer literary humorist,—also a country gentleman,—possessed with an almost insane passion for originality, and addicted to *touching* all manner of things by way of a charm against misfortune. Mr. Borrow speaks of this as an extraordinary habit: we believe nothing to be more common amongst imaginative boys: if *We* be not an Eidolon, or a myth, but actually be allowed to possess a substantive individuality, *we* will venture to say that our boyhood was very familiar with similar temptations and sensations, to which Dr. Johnson was subject all his life, and all fanciful men are likely to be who do not struggle resolutely against such tendencies.

Thus have we galloped through vol. ii., vastly inferior to its elder brother, and pass to the third and last, which is a decided improvement on the second, though it scarcely rises perhaps to the level of the first-born in freshness or interest. More especially, we have to protest against a most "lame and impotent conclusion," in the shape of a silly story told by a postilion, and would strongly recommend to our clever, spirited, harum-scarum author the omission of his last fifty pages, which are worse than useless. Had he terminated, however abruptly, with chapter xxx., leaving the postilion's tale to the imagination, we assure him that the effect would have been far more piquant, a substantial peroration having been provided in the indicated union of our hero and his lady-love,—a certain strapping amazon, as tall, or taller than our author's self, with beautiful flaxen or golden hair, blue eyes, and a form of regal majesty and grace, the very ideal (if a damsel so peculiarly substantial is not wronged by such an epithet) of the Danish warrior-maiden of the olden days. How our author falls in with her we shall not attempt to indicate: the whole history of the Tinker Slingsby driven off his ancient haunts by the gigantic brute of a Flaming Tinman, who at last meets with his deserts in a fistic encounter with our hero, (who ascribes no merit to himself, however, being only saved by a providence,) has no small amount of stirring life and energy; and so have the curious gypsy-scenes, the hideous Mother Herne, the amicable Petulengro, who will fight however to prove his friendship (we have known schoolboys do so in our own school days), all these things are animated and graphic: but

we do not mean to dwell on them, extracted as they have been in well-nigh every newspaper within these realms; nor will we dwell on the exaggerated attack on the Rev. Mr. Platitude, a full-blown specimen of the worst order of Romanizers: the Jesuit, too, introduced under the guise of "the black man," seems out of all keeping with life and nature. We cannot help fancying that very much of this third volume must be pure fiction: if not, we think we should have been provided with a distinct assurance to the contrary. What strikes us most in this volume, is the episode of Peter Williams and his wife, the wandering Welsh preacher, who fancies he has sinned the sin against the Holy Ghost: this is a graphic, earnest portraiture, worth all the rest of the volume put together; and it suggests grave questions to the mind respecting the advisability of really authorizing the going forth of peripatetic preachers to evangelize the masses; but *we believe* the time is not yet fully ripe; we must first have more internal unity among ourselves, that our home-missionaries may not contradict one another too frequently; and we are sanguine enough to believe that this period of union is not so distant as most men fancy, despite some present appearances to the contrary. We doubt whether our parochial system alone can regain the alienated affections of the masses; and true it is that certain men possess especial powers for moving the hearts of assembled multitudes. God gave those powers: should they not be employed? nay, had we not better risk a little erroneous teaching than allow people to slumber on for ever spiritually dead in life? No doubt such preachers must not be Antinomian: it is an indispensable condition that they should insist on practical obedience and the fruits of love, humility, long-suffering, industry, courage, loyalty; but, this once admitted, surely they can scarcely preach too emphatically, Redemption through the one Sacrifice! No doubt, they should tell the people that those amongst them who having been baptized are living in open sin, are under a more grievous condemnation than their brethren; but still they should proclaim that there is hope for all, mercy for all, and draw all by the Holy Spirit's help, towards the Cross of our Lord and Saviour. Then, *if* pastoral intercourse were only generally re-established, no danger but that the sinner, awakened to a sense of his condition, would resort to his pastor for aid, if not for guidance; manifestly the peripatetic preacher would have no time, independent of his having no mission, to supersede the ordinary duties of the parish priest. But we will not enlarge upon this theme. We could not pass it by without some indication of our hopes; but our paper reminds us that we must draw these lucubrations to a close.

Mr. Borrow's book, then, in our opinion, is on the whole very lively and animated, strange, indeed, as we started by affirming, but graphic; giving no very distinct image of the ordinary world around us, but revealing a new world of gypsies, tramps, boxers, Flaming Tinmen, and oddities of every shape and kind, with which readers are far less likely to be acquainted. We have called Mr. Borrow a humorist, yet he is scarcely this; not in the same sense, at least, with that at once most ludicrously comical and most pathetic of writers, Charles Dickens; nor does he bear any affinity to the genius of Thackeray, who conceals beneath a light exterior a depth of meaning and a world of thought which Mr. Borrow would not fathom; nor has he even the playfulness of that really charming novelist Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton (whatever be thought of his plays and his poetry):—something of the same boldness and directness which are characteristic of Mr. Kingsley (witness these two powerful works "Yeast" and "Alton Locke") may perhaps be discovered here. But, after all, Mr. Borrow has a world of his own and a genius of his own, and can no more be classed with Cervantes (with whom a French reviewer ranked him the other day), than with Shakspeare, or Douglas Jerrold, or Tom Paine, or Bishop Butler! He is "sui generis," emphatically, and stands apart and aloof from all his literary compeers, whom he seems to pummel with a most peculiar zest in the performance of that duty. We suppose we shall meet him and the American lady again, and hear more gypsy wonders, and wonders of all kinds. He must confess in the meanwhile that he has met with genial—we will not affront him by saying lenient—auditors in us.

ART. VI.—*Lives of the Princesses of England from the Norman Conquest.* By MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN, *Editor of the "Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies."* London: Colburn. 3 vols. 1850, 1851.

OF the many childish illusions that fade away before the scorching light of maturer years, there is none perhaps at once more fair and more fallacious than the ideal princess of our young imagination. The princess of our fairy tales is a being in whom centres every charm, every power, and every bliss; her beauty is unrivalled, her heart the home of every glad emotion, the shrine of every noble aspiration; a child of nature in all that makes nature attractive with only so much of art as to set off to their full advantage the glittering gifts of the mighty mother; and, bright in herself, her path is one career of life, and light, and hope, and love, and glory. Woes she may encounter, but they dim not her eye; trials she may endure, but they pale not the rose upon her cheek; dangers fright her not, foes harm her not; and, however dark clouds may hover over her cradle, or haunt her earlier years, they are sure to give place to a noon of dazzling rapture, and an eve of delicious repose.

Alas! how different is the real princess from her ideal counterpart! How seldom is her lot one of happiness! How frequently is it, on the contrary, one of deep affliction! Like the North American negro, she is born and bred a slave with as little chance of release or relief as that miserable victim of republican rapacity! Yes; she is doomed from her very birth! For her friendship is a nullity, and love a forbidden thing. In the splendour of her brilliant thralldom she moves in irons, which pierce not the less into her soul, because they are brightly gilded, and richly jewelled. Her feelings, her thoughts, her wishes, her words, her actions, must all be ruled by the remorseless law of an unrelenting conventionalism; her heart must be tutored like that of the recluse immured in the prison-house of Romish conventionalism: yet must she be as prompt and passive as an Eastern slave, when family interest or state policy would consign her to the arms of a stranger, or even an enemy.

"The destinies of the royal daughters of England, associated as they inevitably are with, and dependent upon, those of their relatives of the other sex, will frequently be found to take their tone and colouring

from the character of their sires or brothers. While the respect commanded by an energetic and able English monarch rendered an alliance with him an object of anxious emulation among the continental princes, the female relatives of a feeble sovereign were almost invariably sacrificed to the timid policy which endeavoured either to bribe its enemies, or reward its adherents by such boons. Very sad has often been the history of these royal marriages; yet when we consider the utter neglect of attention either to age, suitability of character, or, in fact, to any thing but state policy, with which they were contracted, the marvel is, not that they should have been frequently unhappy, but that they have occasionally proved so fortunate."—Vol. i. p. 378.

The volumes under review contain the biographies of the royal daughters of England, from the days of William the Conqueror, to those of Edward IV. They are compiled with great care, great judgment, and, what is even more rare, and at least equally important, with great impartiality. The design has been well conceived, and well executed; and, as we read on, we are often reminded of the faults of other historians, biographers, and archaeologists, by the absence of those blemishes which disfigure the greater number of works that treat of the earlier, or even the later, periods of modern history. We earnestly hope that the authoress may be permitted to conclude the very valuable collection which she has begun, and that the remaining volumes may be fully worthy to stand by the side of their predecessors.

Faults of course there are; but they are rather those of inadvertence, than intention—of manner, than of matter. The Saxons, for example, are twice called "the Ancient Britons;" and there are blemishes of style and conventionalisms of expression, which might be altered with advantage in a second edition. These imperfections, however, do not detract from the interest, or the instruction with which these pages abound. The work possesses a peculiar charm of variety from the fact that its successive heroines figured in widely different characters on widely distant stages; so that our attention is, in turn, arrested by the cloister, the court, and the camp; and we wander now amid the rugged fastnesses of Wales or Scotland, now through the gloomy forests of Germany, now over the sunny meads of Languedoc, Sicily, or Palestine.

It will be impossible for us to give any full account, or accurate description of the present work; because each life being perfect and separate in itself, would in such case require to be treated in succession. We shall, therefore, content ourselves with briefly adverting to some of the most striking incidents or passages which occur in the course of these volumes, and select for a closer

survey one or two out of the many deeply interesting biographies before us.

The series commences, as we have already indicated, with the daughters of William the Conqueror, that mighty plunderer, that magnificent marauder, that heroic oppressor, the fate of whose family forms one of the many illustrations of the prophet's words: "Woe unto him that coveteth an evil covetousness to his house, to set his nest on high, that he may be delivered from the power of evil! Thou hast consulted shame to thy house by cutting off many people, and hast sinned against thy soul. For the stone shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it. Woe to him that buildeth a town with blood, and stablisheth a city by iniquity."

It is a curious illustration both of the character of William and Matilda, and of the spirit of the age in which they lived, that "in order to reconcile the See of Rome to their union, which was forbidden on the pretext of their being within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity," they "vowed each to erect and endow a stately monastery."

"St. Stephen's Abbey, and that of the Holy Trinity at Caen, the one for monks and the other for nuns, both the most splendid monastic establishments of their time in Normandy, proved how well they performed their promise; and as a consummation of their offering, the zealous pair determined to devote their eldest daughter to the service of God within the cloistered walls of the latter edifice."—Vol. i. p. 4.

In order, then, to be themselves permitted to enjoy the sweets of domestic life, the maid and her lover take the surest means of excluding others from them, and selfishly devote the fruit of their own passion to the loveless seclusion of the cloister. This *vicarious self-denial* is still practised to a large extent in those countries, which acknowledge the supremacy and receive the faith of Rome. It was no uncommon circumstance a few years since for an unmarried woman to devote her unborn offspring to the convent as an atonement for her own breach of chastity.

Trained, then, from her early youth for that life to which she had been devoted before her conception, *CECILIA*, the eldest daughter of William of Normandy, by his wife Matilda of Flanders, entered the Convent of the Holy Trinity—of which in due course of time she became the Abbess. Her life appears to have been one of tranquillity and devotion—her mind of a high order—her rule (when raised to authority) mild and firm. It is interesting to know, too, that she as well as many of the other high-born ladies of this and the succeeding age, was well skilled in the Latin language, and not unacquainted with other branches of knowledge.

The fate of her sister MATILDA was far more troublous.

“After the conquest of England, King William, in order to secure the fidelity of Edwin Earl of Chester, one of the most powerful of the Saxon nobles, promised him one of his daughters in marriage, and the Lady Matilda, who, after the profession of Cecilia and the death of Adelaide, was the eldest princess at court, was to become the bride of the handsome young Saxon.”—Vol. i. p. 16.

A deep and fervent attachment seems to have sprung up between the young people. It was, however, destined to that cruel disappointment which so often attends the hopes and wishes of youth, and which dogs like an avenging spirit the footsteps of the daughters of kings. The fate of Edwin is too well known to be more than alluded to in this place. And her father, after his death, accepted for her the proposals of marriage made by Alphonso, the sovereign of Leon and Castille.

“Haunted as she was with the memory of the past, she manifested the strongest reluctance to the connexion thus marked out for her. But the embassy sent to demand her was numerous and splendid, the alliance was highly honourable, and the Conqueror was not of a temper to be lightly moved by the tears of a reluctant girl.”—Vol. i. p. 22.

The preparations, therefore, went on upon a most magnificent scale: for the Conqueror spared nothing to shed all the glory of this world over the sacrifice which he demanded, the victim whom he devoted. His will, however, was at length bowed before that mightier, sterner Will which the most imperious potentates must succumb to.

“For several long years Matilda had endeavoured by prayer and other acts of devotion to gain repose to her wounded spirit, and so assiduous was she in these exercises, that after her death a hard substance was found to have been formed upon her knees, the result of her long and frequent prayers. Her dread of her unknown Spanish spouse was so excessive, ‘that she supplicated the Omnipotent with floods of tears,’ that He would rather take her to Himself than permit her to fulfil the detested union. Her earnest desires paved the way for their own accomplishment. She set out on her journey towards Spain with a brilliant *cortège*, but had scarcely reached the frontiers, when she sickened and died. Sorrow had done its work, and the cords of the young and gentle spirit, too tightly strained, had snapped—her death is universally attributed to a broken heart.”—Vol. i. p. 22.

Yet sad as her fate appears, it was in reality, a blessed one. For better was it to die in the unsullied purity of her virgin grief, than to live for the pollution of a compulsory and unholy marriage—better, far better, was it to weep over the grave and follow

the steps of the unfortunate Saxon, than to share in the prosperity, the pride, the cruelty of her father's evil house.

Far different were the fortunes of ADELA, the fifth and youngest of the undoubted daughters of William and Matilda, from those of any of her sisters.

"There was a certain youth, of one of the noblest families of France, though he possessed no higher sounding name than that of Simon Crispin, Earl of Amiens, the son and heir of Ralph, Earl of Valois and Mantz, who, in order that he might become an accomplished chevalier, was sent by his father to be educated in the court of William of Normandy. Here the gallant boy became such a favourite with both William and Matilda, that they determined in due time to bestow upon him the hand of his young playmate the Princess Adela—and the thing was looked upon as settled. Whether the young lady herself regarded him with an equally partial eye we cannot ascertain; but the presumptions are, that he entertained for her a sincere and strong affection."—Vol. i. p. 35.

The circumstance by which this engagement was broken off, is so strikingly characteristic of the times in which it occurred, that we shall transcribe it *in extenso* :—

"Bred in the court of the pious Matilda of Flanders, Simon had imbibed an early reverence for justice and humanity, and was greatly shocked to find, that the father of whom he had seen so little had been guilty of many cruel acts of oppression, and that even his burial-place, the castle of Montdidier, had been wrongfully and fraudulently obtained.

"Full of pious concern for the soul of his parent, he consulted Pope Gregory on the subject; and the pontiff commanded that his body should be removed from such unhallowed ground, and masses daily said for his soul. The son hastened to comply; a tomb was prepared in consecrated ground, and the remains disinterred from their resting-place in the castle of Montdidier. When the coffin was brought above ground a strong desire possessed the mind of Simon to gaze once more upon the face of his buried sire; but the earl had now occupied the house appointed for all living upwards of three years, and decay had made rapid progress. The ghastly spectacle presented before the eyes of the terrified youth, when the lid of the coffin was raised, produced such an effect upon his mind, that from that moment it took a completely new bias.

"His splendid dominions, his noble exploits, his young betrothed, were all forgotten in the horrid spectacle of the final destiny of frail mortality, and he resolved from that hour to devote himself exclusively to preparation for a world where death and decay are no more. Just in the crisis when his mind was struggling beneath the weight of these emotions, he was summoned to the court of King William, to consummate his marriage with the Lady Adela, who had reached the mature age of fifteen. Thither accordingly he repaired, not to fulfil his engage-

ment, but to request that on account of the plea of consanguinity which he urged, he might be permitted first to take a journey to Rome and sue for a dispensation. This was willingly granted; but no sooner had he passed the limits to which the power of his intended father-in-law might be supposed to extend, than he turned aside to a German monastery, and there took the decisive vows. Here he gave himself up to the most rigorous fasting and penance; but still not satisfied, he shortly afterwards resolved to lead the life of a hermit; and during the remainder of his existence, a single meal a day, composed of bread and water with wild apples or a few vegetables, formed his sole sustenance. His conduct, however, excited no displeasure in the minds of William and Matilda; for in the year 1081, when the object of his once passionate attachment had left her father's court as the bride of another, the lonely hermit now celebrated over half Europe for his sanctity and austerity, paid a visit to these his early friends, and endeavoured to reconcile the dissensions which had sprung up between King William and his eldest son Robert. The following year terminated the life of this singular character: he died at Rome, whither he had gone on an important mission. In honour of his sanctity he was honoured with a burial in the vault of the popes; and Queen Matilda showed her respect for his memory by making a munificent present of gold and silver for the erection of his tomb, which to the present day is an object of curiosity to travellers."—Vol. i. pp. 37, 38.

We observe, indeed, throughout these volumes many traces of that spurious devotion, and misdirected self-sacrifice which blemish the character and conduct of most, but not all the good and holy men of those ages—and of that fanaticism of hypocrisy, that self-delusion of wickedness, which gave a quasi religious colouring to the lives and even the crimes of the monsters of cruelty, avarice, lawlessness, and lust, which then abounded. Still there is a striking difference, a broad distinction to be drawn between the religion of Mediæval Europe, in the centuries emphatically called the dark ages, and that of Modern Rome. Corruptions there were indeed many and gross—errors wide spread and dangerous—and each generation gave fresh strength, and form, and authority, to the leaven of evil that had been working from the days of the Apostles downwards. But in the eleventh century many of the evils now established were only tolerated, others were unknown; and as a whole, we may safely say, that the superstition of that era had obscured, but not superseded the religion of the Bible. Nor ought we to lose sight of this very important principle, that there is a great difference both in theory and in practice, between holding superstitions in addition to, or together with the truth, and holding them either to the exclusion of, or as integral and co-ordinate portions of it. The cataract had alas already proceeded far in the course of its formation, but it had not

yet shut out the light from the eye of faith. The Churches of mediæval Europe, though their sight became dimmer and dimmer, were still capable of seeing their way, were still capable of being restored to full vision by skilful and stern remedies such as those of the English Reformation. Modern Rome has passed that limit—she must be *couched* ere she can see.

One point which strikes us particularly in reading the lives of these Norman Princesses, is the absence of any indication of that blasphemous worship which the Romish Church pays *nominally* to the blessed Virgin—nominally, we say, for the “*cultus*,” as it is gently termed by Romanists and Romanizers, and others, who whilst not sharing the error or the sin, hesitate to denounce it in adequate terms, the “*cultus*” in question, is merely a revival of the ancient worship of Astaroth, the queen of heaven.

But to return to the thread of our narrative. The Princess Adela was not destined to share the fate of either of her sisters. In 1080 she married Stephen, Earl of Meaux and Brie, son and heir of Theobald, Earl of Blois and Chartres. This marriage gave great satisfaction to both families, and, which is of more substantial importance, to the handsome bridegroom and his beautiful bride. In her married life, however, she had the advantage or the misfortune, which ever we deem it, of being far superior to her husband in point of mental and moral power, and this circumstance somewhat diminished her happiness, though it advanced her prosperity, as well as that of her lord.

During Stephen’s absences in the Holy Land or elsewhere, his talented partner was left to discharge the office of regent. We have great pleasure in quoting from the first of two letters still remaining, addressed to his wife by the crusader:—

“Earl Stephen to the Countess Adela, his sweetest friend and wife, sendeth whatever his mind can devise of best or most benignant. Be it known to thee, beloved, that I had a pleasant journey, in all honour and bodily safety as far as Rome. I have already written from Constantinople very accurately the particulars of my peregrination, but lest any misfortune should have happened to my messenger, I rewrite these letters to thee. I came by God’s grace to the city of Constantinople with great joy. The emperor received me worthily and most courteously, and even lovingly, as his own son, and gave me most liberal and precious gifts, so that there is not in the whole army duke, or earl, or any potentate whom he more trusts or favours than me. Indeed, my beloved, his imperial majesty has and still does often recommend to me, that we should send to him one of our sons, and he promises to bestow on him so many and great honours, that he shall have no cause to envy us. I tell you in truth that there is not such a man living under heaven; he enriches all our princes most liberally, relieves all the soldiers

with gifts, refreshes all the poor with feasts. Near the city of Nice there is a castle called Civitot, near which runs an arm of the sea, by which the emperor's ships sail day and night to Constantinople, bearing food to the camp for innumerable poor, which is daily distributed to them. Your father, my beloved, has done many and great things, but he is nothing to this man. These few things have I written to you about him, that you may have some idea what he is."—Vol. i. p. 50.

We cannot, however, afford much more space to the haughty and able countess, and her amiable though volatile husband. After his death she conducted the government of his territories and the education of his children with judgment, boldness, and discretion; and at length resigned his domains to her second son, Theobald, gradually resigning the reins of government into his hands as he became able to guide them.

"In the midst of more stirring occupations, Adela was not neglectful of the interests of learning; for it was at her request that Hugh of St. Mary, a Benedictine monk of Fleury, wrote his history of France, the latter part of which, after her death, was dedicated to her niece, the Empress Matilda.

"At length, worn out with the toils of a long and active life, and feeling the infirmities of old age gradually stealing upon her, the venerable countess resolved to retire from the world. . . . This resolution appears to have been taken partly in compliance with the wishes of Archbishop Anselm. . . . The place of retreat which she selected was the Cluniac Priory of Marcigny, a small town situated on the river Loire, in the diocese of Autun."—Vol. i. pp. 64, 65.

Had the convents confined themselves to receiving into their bosom recluses of such an age and such a character, who required after a life of active duty a season of preparation for the life to come, and the temporary shelter of the young, the defenceless, and the penitent; had they occupied themselves only in the rational and lawful practices of devotion, and the exercise of all the charities of life, our judgment of them would have been far different from that which we are now compelled to pronounce. But, alas! how often have they been the abodes of misery, folly, and even vice, the nurseries of error, superstition, bigotry, and fanaticism! How often, instead of refuges, have they become prisons; instead of retreats, sepulchres! How often, too, have they afforded an excuse, as well as a facility, for the desertion of clear and positive duties! Nor should we ever forget, whilst considering the desirableness of having collegiate asylums, and the benefits which have actually occurred to mankind from conventual institutions, that those of mediæval times and those of modern Rome were universally based on two erroneous, nay, *heretical*, foundations, namely, 1, the *intrinsic* superiority of the

celibate to the conjugal state ; and, 2, the anti-Christian doctrine of Evangelical Counsels, or Counsels of Perfection,—a doctrine which assumes that we may do more than our duty, and give a free gift to the All Giver ; and that they were and are consolidated and defended by an unlawful, a pernicious, and a sacrilegious vow.

“ The death of the Countess Adela took place in 1137, when she had attained to the advanced age of seventy-four or seventy-five years. Her remains were conveyed back to her native province of Caen, and deposited with those of her mother, and her sister Cecilia, in the Abbey of the Holy Trinity, in that city, where the simple inscription of ‘ Adela filia regis,’ ‘ Adela, the daughter of the king,’ pointed out the burial-place of this last surviving child of William the Conqueror.”—Vol. i. p. 71.

She was the mother of a large family. Of these William, the eldest, did not succeed his father in the earldom. He appears to have been all but imbecile, and not only weak, but vicious. He quietly assumed the name and arms of his wife Agnes, the daughter and heiress of Giles de Sully, and thus became the founder of the celebrated house of Sully Champagne :—

“ Theobald, the great Earl of Blois, his mother’s darling son, inherited his father’s dominions, and became the progenitor of a long line of noble descendants. His only daughter, Adela, named after his mother, became the second wife of Louis VII. of France, and the mother of his heir, Philip Augustus, thus mingling the blood of the Conqueror of England with that of the Capetian dynasty in the veins of the most famous of their descendants.”—Vol. i. p. 70.

Her third son was the celebrated Stephen, who succeeded in mounting the throne of England, to the prejudice of his cousin Matilda, the empress. It will be seen, therefore, that Stephen was the third son of the daughter of William of Normandy, whilst Matilda was the only daughter of the third son of the Conqueror.

Amongst her other children we may mention her youngest son Henry, “ the talented, but unprincipled and versatile Bishop of Winchester, so famous in later years.”

Her daughter Adela was given in marriage “ to Milo de Brai, Lord of Montlheri and Viscount of Troyes : but Bishop Ivo, who really seems to have been the evil genius of all love-marriages, found or framed a plea of illegality in the union, and appealed to the Pope. In consequence of his relentless pertinacity, to the great grief of the bridegroom, the marriage was annulled.”

The life of MATILDA, only daughter, and after the unfortunate death of her brother William, sole heiress of Henry the First, is

ll of stirring incident and lively interest—she was born in 1102, the second year of her father's reign. Both she and her brother were placed under the care of Anselm: but she had little time to profit by the instructions, or become subject to the influence of the Archbishop; for—

“She had only just attained her seventh year, when a stately embassy arrived from Henry V., Emperor of Germany, a monarch old enough to be her father, to demand her in marriage In the following year the little lady, glittering with innumerable jewels, and amply endowed with splendid gifts, bearing in her train a dowry of 10,000 marks of silver, was committed to the care of Roger Fitz Richard, a trusty baron, who with a noble train of knights accompanied her to Germany.

“On approaching the confines of the empire, she was every where received with due magnificence. At Utrecht she was met by her future lord; and during the approaching festival of Easter, the nuptial solemnities, or rather those of the betrothal, were performed. We do not learn how the juvenile bride, who was said to be ‘very wise and valiant and beautiful,’ was taught to play her part in these royal pageants; but on her coronation, which took place almost immediately after at Mayence, the Archbishop of Treves ‘reverently’ held the child in his arms, while the Archbishop of Cologne, surrounded by all the dignitaries of the empire, placed upon her brow the imperial diadem of the Cæsars.”—Vol. i. pp. 85, 86.

Poor little thing! it was early indeed to be initiated into the pomps and vanity of that world which she had so lately renounced in her baptism; nor need we wonder if the evil pride of her haughty family grew up into an arrogance which turned warm friends into bitter enemies, when it was thus nurtured in a hotbed of adulation. She seems, however, to have had naturally much of goodness and kindness in her disposition, if we are to judge from the interest and regard which she excited in the breasts of her husband's subjects. And the bitter lessons which she received in after years were the means of taming her fierce spirit, and bringing her rebellious will into subjection to that of her Divine Master.

“The provision made by the emperor for the household of Matilda, was on a scale corresponding to her dignity; ‘for,’ says our troubadour chronicler, ‘it was his desire that she should be nobly brought up and honourably served, and that she should learn German, and the customs and laws, and all that pertains to an empress now in the time of her youth.’”—Vol. i. p. 87.

Henry's conduct in this instance is deserving of the highest commendation; for in so doing he endeavoured to enable her to

do her duty in that state of life to which it had pleased God to call her, and to fulfil his own duty also to his subjects.

"It would appear that her progress was satisfactory to her lord, who was certainly old enough to judge; for in the year 1114, young as she was, he chose to consider her education as completed. A splendid court was held at Mayence, to which all the nobility of the empire crowded; and on the 7th of January their nuptials were again celebrated. The ceremony of coronation was also repeated, after which Matilda was removed from her tutelage, and took up her residence with her imperial spouse.

"Henry's personal appearance, as depicted in his seal, is juvenile, and somewhat pleasing. He is represented as a beardless youth, dressed in an elegant tunic reaching to his ankles, over which is thrown the imperial mantle; he bears in his right hand the sceptre crowned with lilies, and in his left the orb surmounted by a cross. The impression from which the engraving here described is taken, is from a deed bearing date 1112; but probably the seal itself may have been cast somewhat earlier."—Vol. i. p. 88.

We cannot, however, tarry longer at the German Court. Suffice it to say, that in her twenty-second year "Matilda the Empress" was left a widow, though a doubt has been raised as to whether her husband was actually dead, or had secretly retired into seclusion. We are decidedly of opinion, that he actually departed this life at the period in question. Yielding to the urgent intreaties of the king, her father, Matilda set forth from that land where she had passed the troublous days of her splendid youth.

"A *cortège* even more splendid than that which had attended her when, an almost unconscious child, she went to share the imperial throne, was sent by the king to escort the widowed Matilda. . . . The king, anxious to show his heirress to his English subjects, and to secure for her their oaths of allegiance, set sail with her and Queen Adelia, in 1126, for England. Here she was met by her uncle, David, King of Scotland; and, after the Christmas festival had been observed in great state at Windsor, Henry, taking advantage of the presence of his illustrious guest, assembled at London a council of all his nobles and barons, and presenting to them his darling daughter, then in the prime of womanly beauty, he lamented, in a pathetic speech, the loss he had sustained in the premature death of his son; and, pointing out the blessings likely to ensue from the undisputed succession of the descendant of their Norman and Saxon monarchs, demanded their oaths of fealty to the Lady Matilda."—Vol. i. pp. 100, 101.

The ceremony is thus described in "Wintowni Oryginale Chronykyl of Scotland:"—

"A thowsand a hundyr twenty and sevyn
Fra Mary bare the Kyng of Heavyn,

Dawy, than Kyng of Scotland
And hale the states of Ingland,
At Lundyn all assembled were.
The Kyng of Scotland, Dawy, there
Gert all the statis bundyn be
Till the Emprys in Fewte.
Hys systyr Dowchtyr, Dame Mald,
Be name that time scho wes cald,
On the Circumcysiowne day
This othe of Fealte thare swore thei."

Vol. i. p. 101, Note.

This homage was duly recorded in a signed and sealed deed, which King David took back with him to Scotland. Vol. i. p. 101.

"Early in the spring of the year, the royal party left London, and went to reside in the pleasant summer palace of Woodstock, whence they removed at Whitsuntide to Winchester; but although the Augusta had no establishment of her own in the kingdom of which she was the acknowledged heiress, yet she occupied a conspicuous station in her father's court. The contemporary author of the continuation of Florence of Worcester tells us, 'she was maintained near her father with excellent honour.' The Saxon annals expressly assert, that all affairs of state were transacted with her advice and concurrence; and her name is also found affixed along with that of the king and queen to state documents.

"Matilda did not long remain in this position. Her hand was too tempting a prize not to be eagerly courted; and Foulk, Earl of Anjou, long the most troublesome enemy of Henry's continental possessions, entered into negotiations to unite her with his young son and heir Geoffrey."—Vol. i. p. 103.

The empress was naturally and rightly averse to unite herself with a boy nine years her junior; but her father, who desired by this alliance to deprive his gallant and injured nephew, William Clito, son of Duke Robert of Normandy, and thus the grandson and lineal heir male of the mighty Conqueror, of his last and most powerful protector, accepted the Angevin proposals with delight—if, indeed, he did not himself commence the negotiation. And, despite of Matilda's unconcealed reluctance, and the unpopularity which the marriage was expected to meet with in England, the imperial widow was compelled to wed the hot-headed stripling. From such an union, thus arranged and completed, owing its origin to an act of cruel injustice, and formed in contradiction to common sense as well as delicacy, no happy result was likely to accrue. Nor did the event belie such a calculation. Into the miseries, however, of Matilda's second marriage we cannot

enter, nor trace the course of that long struggle which, after the death of her father, she waged with her cousin Stephen for the throne of England. Nor can we do more than indicate the noble constancy and sagacious policy of Robert of Gloucester, her natural brother, or the gentle heroism of her rival's wife; both of which are fully described in these interesting pages.

Amongst the many extraordinary features of that time, perhaps the strangest is the character and conduct of Stephen's younger brother, who, during the captivity of that prince, came over to Matilda's party.

"Meanwhile, her new ally, Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, assembled a synod in his episcopal city, in which he uttered a long harangue in censure of Stephen's proceedings, enlarging on the obligation of the previous oaths taken to Matilda; and, notwithstanding an eloquent and touching appeal from the unfortunate consort of the imprisoned king, 'Matilda, the daughter of the incomparable King Henry,' was elected as 'Lady of England and Normandy.' Such an unprecedented step as the election of a sovereign by the clergy alone excited great surprise in those members of the council who had not previously been initiated into its object; but the legate was all-powerful, and singular as the decree was, issuing from such an assembly, it was passed without one dissenting voice."—Vol. i. p. 142.

Anxious as we are for the revival of Diocesan Synods, as subsidiary and subservient to that of Convocation, we scarcely need record our opinion, that the assembly in question dealt on the above occasion with a subject totally foreign to its jurisdiction and alien to its province. The same prelate shortly after again convoked his synod, with the view of declaring the deposition of Matilda, and of recognizing her rival as the lawful sovereign, in which he was equally successful.

Of the many striking incidents connected with this often-varying struggle, we can select but one more—that which was the turning point in Matilda's career:—

"With a train as numerous and splendid as even the Augusta herself could desire, a few days before Midsummer, she made her entry into the capital of her ancestral kingdom, and was received with enthusiasm by many of the citizens, who welcomed in her the daughter of their idolized queen, Matilda the Atheling, the lawful heiress of their late sovereign, and the descendant of their Saxon monarchs. She fixed her residence in the palace of Westminster, and held her state in the midst of a numerous and brilliant court; while her brother, the Earl of Gloucester, by the courtesy of his manners, secured the good will of the proud barons, and made great exertions to reform the abuses which had crept into the government during the troublous times of civil war."—Vol. i. p. 143.

"From the time of her landing in England, the exchequer of the empress had been at a miserably low ebb; so low, indeed, that the very equipment of her household and the provisions for her table were provided by the zeal of her faithful friend Milo Fitz-Walter. Anxious to replenish her empty coffers, she opened her first communication with the City of London, by the demand of an enormous subsidy. . . . The citizens, who had already been sadly drained by their contributions to the cause of the imprisoned Stephen, begged for pity, or, at least, for a little delay. 'The king has left us nothing,' said the deputies, in a humble tone. 'I understand you have given all to my enemy, to strengthen him against me,' was the haughty reply. 'You have conspired for my ruin; therefore I will neither spare you, nor relax the least in my demand of money.' Not being able to obtain the respite they desired, the deputies ventured to beseech that she would govern them by the gentle rule of her Saxon ancestor, Edward the Confessor, and not by the stern laws of her father and grandfather. Matilda's Norman blood boiled within her at these words; with frowning brow, and eyes flashing with passionate indignation, she fiercely reproached their insolence, and, bidding them go home and collect their subsidy, drove them from her presence. And they *did* retire; but it was not to their homes. The citizens, assembled to hear the report of their messengers, were provoked beyond measure at the relation of the harshness with which they had been treated by the empress; the secret emissaries of Stephen's queen had already been busy among them, and their resolutions were soon taken. While the Augusta was giving a splendid banquet to her court at her royal palace of Westminster, and in anticipation dreaming over the ceremonials of her approaching coronation, the mirth of the festival was broken in upon by the arrival of a secret messenger, bearing the fearful tidings, that the city was up in arms.

"'To horse! to horse!' was the instantaneous cry; and in a few minutes the empress and her nobles were mounted and ready; but not before the pealing of the alarm-bells from every church in the city, the clang of arms, and the mustering of the troops, showed that no time was to be lost; and scarcely had her train got clear of the palace, when the mob entered and took possession, and all the furniture and plate became their prey. The band of stalwart knights, who accompanied the empress in her flight, presented too formidable an appearance for the citizen soldiers to attempt a pursuit; one by one, however, Matilda's followers dropped away, and her faithful brother, the Earl of Gloucester, with Milo Fitz-Walter, were the only nobles who entered with her the city of Oxford, which she had chosen as the place of her retreat."—Vol. i. pp. 145, 146.

We cannot, however, forbear noticing a circumstance in the history of this princess, which illustrates the old adage, "that necessity is the mother of invention." It being found impossible to elude the vigilance of Stephen's partisans by any of the ordi-

nary modes of epistolary communication, a faithful and burly friar was found, within the thickets of whose bushy beard the letters were secreted, and thus passed unseen and unquestioned through the hosts of the enemy.

The history of MARY, daughter of King Stephen, is one of the most extraordinary which these volumes contain. From her earliest infancy she was destined by her parents to the cloister. Professed even in her childhood, in course of time she became first prioress of Lillechurch, and afterwards abbess of Rumsey; the first, before she had attained to womanhood; the second, ere she had completed her twentieth year. Of a gentle temper and retiring disposition, she administered her authority so as to gain the affection as well as esteem of her sisterhood; and lived happily and peacefully for some years, until an event took place which strangely altered her position and influenced her future destiny. This was the death of her only brother William, Earl of Boulogne and Mortagne, which occurred in the year 1160.

“Of all the flourishing family of Stephen and Matilda, the young abbess alone was left as the sole inheritor of the honours of her house. Her English estates King Henry II. disposed of without hesitation; and the earldom of Mortagne, given by his grandfather Henry I. to King Stephen, and confirmed by himself to that monarch and his successors, he bestowed as an appanage upon his own brother William; but that of Boulogne had descended to Mary's mother from a long line of illustrious ancestors, and the inhabitants would consent to receive none but a descendant of their former earls, and, though far away in a distant English monastery, the Lady Mary de Blois was universally acknowledged by them as their countess. Her politic and unscrupulous relative, Henry II., availed himself of this predominant feeling in the minds of the Bolonese to make her the tool of his own ambitious schemes. Engaged in constant struggles with Louis in France, it was of great importance to him to strengthen his continental alliances, and, with this view, regardless of all the vows, then considered so sacred, which bound her to a life of perpetual virginity, he, in 1160, offered the hand of the young abbess to Matthew of Alsace, younger son of Theodorick or Thierry, Earl of Flanders, hoping doubtless that by thus providing an appanage for his younger son, he might secure the interest of the father. The scheme thus hastily formed, was as hastily executed; Matthew, elated with the idea of his approaching elevation, did not even consult his father or brother on the subject, but at once fell in with the proposal of the English king. Their arrangements were of course made with the greatest caution; the helpless and frightened abbess was forcibly conveyed from the scenes of peaceful retirement, over which she had so long presided, and, before she had time to recover from her astonishment, or comprehend the meaning of a proceeding so unlooked for, she was compelled, by an authority it was hopeless

to resist, to give her hand to one she had never before seen, and to utter at the nuptial altar vows which could not be breathed by a veiled nun, without the most fearful violation of those which she had previously sworn. No resource, however, was left to the trembling and reluctant maiden; the irrevocable words were spoken; the young nun had become a bride, and awoke from her dream of terrified surprise, to find herself the innocent object of execration to the whole Catholic world. Whether she found in her spouse those qualities which compensated her for the sufferings she had to undergo on his behalf, history does not inform us. We are told that Matthew was handsome, and brave, but his late proceeding showed that he was violent and unscrupulous, and that he paid but little regard to the obligations of that religion to which his gentle consort had been devoted from her early childhood. He was certainly much older than she, for we find him occupying an important position as mediator between his brother and the Earl of Holland, in the year 1147, thirteen years previous to the date of his marriage; it was probable that he was now fast verging towards forty, whereas his bride could not be more than twenty-three or four. Mary appears to have been a resigned and submissive, though it is doubtful whether she could ever be called a happy, wife."—Vol. i. pp. 196—198.

The countess after living some years with her husband, and becoming the mother of two daughters, retired once more to the seclusion of a convent. Her children, however, were formally legitimized, and one of them became the ancestress of a long line of noble descendants. Her husband had conducted his contest with the See of Rome in a manner characterized by the utmost daring as well as policy, nor would he have allowed her to depart had he not lost all hope of her becoming the mother of an heir to the earldom of Holland, which, unlike Boulogne, was a male fief. After their separation he married again, but always treated Mary with great respect, and in one of his charters calls her still his wife.

We regret our inability to afford any space for the biography of MATILDA, eldest daughter of Henry the Second, who was given in marriage to Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, and thus became the mother of the lineal male ancestor of the house of Brunswick. We must, however, find room for an anecdote regarding her son Henry, as it stands out brightly amidst the darkness of many sorrows:—

"An early attachment had sprung up between him and the beautiful Agnes, daughter of Conrad, Earl Palatine of the Rhine, who was the brother of the Emperor Frederic I., and consequently uncle to his son and successor Henry VI. An alliance had been projected between them which the long dissensions of the two houses had broken off; but still the image of her young lover clung to the memory of the Lady Agnes. Some years afterwards, her hand was demanded in marriage by

Philip of France, who had just divorced his former wife, Ingeburga of Denmark. Her mother announced the proposals to her: 'My daughter,' said she, 'have you any desire for an honourable marriage? It may be accomplished, for the King of France has sent to demand your hand.' 'Ah, madam,' said Agnes, 'I have heard from many of this king, how he has scorned and rejected his noble consort, the daughter of the King of Denmark; and after such an example I fear him.' 'And whom would you prefer to him?' asked the mother, suspecting some love affair was at the bottom of this opposition. 'If I had my own choice, I would never be disunited from young Henry of Saxony, to whom I was plighted in early infancy.' 'Trust me, my child,' rejoined her mother, 'you shall yet escape these formidable nuptials, and be united to the man of your choice.'

"The Countess Palatine now set to work to concert a scheme for the immediate union of Agnes and her lover; for, as the damsel's father was intent upon the French alliance, no time was to be lost. Agnes, at her mother's request, wrote letters to her lover, informing him of her situation, and these were accompanied by a message from the countess, requesting him to lose not a moment in hurrying to their castle, as Earl Conrad was then absent at the Imperial Court. The expedition was fraught with peril, for young Henry was in great disgrace with the emperor, and could not set foot on the imperial estates without incurring danger, in case he should be recognized. He hesitated not, however, to obey the call of love, and made such good speed, that, within a few days, he arrived at the castle, long before he was expected, just at the hour of twilight, and presented himself to the astonished Agnes and her mother. No time was lost; the priest immediately summoned, and that night, without any pomp or preparation, their vows were plighted to each other, and they received the sacerdotal benediction.

"Great was the indignation of the Emperor Henry, when he found that the young duke had thus become so nearly allied to the imperial family, and it was some time before his uncle Conrad could convince him that this bold plot was planned and executed by woman's ingenuity, and without his connivance.

"The tale, however, ends happily; Conrad was soon reconciled to the match, and at his intercession, the young couple were received into favour by the emperor, and the discords that had long existed were thus at length brought to a conclusion."—Vol. i. pp. 259—261.

The fate of *ELEANORA*, second daughter of Henry the Second, is amongst the brightest portions of these annals. Wedded in her ninth year to Alphonso the monarch of Castille, who was under fifteen, the boy and girl attachment of herself and her playfellow expanded into a deep and ardent love, which continued throughout the entire lives of this happy and estimable pair. Her husband is more like a hero of romance than a being of common life, and his beautiful and devoted wife was, to the very last, the chief object of his regard and the only mistress of

his heart. After a long reign of glory and goodness the excellent king died on the 6th of October, 1214, in the fifty-ninth year of his age and the fifty-sixth of his reign. They had been married forty-three years, and so great was Leonor's grief at the heavy and unexpected loss of one whom she loved so well and so deservedly, that she only survived him twenty-five days, and expired of a broken heart on the 31st of October.

The life of her sister JOANNA was less fortunate, partly from the death of her first husband, and the calamities of her second, partly from her less amiable character. She was married when scarcely twelve years of age, to William II., King of Sicily, surnamed William the Good, who was in his twenty-fourth year. He was handsome, amiable, brave, and wise. The ceremonies of their marriage

“consisted, at this period, in the mutual exchange of the plight ring between the bride and bridegroom; after which a veil was thrown over the head of the bride: they were then both crowned with flowers, and led in state to the home prepared for them. After the celebration of her wedding, Joanna was crowned with regal solemnity the same day in the chapel royal, in presence of the Archbishop of York, and the other English ambassadors, and of the whole nobility of Sicily.

“The ceremonies attending the coronation of a queen-consort of Sicily, at this period, are minutely detailed by Inveges, as those which in all probability took place on this occasion. Two couches were prepared, on one of which sat the king, attired in his regal robes, while the other was occupied by the archbishop, surrounded with his prelates, the queen, meanwhile, taking her station apart. The service commenced by the performance of the mass, and, at the chanting of the Hallelujah, the king, wearing his crown, with the sceptre in his hand, and the sword of state carried before him, advanced to the altar, and, standing before the footstool of the archbishop, who sat mitred on his throne of state, he took off his crown, and thus addressed him:—‘We intreat, O reverend father, that you will deign to bless and adorn with the crown royal our consort united to us by God, to the praise and glory of our Saviour Jesus Christ.’ He then returned to his couch, and the queen, her hair loosely floating down her shoulders, and her head veiled, was conducted by two prelates to the archbishop, who still remained seated, and lowly kneeling before him, and kissing his hand, seemed silently to urge the petition. On this he rose, and, still wearing his mitre, knelt on his footstool, while the queen, at his left hand, prostrated herself to the ground. A short litany was then said, after which the archbishop stood up, and, uncovering himself, pronounced a prayer over the kneeling queen, and then sitting down, anointed her with the holy oil, making the sign of the cross on the wrist and elbow of her right arm, and between her shoulders, saying, ‘God the Father,’ &c. She then withdrew to a

pavilion, where she assumed the royal robes, after which she was reconducted to the archbishop, and, again kneeling before him, he placed the diadem on her head, saying, 'Receive the crown of glory, that thou mayest know thyself to be the consort of a king; and, giving her the sceptre, said, 'Receive the rod of virtue and equity, and be merciful and condescending to the poor.' After this the bishops and her maids of honour led her back to her seat. When the offertory was finished, the king and queen came together to the altar, and presented as much gold as they thought proper, and at mass they both communicated.

"At the conclusion of these ceremonials, Joanna was proclaimed throughout Palermo as Queen of Sicily."—Vol. i. pp. 318—320.

Of the remainder of this princess's interesting biography, the death of William, the villain of Tancred, and the very laughable way in which she revenged herself on him, her voyage to the Holy Land, with Richard of the Lion Heart, her second marriage with Raymond, Count of Toulouse, and the many other particulars of her eventful life, we can say nothing.

Neither can we stop to narrate the fate and fortunes of her namesake, the eldest daughter of King John, wedded to Alexander of Scotland. In fact, we have delayed so long in the first volume, that unless we hasten our steps, we shall scarce enter the second:—Alas! we have already lost all hope of reaching the third; for these pages are so universally attractive and interesting, that the difficulty is to leave any portion which we have once touched upon.

ISABELLA, the second daughter of King John, was given in marriage by her brother, Henry III., to the emperor, Frederic II. of Germany,—a not very enviable lot, though the sweetness of her disposition, and mild virtues of her gentle and enduring nature, enabled her to bear what many of the daughters of her house would not have been able to endure:—

"The emperor," says our authoress, "sent to his brother-in-law, King Henry, many precious gifts, unknown in England: amongst them were three leopards, significant of the royal arms of England, which were then said to be three leopards passant. They were afterwards called lions, but the change was merely in name; for certainly the grim-looking brutes, with claws to the full as thick as their bodies, which are depicted on the ancient royal shield, would answer just as well for one as the other, since it would puzzle a zoologist to discover which they were most unlike."—Vol. ii. p. 24.

The commencement of Isabella's married life did not augur well for her domestic happiness, or indeed comfort or enjoyment of any kind:—

"No sooner had King Henry's ambassadors withdrawn, than the

emperor thought proper to dismiss almost all Isabella's English attendants of both sexes, and committed her to the care of Moorish eunuchs, and haggard old women, precluding her alike from the society and the mode of life to which she had been accustomed, and condemning her to an almost monastic seclusion. The reason assigned for these regulations was, that the empress was likely in time to become a mother; and that, until that period arrived, it was requisite that she should be solely in the hands of experienced persons, who would take every possible care of her."—Vol. ii. p. 25.

Much of her after life was spent in the beautiful island of Sicily, where Frederic located her, that she might be removed from the bustle and tumult of war. A curious description occurs of the dress and manners of the Sicilian peasantry:—

"The men wore a close fitting dress of plates of iron, forming over the head a hood, called *maila* their other garments were of unwrought skins. The women wore tunics of wool, combed, but unwoven. Gold or silver ornaments or embroidery were scarcely known; the married women were distinguished by the broad *vittæ*, or bands across the temples, and down both sides of the face, and fastened under the chin. This peculiarity extended also to the higher ranks. The glory of the men was in their horses, their arms, and their fortresses. At table they were not more refined; the use of separate trenchers was unknown: the food, consisting of meat cooked with olives, was served up in one or two large bowls, out of which the whole family helped themselves, using nature's own implements for the purpose; while at supper, candles being unknown, light was afforded by a blazing torch, waved in the hands of one of the party."—Vol. ii. p. 37.

In the summer of 1241, Prince Richard of England, commonly known as Richard, Earl of Cornwall, or Richard, King of the Romans, landed in Sicily, where the imperial court was then residing, on his return from the Holy Land. Frederic received him with every demonstration, both public and private, of respect and affection. Songs and music, flower-garlands and palm-branches, met him in each city through which he passed; and the emperor welcomed him with kisses and embraces, and spent many days in consultation and converse with him. One feature, however, or rather defect in the mode of his reception, must have greatly surprised the young Englishman.

"Although Isabella had been so long parted from her own family, yet it never seems to have occurred to Frederic that it would be advisable to admit her to a share of the society of her brother; and when the prince had courteously waited in vain a considerable time, in expectation of the empress' appearance, he found himself compelled to make a formal demand to her lord to be admitted to an interview. His re-

quest was granted, not by a summons to Isabella to join the social circle, but by the appointment of a day on which Richard was to visit his sister in her own apartments, where preparations were made for his reception."—Vol. ii. p. 40.

Richard must have been greatly astonished at what he beheld in the scene of his sister's strange and almost Asiatic seclusion :

"After the first salutations were over, a number of strange and fantastic games, which had been invented and frequently performed for the amusement of the empress, were gone through, greatly to the wonder and delight of the prince and his English attendants. After divers marvellous plays had been acted, four globes of glass were brought into the apartment and laid on the pavement; and then entered two young Saracen girls, of the most exquisite beauty of feature and gracefulness of form, and, each ascending two of the globes and clapping their hands, they began a dance on their slippery pedestals; spurning the balls with their fairy feet, yet never dismounting from them; bending themselves into the most fantastic attitudes, and sporting with each other in a manner which called forth from the spectators the most rapturous expressions of admiration."—Vol. ii. p. 41.

A few weeks after the departure of her brother, whom she does not appear to have seen except on the specific occasion above-mentioned, the empress died, in giving birth to a daughter, at the early age of twenty-seven. Her death, however, can only be looked upon as a happy release from a vexatious though luxurious bondage, which, to most Englishwomen utterly intolerable, to her must have been only just endurable. We must not, however, close this biography without giving one more extract, having a peculiar interest for the present generation. After speaking of the wretched fate of her daughter, the authoress says,—

"But a far higher destiny awaited her remote posterity. Her descendant of the fourth generation, Frederic the Warlike, was made Elector of Saxony, and his offspring were the progenitors of the noble houses of Saxe Cobourgh and Saxe Gotha; so that the blood of the Empress Isabella now runs in the veins of England's Queen, and, through her illustrious consort of the house of Saxe Gotha, blends in a twofold stream in those of the royal infants—the hope of the nation—the princes and princesses of England."—Vol. ii. p. 47.

The course of events now brings us to one of the most interesting narratives in the whole three volumes, that, namely, of ELEANORA, third daughter of King John, the wife successively of the two greatest men of the age—William, son of the great Earl of Pembroke, and Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester.

Various difficulties arose with reference to the princess's marriage with the first of these mighty nobles: they were all, however, at length got over; and in the year 1225, when Eleanora

was about eleven years of age, and William above forty, the marriage was concluded.

“Owing to the juvenility of the Lady Eleanora, her marriage was for some time merely nominal, and she remained an inmate of her brother’s house while her spouse was engaged in the bustle of active life: . . . yet the repeated mention of his name, as witness or party in almost every record roll of this period, proves that he was a frequent resident at court. His intimate association with the royal family gave him every opportunity of seeking to possess himself of the affections of his young betrothed, who was fast springing up to maidenhood. That Eleanora should have entertained a tender regard for the man whom, almost ever since her mind had been capable of admitting an idea, she was taught to look upon as her future husband, would not have been extraordinary, especially considering that his rank, his military prowess, and his personal character, all entitled him to respect; but that she should have cherished for her mature spouse a passion as deep and intense as though he had wooed her with all the fervour of impassioned youth, is somewhat singular; and yet after circumstances fully proved that this was the case.

“The period at which the Princess Eleanora fulfilled her marriage-vows was probably the latter part of the year 1229, when she was in her fifteenth year.”—Vol. ii. pp. 52—54.

But her wedded happiness was of short duration, for, on the 15th of April, 1231, the Earl of Pembroke died, after an illness of only a few hours.

“Intense and passionate was the grief of the widowed Eleanora, and, in the first transports of her sorrow, she took a public and solemn vow, in presence of Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, that never would she become a wife, but remain a true spouse of Christ; and she received from him the spousal ring in confirmation of her pledge.”—Vol. ii. p. 57.

A vow, however, made under the pressure of powerful and sudden excitement, was not very likely to be maintained where there existed the temptation and the opportunity to break it. The impassioned nature, and the bold spirit of the young girl, which had made her appreciate, idolize, and mourn over one hero, was naturally formed to appreciate the surpassing merits of another; and the very early age at which her first bereavement occurred, and the short time that she had been united to her first husband, whilst they increased her agony for the moment, rendered her more susceptible of powerful and lasting impressions when Time, that mighty comforter, had done his work.

Amongst the many judgments of contemporary authorities, which have been reversed by the decisions of after ages, there is none more striking than that which refers to the character and

conduct, the motives and actions, the wishes and intentions of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester. Admired, esteemed, and revered by the great body of the nobles, idolized by the people, who looked on him as their deliverer, and canonized, so to speak, by the universal voice of the clergy—he obtained the love and veneration of the whole English nation, with the exception only of an imbecile king, an ambitious prince, a corrupt court, and of those who either from attachment, interest, or pique, supported the royal cause: whereas after ages have emulated each other in their eagerness to bury under a mountain of contumely, the name of this able statesman and dauntless warrior.

We have spoken of the strict impartiality of the authoress of these volumes, and perhaps it is no where more apparent than in the biography under consideration—for whilst joining in the common cry against the great earl and his princely consort, she furnishes us with numberless facts which tell strongly in their favour—and has the candour to observe with reference to De Montfort that—“*It is a remarkable fact, that all the writers of the day, speak of his character in terms of enthusiastic admiration*”—very remarkable indeed! and scarcely reconcilable with his being the unprincipled adventurer he is usually represented!

“Their origin”—says Mrs. Green, *i. e.* that of the De Montforts, “has been the subject of much learned disputation; but the most probable opinion is, that they descended from William, Earl of Hainault, great-grandson of Baldwin, with the iron arm, Earl of Flanders, and of Judith, daughter of Charles the Bold, King of France. This Earl William married the heiress of the house of Montfort; and his descendant, Almaric II., became Earl of Evreux, by his marriage with Agnes, heiress of that house, and a descendant from Richard I., Duke of Normandy. Half the earldom of Leicester devolved upon this powerful family from the marriage of their descendant, Simon III. with Amicia, daughter and co-heiress of Robert Fitz Parnell, Earl of Leicester, in whose right he obtained the title of earl, with the hereditary dignity of Lord Steward of England. At that period, the Montforts were occasional residents in this country, where they enjoyed a high degree of consideration; but their French descent and associations having induced them warmly to countenance the pretensions of the dauphin Louis, at the close of King John’s reign, their possessions were forfeited, they were banished the kingdom, and retired to their own domains. Not only the earldom of Montfort, but that of Evereux and Narbonne, with the viscounties of Beziers and Carcassonne, formed their proud continental possessions.

“On the death of Earl Simon IV., his estates descended to his eldest son, Almaric. The earldom of Leicester, of course, was included amongst these possessions; but, though Almaric made several applications to the king to restore to him the lands and revenues which, since

their forfeiture had been in the hands of the Earls of Chester, he constantly failed in obtaining his suit, on account of the jealous feeling with which, as a French noble possessing extensive continental domains, he was regarded. Finding his efforts unsuccessful, he next renewed his applications in favour of his youngest brother Simon, against whom the same objections could not be supposed to exist; and this time King Henry lent a favourable ear to his petition. He promised to deliver the lands, consisting of the town of Leicester, and the moiety of the earldom, with the office of seneschal to Simon, as soon as he could get them out of the hands of Ralph, Earl of Chester. This was accomplished the following year, 1231; and in 1232, Simon received from his brother Almaric a formal cession of the rights which he, as the elder, possessed to the honours in question, for which he paid 1500 livres, French money."—Vol. ii. pp. 64—66.

The young earl soon became a great favourite with the king, and a frequent guest at his court. Eleanora was now twenty-three years of age—her beauty had rather increased than diminished during the time of her widowhood—and to all the charms of person and manner, she added the attractions of a highly-educated intellect, a powerful mind, and a loving heart. It is not wonderful, then, that the young hero should fall in love with the beautiful widow: nor that the princess after the lapse of six long years, since the death of her lamented but elderly lord, should have reciprocated the affection of one who possessed all those qualities of person and mind which excite either the admiration of man or the love of woman. And it is a strong testimony to the reality of De Montfort's attachment, as well as the estimableness of his character, that the high-spirited Eleanora retained to the last the same devotion to her husband, which induced her in the first instance to give him her heart and hand.

A difficulty, indeed, arose in the fact that Eleanora was already devoted to perpetual celibacy, by the inconsiderate vow which she had made in the moment of her early loss. To avoid this the lovers were in the first instance privately married in the most secret manner possible, in the king's private chapel by his own chaplain, Henry himself giving away his sister to the bridegroom, who, we are told by Matthew of Paris, "received her right joyfully, not only on account of the abundant love he bore her, but also for the loveliness of her person, the nobleness of her mind, and the honour of her station as daughter of the king and queen, and sister to a king, a queen, and an empress." The authoress clearly proves the falsehood of the calumnious accusation that De Montfort had previously seduced the princess. The bride and bridegroom, however, were in a critical position: the nobles were in the first instance extremely indignant when they discovered

that Henry had sanctioned the marriage without their concurrence, and the clergy and nation in general were loud in their denunciations of the broken vow. Under these circumstances the princess retired to the castle of Kenilworth, which had been granted to her by her brother, whilst Simon proceeded to Rome, from whence he speedily returned,

“ provided with a full dispensation for his marriage, and with letters from his Holiness to Otho the Papal legate in England, commanding him to authorize and ratify it. With these precious documents, Earl Simon arrived in triumph at court on the 14th October, 1238, where he was favourably received, and even appointed to the office of counsellor to the king; but remaining there no longer than was absolutely necessary, he hastened to Kenilworth, where he arrived in time to cheer the drooping spirits of his wife, and by the good news he brought, to cast a gleam of brightness over the birth of their son, which took place very soon after, on Advent Sunday, the 28th of November.”—Vol. ii. pp. 72, 73.

The king officiated as sponsor at the baptism of this infant, who was named Henry; and in the course of the next year De Montfort was called upon to become godfather to the young Prince Edward, who was born on the 16th of June, 1239. This was not, however, a gratuitous honour, for each of the *nine* godfathers was expected to present the child with costly gifts. Nor were they the only persons taxed on the occasion.

“ Henry dispatched messengers to all the powerful and wealthy nobles of the realm, informing them of the birth of an heir to the crown; and none of these bearers of good tidings were expected to return empty-handed. If the value of the gift presented did not come up to the expectations of the royal beggar, he indignantly rejected it, and sent back the messenger with a mandate on his peril not to return till he had secured a richer booty. The conduct of King Henry on this occasion gave rise to a cutting sarcasm from a Norman jester,—‘ God has *given* us this infant,’ said he, ‘ but my lord the king *sells* him to us.’”—Vol. ii. pp. 74, 75.

Shortly after this, however, the king, on the occasion of the queen’s churching, thought proper to insult the Earl and Countess of Leicester in a most public and outrageous manner. Fearing lest he should proceed to personal violence, they at once embarked for France, leaving their infant son at Kenilworth. The king, however, was soon reconciled to his brother-in-law; and in the spring of the following year the earl returned to England to collect money from his English estates, for an expedition to the Holy Land. Having taken his infant over to its mother, Simon set forth towards Palestine. Here, we are told,—

“ He must have succeeded, in no ordinary degree, in attracting the

ward and admiration of the inhabitants, since the nobility of Jerusalem presented a petition, dated the 7th of June, 1241, to entreat the Emperor Frederic II. to appoint him their governor until the majority of his son Conrad, who was the heir to the throne, in right of his deceased mother Yolante. They sent a formal written engagement, promising to keep and maintain the earl in his office, and to obey him as they would the emperor himself. They prayed Frederic to seal this agreement with his golden seal."—Vol. ii. p. 78.

Frederic, however, did not accede to their request, and De Montfort returned to England. In the course of the next year, the weak-minded Henry, at the instance of his mother, planned an expedition for the recovery of Poitou. The English nobles vehemently opposed the project, and even refused to grant the usual supplies. But, on finding the king, who was as obstinate as he was weak, determined to persist in his plan, many of them attended him; and amongst them his brother-in-law, accompanied by the devoted Eleanora.

"The particulars of this luckless and ill-directed expedition belong to general history. Suffice it to say, that De Montfort fully established his claim to the title of a valiant chevalier; and at the battle of Xaintes especially, so unfortunate for the English, he displayed great prowess, and even rescued the king, who was in danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, by the efforts of his personal bravery. On the disgraceful termination of the campaign, the whole court reassembled at Bourdeaux, where the queen, the Countess of Leicester, and the ladies of the court had resided during its progress; but so great was the dissatisfaction of many of the nobles, that, without taking leave of their royal master, they returned to England. The Earls of Leicester and Salisbury, and a few others, still remained true to their sovereign; though the cost at which they preserved their allegiance was by no means trifling; for they were left altogether to their own resources, and obliged to incur large and daily increasing debts to meet the necessary expenses of their household.

"The character of the king is presented to us, at this period, in a most despicable light; for, while he allowed his faithful followers to suffer from utter destitution of those things which it should have been his first care to provide, he squandered all the money he could obtain upon foreign parasites. Among these was the Countess of Bearne, mother of the far-famed Gaston de Bearne; 'a woman,' says Paris, 'singularly monstrous in size, and prodigious for fatness.' The Earl of Toulouse and the King of Arragon were also visitants at the court of Bourdeaux. These two princes still retained their ancient animosity to the Montfort family, embittered by so many years of conflict during the Albigensian wars; and, by their frequent insinuations, they endeavoured to prejudice the wavering mind of the king against Earl Simon. In this they were but too successful, for the coolness of

the king rendered his situation so unpleasant to him, that he and his countess took their departure for England."—Vol. ii. pp. 80, 81.

This coolness was of short duration, and on the king's return to England in the autumn of 1243, the Earl of Leicester resumed his former place at court and council; and the beautiful and devoted countess was permitted for the few ensuing years to enjoy that domestic happiness for which she was so well fitted, residing the greater part of her time at her castle of Kenilworth, which had been lately much adorned by the king, and to which great privileges were attached. Henry, her eldest son, frequently visited his uncle's court as the playmate and companion of his young cousin Prince Edward; whilst the other sons, Simon, Guy, Amalric, and Richard, as soon as they became old enough, were placed under the tutelage of the celebrated Robert Grosstête, Bishop of Lincoln. The intimate association and steady friendship which existed between this distinguished and exemplary prelate, and the Earl and Countess of Leicester, speaks highly in their favour.

"He was the confidential adviser of Simon in all cases of perplexity, and, by his moderate counsels, often succeeded in calming the irritated feelings of the earl. His office of tutor to their children, which, although himself of humble birth, he discharged admirably, particularly in fitting them to fulfil their courtly duties, rendered him a frequent and welcome guest at the house and table of Simon and Eleanor. He also introduced to their notice and favour another learned priest, to whom he was himself warmly attached, whom we shall have frequent occasion hereafter to notice. This was Adam de Marisco, nephew of Richard de Marisco, Lord Chancellor and Bishop of Durham, one of the most eminent divines of his time, who took a doctor's degree at Oxford. He seems to have occupied much the same position, in reference to the Countess Eleanor which the Bishop of Lincoln held with her lord. He was her correspondent, amanuensis, counsellor, and friend."—Vol. ii. pp. 84, 85.

The correspondence which occurred between this very excellent priest and the Countess of Leicester, is one of the most pleasing and interesting features of this biography, and proves beyond all dispute, that however proudly the heart of the Princess Eleanor may have throbbed with the blood of her Norman and Plantagenet ancestry, she was ready to listen with dutiful reverence to the commands of the Gospel and the counsels of the Church. It is indeed quite cheering to be brought into contact with the Christian life of such holy men as Grosstête and Marisco, who would have been lights of the Church in the brightest ages that she has ever seen: and it is equally delightful to witness the dignified attention, and reasonable, though deep respect with which their

advice and admonitions, on all matters, were received by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, and the Princess Eleanora his wife.

We may here mention a somewhat singular act of generosity on the part of Henry III. He was under great pecuniary obligations to both his sister and brother-in-law, and he therefore remitted to De Montfort, a debt which the earl owed to an unfortunate Jew, David, of Oxford, not paying it himself, but cancelling it altogether! He further proceeded to sell to him the guardianship of one of his wards, which proved a profitable investment to the purchaser, as the revenues of minors were by the existing laws enjoyed by their guardians.

How much, alas! remains to be said, and how little space is left for saying it! we must extract and condense as best we may:—

“The Earl of Leicester began about this time to assume a more important position in the State than he had previously occupied. In 1244, he was one of a committee chosen to deliberate upon the grant of a subsidy to the king; and in 1246, his name occurs among other nobles in an appeal to the Pope, against the enormous exactions of the Church of Rome.”—Vol. ii. p. 89.

“In the year 1248, the grand movement for a general crusade, made by St. Louis of France, roused once more the chivalric spirit of Europe. . . . On this occasion Simon de Montfort. . . . once more mounted the cross and determined to accompany the crusading hosts. . . . When the Countess Eleanora saw the red cross once more clasped on the bosom of her lord, she determined not again to be left behind, and with eagerness she too flew to assume the sacred symbol. Fired by the example of their lord and lady, the warlike retainers of De Montfort, and even a large proportion of his domestic servants, also took the cross. . . . Her resolution was not however put to the test. Scarcely had Earl Simon taken the vows, than he was dispatched by the king to quell an insurrection in Gascony, which he succeeded in doing. . . . The State of Gascony, the last relic of the continental possessions of Henry II., now in the hands of his degenerate grandson, was most deplorable. The Gascons hated the English rule, and never lost a feasible opportunity of trying to shake it off. . . . At length the king and council determined that the bold De Montfort, whose energetic character and martial prowess well fitted him for the office, should be again sent over. Accordingly, he was duly invested with the office of Seneschal, which was granted him by letters patent for six years, with the custody of all the royal castles, and he took his departure for the continent.”—Vol. ii. pp. 90, 91.

The conduct of De Montfort in this arduous position exhibits courage and ability seldom equalled, whilst the loyalty, and patience, and singular forbearance, which he exhibited towards his despicable brother-in-law, are almost beyond praise. During

this period, however, the Nobles and Commons of England had grown more and more discontented, and as the king had declined, so his mighty brother-in-law had risen in popularity. At length he returned to England for good. It was a strange time that, which preceded the breaking out of the civil war :—

“ On one occasion, Henry had taken his barge to go up the Thames, then the grand thoroughfare of London, to his palace of Westminster, when a sudden and severe storm of thunder and lightning advised him to land at the first convenient place. This chanced to be near Durham House, the palace of the Bishop of London, which, during a temporary vacancy of the See, was occupied by Earl Simon. The earl went out to meet his sovereign with every mark of external respect, and bade him not to be afraid of the storm : ‘ I fear thunder and lightning beyond measure ; but by the head of God I fear you more than all the thunder and lightning in the world,’ said Henry. ‘ My lord,’ answered Simon, ‘ it is unjust, incredible that you should fear me, your firm friend, always true to you and yours the kings of England : fear rather your enemies, destroyers, and slanderers.’ ”—Vol. ii. p. 120.

“ During the commotions that ensued, the Countess Eleanora principally resided in her castle of Kenilworth, where behind its strong entrenchments, she was safe from any sudden surprise. From the time that the Earl of Leicester first began to anticipate the probability of a bloody termination to the civil contest, he had taken all possible pains to fortify this stronghold. Warlike machines, some of them brought over from the continent, had been erected at great expense, the walls and towers strengthened, and protected by a strong garrison ; and Earl Simon might well believe from the dauntless spirit of the royal Eleanora, that her presence would add to rather than diminish the efficiency of resistance in case of an attack upon his castellated fortress. Here with her only daughter she passed the days, and long and anxious must they have been, while her sons and husband were engaged in active combat. Frequently, however, the return of Earl Simon and his retainers, or the visits of the nobles of his party afforded animated variety to her existence. . . . At length, in 1264, the battle of Lewes, which placed King Henry and Prince Edward, Richard King of the Romans and his son Edmund prisoners in the hands of Simon de Montfort, turned the uncertain scale of war. . . . The Earl of Leicester was now at the height of worldly prosperity, and he celebrated his Christmas with unusual splendour at Kenilworth Castle with his wife and family, surrounded by his warlike retainers, of whom he numbered one hundred and forty amongst his domestic servants only. His royal captives were probably amongst the guests, for he treated them with the courtesy due to their high rank, and Kenilworth was the place which he chose as the residence of several of them.”—Vol. ii. pp. 123—125.

The kindness, indeed, with which De Montfort treated his ungrateful brother-in-law and his hostile family, when they were

entirely in his power and utterly at his mercy, affords a striking contrast to many who went before, and to all who have followed him. Let us but cast our eyes on the barbarities practised on each other by the children of William the Conqueror, on the treachery of Stephen and the cruelty of John—and, following the downward stream of history, who will venture to compare Henry of Bolingbroke, Henry of Richmond, Oliver Cromwell, or William of Orange with Simon de Montfort and his worthy consort—worthy we mean of being the wife of such a man—Eleanora of England?

A most pleasing illustration of the personal character of the countess occurs in the generous consideration with which she strove, by many delicate marks of attention, to minister to the comfort of her imprisoned relatives.

“ The provision for their necessities did not devolve upon her, and therefore her frequent presents to them may be regarded purely as tokens of good will. A few extracts from the oft quoted household roll must suffice as instances. A barrel of sturgeon and some whale’s flesh were sent to Wallingford during Lent for the use of King Henry. Notice also occurs of the carriage of 108 cod and ling, 32 congers, and 500 hakes from Bristol to Wallingford, of which half were left at Wallingford, the residence of Prince Edward, probably for his use, and the other half sent to Odiham: 200 figs were also sent to Wallingford. The king of the Romans, who was at Kenilworth, received a present of spices—20lbs. of saffron, 5lbs. of rice, which by an odd missappropriation of terms was then considered a *spice*, 2lbs. of pepper, 1lb. of ginger, 2lbs. of sugar, &c., and 20 pieces of whale. Eleanora sent him shortly afterwards a quantity of raisins and two measures of wine. His wardrobe, too, was handsomely provided for: 12 ells of scarlet cloth were purchased for the robes of King Richard against Easter, while his son Edmund had a suit consisting of robe, tunic, and cloak, of rayed cloth of Paris, at 4s. 8d. an ell, a satin hood also was bought for each.—Vol. ii. pp. 134, 135.

We can do no more than allude to the haughty conduct of the young De Montforts, which alienated many of the nobles—the jealousy and consequent breach between the Earls of Gloucester and Leicester—and the escape of Prince Edward, which gave the royalists an acknowledged, intrepid, and able leader.

At length it came—that fatal field of Evesham, the event of which has determined the judgment of historians as to the merits of Simon and his opponents. Prince Edward had succeeded in intercepting and defeating the succours which the younger Simon, Leicester’s second son, was bringing to his aid, and advanced at the head of a powerful army against his enemy.

“ Expecting to join his son’s forces, Earl Simon marched from Here-

ford across the Severn towards Worcester, and, staying two days near Rumsey, arrived on the third at Evesham. Scarcely had he reached this spot than the floating of banners approaching from the north, gave token of the arrival of troops in the direction in which those of the young De Montfort were expected. Considerable excitement prevailed concerning the advancing host, which was not allayed until Nicholas the barber of the earl, who blended some knowledge of heraldry with the medley of medical and other miscellaneous learning, which then appertained to his profession, positively declared from the blazonry on the banners that they belonged to the party of young Simon. The earl, however, had still some vague suspicions floating in his mind; and he ordered his barber to mount the steeple of the Abbey of Evesham, to obtain a more commanding view of the host. On approaching nearer his enemy, Prince Edward, who had at first displayed the colours taken at Kenilworth, in order to deceive the Montforts, changed his tactics; and the royal banner of England, with those of the Earl of Gloucester, and Sir Roger Mortimer, were unfurled to the breeze, and filled the heart of the worthy Nicholas with dismay. "We are dead men!" he exclaimed to his lord as he conveyed the tidings. De Montfort himself was not sanguine as to the result of a contest with such unequal forces; but he assumed a cheerful air, and encouraged his soldiers with confident expressions, telling them it was for the laws of the land and the cause of God that they were to fight. He himself led one part of the little host, and his eldest son Henry the other; and, to give countenance to their cause, they placed King Henry among their ranks. As the royalist troops advanced, their number and martial array struck terror into the heart of the brave De Montfort. 'By the arm of St. James,' he cried, 'they approach in admirable order; they have learned this style from me, and not themselves'—adding mournfully, 'let us commend our souls to God, for our bodies are theirs.' His son Henry endeavoured to cheer him, by exhorting him not to despair so soon. 'I do not despair, my son,' replied the earl; 'but your presumption, and the pride of your brothers, have brought me to this crisis; and I firmly believe that I shall die for the cause of God and justice.'

"The fight commenced about two o'clock in the afternoon of the 4th of August; but the daring valour of Prince Edward's troops, and the pusillanimous conduct of the Welsh soldiers who were in the army of the earl, soon showed how the scale of conflict was likely to turn. The earl and his son performed prodigies of valour; they exerted themselves to stem the torrent of disaster, and each led their men to a renewed charge, in which young Montfort, bravely fighting, fell. The news of his death was forthwith communicated to his father. 'By the arm of St. James,' he cried, vociferating for the last time his favourite oath, 'then it is time for me to die!' and, grasping his sword with both hands, he rushed upon his assailants, striking with such rapidity and vigour, that a witness of the scene asserted that, had he had but eight followers like himself, he would have changed the fortune of the day.

Wounded, however, by a blow from behind, he was struck from his horse, and instantly dispatched; and the fate of the battle was decided. So great was the exasperation of the victors against the Earl of Leicester, that they revenged themselves by the mutilation of his dead body. His hand was cut off by Roger Mortimer, and sent to his countess, at once as a present, and a token that the great enemy was slain."—Vol. ii. pp. 139—141.

Thus fell one of the bravest warriors and ablest statesmen that England ever welcomed to her shores. Whether he were the disinterested patriot and sincere Christian which his contemporaries conceived him to be, or the selfish adventurer, and hypocritical villain which he is now generally considered, we shall not at present stop to inquire. Facts, however, are stubborn things, and we trust that the next writer who undertakes to narrate the history of those times, will carefully examine them, and not dismiss with supercilious contempt the wail of a whole people mourning over the mighty dead.

We need do no more than allude to the well-known fact that De Montfort summoned the knights and burgesses to Parliament in 1264, and thus revived the popular element in the English constitution. One point, however, is perhaps less generally recognized:—

"The strong hold he possessed upon the affections of the monkish orders, who were the sole depositories of the learning of the day, and enjoyed the exclusive monopoly of authorship, *may be mainly attributed to his energetic resistance against the oppressions of Rome.*"—Vol. ii. p. 145.

Is it possible that the change in public feeling which has occurred in the matter may have originated in the relentless animosity of that Evil Power which never pardons either the living or the dead who have opposed her tyranny, combated her errors, or denounced her crimes? The matter deserves investigation. For ourselves, we feel disposed to take up the burden of the mournful old ballad:—

"Ore est occys la fleur de pris, que taunt sauvoit de guerre,
Le quens Montfort, sa dure mort molt emplora la terre!"

We may not trace further the fortunes of the princess, thus a second time bereaved. We cannot, however, avoid mentioning a circumstance which shows the character of Edward the First in a worse point of view than we have yet seen it displayed.

After the ruin of De Montfort's party, the Welsh prince, Llewellyn, continued to urge his suit for the hand of his beautiful daughter, to whom he had become attached and engaged in hap-

pier times. The younger Eleanora was married to her lover by proxy early in the year 1275, only a few weeks before the decease of her mother in France. She did not, however, immediately set out, and when she did so, in company with her brother Amalric, her voyage was any thing but prosperous.

“The young fiancée and her guardian were captured off the Scilly Islands by four Bristol merchant vessels, and conveyed forthwith to the port of that city. Bartholomew of Norwich and other chroniclers affirm that these vessels were actually commissioned by King Edward to intercept them. At any rate, his appreciation of the service they had performed appears by a gift of 200 marks to their crews. The illustrious captives, after remaining eight days in Bristol Castle, were separated. Amalric was placed in solitary confinement, first at Corfe, and then at Sherborne Castle, while his sister was conveyed to Windsor Castle, where, if she were not subjected to rigorous captivity, she was detained in a sort of honourable restraint. . . . Great was the indignation and bitter the disappointment of the Welsh prince, at finding his plighted bride thus suddenly snatched from him. In the first transports of indignation, when the news reached him, he made hostile demonstrations against the English king; and when he was summoned to appear at Parliament he refused to obey, but at the same time sent messengers, demanding peace and the restoration of Eleanora, and offering for her immense sums of money. The king saw his advantage; he felt that he possessed a strong hold upon his antagonist, and he refused to relinquish Eleanora except on his own terms. These terms Llewellyn hesitated to accept. It needed little provocation to rouse the warlike Edward against his rash opponent. He advanced into Wales: county after county yielded to his victorious arms, and Llewellyn was compelled to sue for peace. He was permitted to come under a safe conduct to London, where the terms were finally arranged. . . . These conditions were hard, but the stern monarch was inflexible in the exaction of them: it was only by swearing an oath, which, as it rang through the Welsh mountains and valleys, thrilled the heart of every son of Cambria with patriotic sorrow, and woke up the spirit of its bards to strains of enthusiastic indignation and passionate bewailing, that the ill-omened nuptials of Llewellyn and Eleanora were concluded. They were married at Worcester on the 13th of October, 1278, in the presence of King Edward and Queen Eleanora, and the whole court. The nuptials were performed with great magnificence at the expense of Edward, who himself gave away the bride.—The young couple immediately retired to Wales.”—Vol. ii. pp. 163—165.

And here we must bid adieu to these very interesting pages; assuring our readers that it is from want of space, and not of will, that we have proceeded rather less than half way in our survey of the first three volumes of “The Lives of the Princesses of England.”

ART. VII.—*Notes of a Residence in the Canary Islands, the South of Spain, and Algiers; illustrative of the State of Religion in those Countries.* By the Rev. THOMAS DEBARY, M.A. London: Rivingtons.

IN these days of migratory habits, the writer of travels has far less chance of an attentive audience than in days when steamers and railroads were unknown. The greater part of the Continent of Europe is indeed familiar to every one, either by guide-books, or books of travels, or personal visits—known, that is to say, in its outward form, its scenery, buildings, and other features which appear on the surface of things. But what a world of novelty is imperceptible to the mere traveller, who hastens along from city to city, and spends his time in seeing the “lions!” The mind, feelings, opinions of the people—and, above all, their religion—not merely in its external manifestations, which impress themselves on the senses, but in its inner operations on opinion and practice—are a closed book to the ordinary traveller; more especially if that traveller be, as he very frequently is, profoundly ignorant of the religious systems of those amongst whom he travels, and perhaps not very well informed as to his own religion. And yet, how immeasurably more important and interesting in every point of view, are the mental characteristics of a people, than the material developments which present themselves to the senses! The writer who is enabled by circumstances to acquire an insight into the prevalent views and sentiments of foreign nations, is contributing a most valuable addition to the amount of our knowledge, by stating the result of his inquiries. Mr. Debary is one of those writers who has been enabled, from various causes, to bestow on those higher subjects of inquiry, an attention and a research such as rarely lies within the power of those who visit or even reside in the countries which he has made the subject of examination in the volume now before. His general acquaintance with religious subjects, his habits of observation and inquiry, and his familiarity with foreign languages, afforded peculiar facilities for investigations, which at this period are more especially interesting, as bearing upon questions which engage much of the public attention. But, independently of the graver subjects which the author more particularly examines, there is very much to engage and to interest the general reader, in the agreeable pictures

of scenery and manners which are introduced, and the varied characters of the society into which the author takes his readers.

We propose to touch briefly, in the first instance, on those portions of Mr. Debary's work which refer to more general subjects; and subsequently to examine the evidence which he supplies of the state of religion amongst the native population of the countries which he visited.

Our author, having been recommended by his medical adviser to spend a winter abroad, embarked in one of the regular packets for Madeira, with the intention of making a stay of some months there. As may be supposed, most of his companions were invalids, like himself, in search of health. This circumstance, however, did not prevent the discomfort of disputes on subjects of controversy—the Madeira chaplaincy furnishing material for much animated debate, and ultimately ranging most of the passengers on either one side or the other. We have really no heart to dwell on these disputes, or the opinions expressed by Mr. Debary in reference to them. We confess to an unfavourable impression with regard to the conduct of almost all who have been engaged in that controversy; and, after recent occurrences, it is perhaps just as well, that there should be no further contest going on there.—The Bishop of London has been most improperly treated by all parties.

At length we arrive at Madeira, where our author thus introduces us to the Bay of Funchal:—

“We entered the Bay of Funchal under what might be called a tropical moon. The fair prospect was accordingly idealized, rather than concealed, by the shades of night; innumerable white quintas sparkled in the basin of the amphitheatre; the sea looked too calm ever again to be stirred into a storm; the voices of people talking on the decks of the neighbouring ships told us how still was the atmosphere; but, as if to remind us that we were not altogether in fairy-land, from one of these issued a grievous smell; and we learnt the next day that she had been a slaver, but was now employed to carry emigrants, and had been brought back by government vessels from a voyage to Demerara, whither she was bound, with three hundred miserable emigrants on board, as they had not obtained the proper permission to leave the island. But for this smell we should have thought the prospect before us a dream; but as it was, we were happy to seek an oblivion of the senses, by retiring to rest.

“As Madeira is a place so constantly visited and written about, the few observations I have to make upon the island shall be made in as brief a way as possible. If the transporting the habits and manners of the mother country pretty perfectly into the colony or settlement be a sign of good colonization, there is no doubt Madeira was well colonized at the beginning. Funchal is a thoroughly Portuguese town; and, as

far as size and importance goes, bears about the same proportion to the other towns and villages of the island, as Lisbon does to Portugal. It seems the disposition of the Portuguese to congregate very much in one large city or capital, and that of the Spaniards to settle in several towns; so that, I imagine, if we except the Havannah, the Portuguese can show finer capitals, in proportion, than their neighbours. Funchal is a very large town for the size of the island, and a great part of it being built on the precipitous sides of the mountain, it shows off to the best advantage. Then the numerous English residents, who have brought money and taste to erect quintas with, have added somewhat to the splendour of the *coup d'œil*. The character of the Portuguese street architecture is rather of the majestic, and traces of this taste are manifested in some streets of Funchal."—pp. 4—6.

Madeira does not seem to have left a pleasing impression on the author's mind, and it may well be imagined that a society of invalids, many of whom survive but a short time their voyage thither, must have any thing but a cheerful tendency. In addition to this, the controversy then raging in the island furnished an inducement to exchange the "spell-bound" island, for the Canaries, whither, accordingly, our author proceeded in the Brazil packet. Within twenty-four hours after leaving Madeira they could discern the "loom" of Teneriffe: they had the whole south-east side of the island before them, with the Peak in full view—a range of basaltic mountains covered with what appeared to be a thin and spotty vegetation. These mountains suddenly fall before coming to the capital of the province, Santa Cruz—the Canary islands being, as Mr. Debary says, just as much a province of Spain as Andalusia. On landing the travellers were surrounded by a singular-looking rabble. The most respectable were dressed in long *cloth* cloaks, notwithstanding the burning heat of the sun; and many of the others wore common *blankets* over their shoulders. An odd-looking individual half-English half-Spanish, who saw the travellers' surprise, informed them that this strange attire was only a part of the national vanity—a "carpa" of some sort must be had, and those who cannot afford a cloth one, content themselves with a blanket! We should think this vanity brings an ample punishment along with it. Imagine men broiling in blankets and cloth cloaks under a tropical sun! The population of this place is about 8000 or 9000; the houses are furnished with windows of a peculiar description. They are only partially glazed.

"The greater part," says our author, "consists of a sort of panelled shutter, which on being pushed from the inside lifts up, and enables the inmate to see and not to be seen. The mystery which attaches to these shutters certainly furnishes the ladies of the town, who are re-

markably pretty, with a powerful means of flirtation. A stranger has to pass a perfect battery as he walks along. A shutter flies up, a face glances at the stranger, and when curiosity is satisfied down drops the shutter again, and the house looks as exclusive as a convent."—p. 24.

On visiting the Captain-General of the province, they were questioned by him as to the probability of Queen Adelaide (then at Madeira) visiting Teneriffe. He then began to speculate on what political effects to Europe would be the result of Louis Philippe's death; little imagining at the time that the French Revolution had then taken place. The news of that Revolution and its effects throughout Europe arrived in a few weeks, and the author remarks on the perplexity it caused even in those remote islands. Vessels touching at Santa Cruz did not know what ships to salute, and whether they were at war or peace with the different countries they arrived at. The actual arrival of the news is thus amusingly described:—

"An English merchant made interest for us; and procured us a lodging in the house of one Señor Martinez, a Spanish gentleman of rather reduced fortune, but ample habitation. He was literally living in a palace, by himself; a terrible Progresista and a passionate admirer of Espartero; a great conner of the little scraps of paper that circulate here as newspapers, and the very centre of the political circle of the place.

"One evening we were sitting at our evening meal with Don Martinez, which consisted of milk, and rice, and fruit. Martinez had just got his letters from Spain, and was reading them with great agitation, when he suddenly got up, and run out of the room, leaving us listlessly looking out upon the evening sky, and the broad leaves of the banana, and thinking how very quiet and tranquil every thing was, but yet a little surprised at the agitation of our host. Suddenly we heard a great explosion, and immediately saw the darting light of rockets as they rose one after another; and Martinez returning to us, exclaimed, 'Cohete!' 'cohete!' a rocket! a rocket! bravo! there is a republic in France, and Louis Philippe is dead. *Viva La Republica!* May the Republic flourish!" Of course, having no respect for Spanish intelligence, we did not believe Martinez, and only concluded it must be some stir amongst the Progresistas. Martinez evidently regarded it as the dawn of brighter days for Spain, although he did not consider Spain was yet ripe for a republic; but he said Spain was terribly governed, and that every body was a thief; nor did he spare even Narvaez."—pp. 61, 62.

Señor Martinez, if he be alive, must have long since bid farewell to the enthusiasm with which he hailed the approach of political liberty. That outbreak has been succeeded by a fearful reaction, and Absolutism in conjunction with Popery, is more thoroughly in the ascendant at this moment than it has been

within the memory of man. The Church of Rome which gave the impulse to Revolution, and which every where announced itself as the advocate of popular rights, is now seen in its real character, as the aider and instigator of tyranny and persecution. What the result will be it is difficult to foresee; but we believe Lord John Russell did not overstate the truth when he spoke of a general conspiracy against religious and civil liberty. In point of fact, England at present seems to be the only free country, as two years ago it was the only unrevolutionized.

We cannot follow our author in his interesting account of the ascent of the mountains near the Peak of Teneriffe, but must pass over much amusing matter, and land at Cadiz, whither he went from the Canary Islands. On nearing the port, several boats with big eyes painted on their prows to look like dolphins, came scudding alongside, with "Sanidad" written on the sails; they were immediately surrounded by the boatmen of Cadiz, with their strong national expression of countenance—all "as much alike as a flock of sheep"—with "pointed features, dark passionate eyes, and yellow complexion." Almost any sea-port town is agreeable to the tempest-tost wanderer; but Cadiz, with its sparkling white houses, bright green shutters, and singing birds, making the streets ring with cheerful sounds, must have been charming to our author; but there were drawbacks on those advantages in the rumours of "émeutes," and "martial law," which speedily greeted him. The following sketch of a *rencontre* with part of the royal family at Osuna is amusing enough:—

"We found the somewhat humble town or village full of life and gaiety. The unglazed windows and doorways hung with coloured curtains, flags hanging from the churches and balconies, and the travelling cavalcade of the Infanta occupying the principal street. The Infanta herself was at Mass in the small church which stands within the keep of the castle. Let not the reader suppose the cavalcade was such as used to be seen before the time of railroads on the road between London and Windsor. The first carriage was a tolerable attempt at a coach; the next was a char-à-banc, drawn by four long-eared mules; and, as may be supposed, delightfully characteristic. We hastened through the throng of dark, sunny, handsome, half-gipsy faces, that lined the steep ascent to the castle, and reached the gateway just as a troop of little girls in white, carrying garlands, made their appearance preceding the Infanta, who followed leaning on the Duke de Montpensier's arm; behind them came the most perfect specimen of a Spanish nurse one could desire to see, carrying the precious baby in her arms, guarded by four soldiers with bayonets. The Infanta looked interesting, but withal pale, and delicate, and very young, as did her husband, a tall, thin youth with a pointed, sandy-coloured beard. The Infanta might very easily have awakened a feeling of loyal tenderness in the

breasts of the Spaniards; there was something at once so confiding and unpretending about her whole carriage."—pp. 161, 162.

It is not our purpose to follow Mr. Debary further in his descriptions of scenery and manners, of which the reader has now had several specimens. We now turn to his accounts of the state of religion in the countries he visited, to which it is in our power to add some further information of a more recent date.

He remarks (p. 55) on the depressed state of the Romish Church at Teneriffe, where for a long time the bishop was prohibited from ordaining any more clergy, lest the responsibility of supporting the newly made priest should fall on government. The state of things appears to be similar in Spain itself, where the author tells us (p. 112) of an itinerant priest who lived by saying masses, and by begging of English travellers; and he mentions another instance in which, having applied to a priest for some information on the history of the Spanish Church, which he could not gain, he found he was expected to give this priest a present, and the latter actually haggled as to its amount. In one town where they arrived (p. 111) the curé in company with some others had just murdered the governor, and was obliged to take refuge in Barbary. It was reported that some of the mountain curés were not men of peace, and that a few of them corresponded with smugglers. In their appearance they were as little like priests as possible (p. 111). The monasteries and convents were generally in ruins—sometimes replaced by cafés—sometimes by manufactories—sometimes converted into theatres and cockpits. The greater part of the incomes allowed to the clergy by the legislature were absorbed by government, so that the clergy were left in a state of squalid poverty; and no one who did not possess good private fortune could venture to accept a bishopric, the expenses of which would entail ruin on any one else.

All this coincides exactly with all we have heard elsewhere of the state of the Spanish Church. The clergy have been starving for years, and it has become a matter of extreme difficulty to find candidates for orders: the nation generally appears to feel no interest in bettering the condition of the priesthood—indeed the concordat recently concluded between the Pope and the Spanish Government for the purpose of improving the condition of the Church there, is extremely unpopular. This may however in part arise from the restoration of monasteries, which forms a part of the concordat. The Spaniards appear to be unanimous in their hatred of monasteries, and have not the slightest scruple in applying the suppressed houses to any mean and degrading uses. Take the following example:—

“I determined to pay the suppressed convent of the Augustines, in

which these exhibitions were held, one visit, and see the sort of company that frequented them. I am not one of those Protestants who could rejoice to see a convent perverted to these uses, and it was not without repugnance on this score as well as others that I directed my footsteps to the place. When I entered the ancient cloisters, the silence was as profound as in those days when the building was in the occupation of men under religious vows; not that it was empty, but, on the contrary, very full. In the 'patio,' or quadrangle, tiers of seats were raised up round a sort of large cage, and these seats were crowded with attentive spectators; in the upper corridors or cloisters I noticed some of the clergy and principal civil and military officers of the place. I mounted up here just in time to see the conclusion of one of the fights; the two unfortunate birds were scarcely able to peck at each other any longer; one just contrived to drive the other a few paces on, and then both stood still, as inanimate as if they had been stuffed, excepting that pools of blood began to form under the respective birds. This was a signal for the backers to enter the cage, smooth the feathers, and try and stimulate their fighting propensities. The poor spent creatures made one or two more fluttering efforts at contention, and then fell back lifeless. When I noticed their feathers quivering, I felt disgusted, but directly a new and lively couple were thrown into the cage, and began to strut round and crow for the combat, the interest revived, so it was time to leave this demoralizing exhibition.

"The convent of the Augustines was doomed to a double profanation; for, a week after this, an awning was spread over the patio, and the American horses were exhibiting."—pp. 89, 90.

Imagine even the clergy attending a cock-fight in the cloisters of an Augustinian friary! The author remarks (p. 173) that nothing fills a Spaniard with greater surprise than to hear an Englishman regretting the suppression of the convents—"what can he be dreaming about? don't you owe all your prosperity, which is making so much noise throughout the world, to your rejection of this system of chartered indolence? and now you reproach us for having taken one of the first steps towards the abolition of sloth and bigotry." The truth is that the gross and notorious immorality of the so-called religious orders in Spain and Portugal, utterly destroyed their character and influence long before they fell; and now their very name is odious.

The clergy are evidently not respected by the people, and there is but little sense of religion. In most of the churches the confessional box stands as lumber (p. 55). A newly-appointed bishop, arriving at his see, very properly preaches against cock-fighting on Sundays in Lent (p. 87)—tries to arouse the apathetic; but, says this author, "How did my friends generally regard it?—they used to stroll into church of an evening for a few minutes, and then come out, pronounce him a Catalonian, and begin to talk of their cock-fights!" (p. 89.) At Cadiz the travellers met

a Portuguese family of rank, who said they confessed only once in the year, in Lent, before receiving the holy communion; and on the remark being made that it must be difficult to confess at one time all the sins committed in the year, the answer was, "We do not confess by word of mouth every thing we have said or done wrong in the year; but our confessor, who is a very good man, and a nobleman, tells us, the week before confession, to run over in our minds our past lives; so that when he asks us 'if we have repented,' we can say 'yes;' and then he will absolve us" (p. 117). Certainly this is a very harmless kind of auricular confession; but it is curious that such things should be in a professedly Roman Catholic country. This, we suppose, is the style of confession allowed to ladies of rank. It appears that there are, here and there, individuals who dislike the superstitions of their Church, and reject them privately. Thus a professor at Granada is mentioned (p. 198), who, in writing to an Englishman at Malaga, speaks of the appalling immorality and superstition amongst the high and lower orders, particularly of the towns in the interior, and of the attempts to arrest the wide-spreading indifference or infidelity in religious matters, by the invention of miracles and new saints; and concludes by wishing that zealous Protestants would avail themselves of the travelling propensities of the Contrabandistas and circulate the Bible through them. He added that he had found the English Prayer Book in the hands of a canon of Granada, and of a physician, both of whom commended it highly.

Instances like this must, we apprehend, be rare in the Peninsula, of persons who are conscious of the error of the popular religion, and yet have not altogether thrown off belief. At present the generality of those who live in professedly Roman Catholic countries are either sceptics or bigots; either the very name of Christianity is scoffed at, or else the most absurd and monstrous fables are placed exactly on a level with the truths of revelation. The religious Spaniard believes as devoutly in the legend of St. Christoval, or any other fable of the kind, as he does in the Gospels. Nor does this furnish any matter of surprise, when it is remembered that the sole ground of faith presented to the people by their priesthood, is the authority of the Church. The Church alone vouches for the Bible; the Church also vouches for the story of St. Christoval, or whatever other fables, or inventions, or practices are customary amongst Romanists; so that if any of the latter be rejected, the sole authority on which Christianity is supposed to depend falls along with it, and the result is absolute infidelity. All this system of teaching in the Church of Rome has arisen since the Reformation, and in opposition to it. The Jesuits prevailed on the Romish priest-

hood, generally, to take this ground, with a view to prejudice the people against the Reformation. They were taught that any exercise of judgment, or any inquiry, was certain to result in infidelity, because authority alone vouched for the truth of the Scripture, and for all Christian doctrine. The Jesuits, in fact, preferred that their disciples should incur the risk of being infidels, to that of being Protestants; calculating, probably, that there was little chance of their being prepared to throw off all faith at once. This desperate remedy succeeded for a long series of years, but it has at length borne fruit,—it has been the great cause of infidelity throughout Europe. The moment men were led to inquire, the whole fabric of belief was shaken. The same system, however, is continued without any alteration; the zeal of the remaining believers is excited by missionary preachers, new relics, miracles, canonizations, and devotions. Every superstition is pushed further and further; and all inquiry, or means of inquiry, are more and more rigorously interdicted. In Roman Catholic countries, like Spain, or Italy, or Portugal, no other religion is tolerated. No native of those countries is permitted to become a Protestant, nor is any one permitted to preach the Gospel to them.

While the Word of God is thus withheld from the deluded and most cruelly-treated people of those countries,—and withheld by that wicked priesthood which ought to have been the first to publish its blessed truths,—the word of man has acquired an undisputed dominion. And what is that word of man? It is a system which substitutes man for God,—which invests man with the attributes of Deity,—and turns aside from the true Mediator to mediators who are but of human nature. Here is a specimen of the kind of worship which is provided as most in accordance with the tastes of the people, and meet for their edification:—

“A ‘novena’ is a period of nine days preceding the saint’s day to which it relates; during which interval there is a particular service every night, concluding with a prayer to the saint, and a sermon. In the novena of St. Raphael the first night’s prayer implores ‘the patronage of the saint, and that he will present the prayers of the faithful before the divine throne, and their souls when released from the flesh.’ The prayer of the second day implores the angel or saint ‘to assist the minister of religion in the salvation of souls; that they may attain to eternity, and with them for ever love God.’ The third prays the saint or angel ‘to make them that they may hear the voice of divine grace, and overcome sin in the flesh.’ The fourth prays the archangel ‘to overcome in them the foul fiend.’ The fifth implores the archangel ‘to forgive them their debts, and to recover for them their lost grace.’ The sixth implores the archangel ‘to give them perseverance in prayer,

and constancy in good works ; and, this life ended, that their souls may be crowned in glory.' The seventh prays the archangel 'that, united, they may offer prayers to him which he may present to the Deity.' The eighth prays the archangel, as patron of those who are obedient to parents, 'to obtain from God this virtue and future glory.' The ninth desires the angel or saint 'to present all their supplications to the Deity ; and to consider their needs in this life, and to give them glory in another.'

"The novenas and octaves are quite accidental, and depend principally upon the chance liberality of individuals. The same saint who is honoured this year by a thousand lights, and nine or eight days of special prayers and sermons, may the next year be without a single light burning on his altar. This is called the *cultus* of saints. The splendour of the novena depends upon the sum given for it : when it is a large sum, of course the best musicians and preachers are obtained to grace the festival. The form of prayer, &c., used on these occasions, is drawn up by some clergyman in authority, or the bishop."—pp. 151—153.

This is the sort of system which is set up to meet the inroads of infidelity : there is no alternative between unbelief and idolatry. It is a fearful state of things, indeed, in which it is difficult to say which of the opposite systems is more injurious to the spiritual and temporal interests of the people. The Romish priesthood have gained little by exchanging the influence of the Reformation for that of infidelity.

Mr. Debary has made us in some degree acquainted with the state of religion in Spain ; but we have, in addition, the evidence supplied in an interesting publication by the Rev. Frederick Meyrick¹, fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, which comprises several letters written by two intelligent and educated persons, resident in an episcopal city in Spain. These letters fully corroborate the statements in Mr. Debary's work, with reference both to the degraded state of the Church in Spain, the excessive superstition of its adherents, and the great prevalence of infidelity.

The following extract shows that the priesthood are rapidly losing their dominion, and gives some account of the estimation in which they are held :—

"The state of the Church here (in Spain) is very low. We now live among Spaniards, and I never heard more rampant 'Protestantism' than I have heard here. People do not go to confession, and justify it openly, some by saying that the Church commands it indeed, but they will not do it, because the priests are worse than themselves : others say, that they neither kill, rob, nor cheat ; and, as for what concerns

¹ "What is the working of the Church of Spain ! What is implied in submitting to Rome ! What is it that presses hardest upon the Church of England ! A Tract by the Rev. Frederick Meyrick, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford." Oxford : J. H. Parker.

their souls, that is between themselves and God, and no man, priest or not, has any right to interfere in it. It is a real fact, that when the law admitted no man to hold any office or employment under Government, who was not able at Easter to produce a certificate from a priest that he had confessed and communicated within the year, the certificates were commonly sold for about ten-pence a piece; one person told us, that he had known one bought for five-pence. However they were obtained, whether priests sold them, or laymen confessed and communicated in order to get them to sell, a fearful amount of sacrilege and profanity is involved. We are in the constant habit of meeting a priest whom I like very much. He is not a man of much education or intelligence, and has not any appearance of what one would call sanctity; but he has a downright straightforward character, and a great love for the poor, and an excellent temper, which I have seen much tried. He was a monk in one of the richest orders. Fifteen years ago the monks were turned out, their lands and convents seized, and their pictures sold. The following year he was appointed to the chaplaincy of a hospital, which he has held ever since, saying mass every morning in the church attached. He does not dress like a priest, except that he wears the blue neckcloth. The great amusement of the laymen at dinner is to attack him about something; so that, unless we dine with him alone, it is impossible to speak to him on any subject connected with his profession, for fear of occasioning some irreverent and painful discussion. His brother, who is also a priest, and formerly a monk in the same order, was staying with him for a month. He seems to feel bitterly the plundered and degraded state of the Church, but says little unless he is called out. I think that he must be confessor to some nuns, for I used to be quite weary of the way in which the laymen would go on: 'Padre, are the nuns at — pretty?' 'Now, padre, do tell me, are they pretty?' 'Padrecito, I want to know so much if the nuns are pretty.' 'Padre, when the nuns confess, do they tell you long stories about one another?' Day after day they would question him in this way, diversifying the amusement occasionally by semi-sceptical questions on the Old Testament, as one of them chanced to be in the possession of a Bible."—pp. 3, 4.

This Spanish clergyman informed the writer that, were it not for the poor, "there would be no worship of God in the land." Fasting on Friday has gone out of use; for the bull of the Crusades, of which every one can take the benefit for about five-pence, gives full licence to eat meat on fast-days. When a fast-day comes, it is not distinguished by any remarkable self-denial.

"There has been one Spanish fast-day since we have been here; the Vigil of All Saints. We had as good a dinner of fish, vegetables, sweets, and fruit, as any one could wish, but it made some of the guests very cross. They discovered that the rule of the English Church was to fast on Friday; so they turned round upon the two priests, and

asked why *they* did not fast on Friday? Next, they went on to raise the question, whether Protestants would go to glory; and, if they did not, where they would go: one of them who had picked up some vague ideas about the English Church suggesting that people might be Catholics without being Roman Catholics. Pickpockets abound here. It is said, that the little boys who are employed in the churches to assist at the mass and to help clean the church, are the most adroit. It may be so, for constant familiarity with holy things, if it does not do good, must do harm; and the idea of reverence never seems to enter their head: they would just as soon stand on the top of the altar as any where. On All Saints' day, being the Vigil of the 'Animas,' it is the custom in Spain to go to the Campo Santo to burn lights before the niches of the dead. We went and found that it had degenerated into a crowded promenade, where people meet and gossip, and look at each other. There can be no holy and peaceful thoughts of the dead in such a scene. Little stalls were set up all round with refreshments."—pp. 6, 7.

It appears that the writers of these letters had been, when in England, associating with those to whom the defects of their own Church and the merits of the Church of Rome had been matter of continual uneasiness. One of them expresses himself in the following terms, after a residence in Spain. The letter is dated January 28, 1851:—

"I cannot but be grateful to have learnt in daily life what the Roman Church is. I have just been reading an able letter in the *Chronicle*, signed Gamaliel. 'The miseries of our own house almost drive us forth, but we are deterred by finding that no perfect home awaits us.' While 'you are fighting against evils at home, which seem intolerable and deadly, I am constantly witnessing evils here (mingled with good) which are so great that I am appalled at them. The rashness with which men rush out of our Church into that which they do not practically know is like the state of mind of a suicide, who, overwhelmed with present evils, hurls himself out of life.

"We are oppressed, enslaved, by the power of the State at home. Well, here every bishop is nominated by the Government, subject only to the approval of the Pope: the clergy are paid by the State; and as the *Esperanza*, the High-Church paper, complains, they dare not oppose Government, which would at once say, 'Be silent, or I'll starve you.' The churches are kept in repair (such as it is) by the State: the education is in the hands of the State; the schools are paid for and the masters appointed by the State; the clergy can only give a little instruction in the schools, and do not catechise in the churches. Even the seminaries where the priests are educated are supported by the State; and the books to be used and the course of instruction regulated by the Minister of Instruction.

"We complain that our people dishonour and despise the rules of their own Church. It is sadly, miserably true; but what do we see here? For more than three months we have been constantly associating

with Spaniards. Well, I find not one but all of my companions openly neglecting and refusing confession, and professing to do so. I have said to them, 'Why, the Church commands you to confess.' 'Yes,' they answer, 'but we don't do it, that is, the men; many of the women do.' The most extreme Protestant opinions are upon their lips, such as that the care of their souls is a matter between themselves and their God, and they do not see what any one else has to do with it. The legends of the Roman Saints and stories of miracles are wholly repudiated. I got the priest, with whom I am on very good terms, to tell me a legend of an image in his church, which, as the story ran, had reached out its arm, and given absolution to a penitent. As the story ended, one of the laymen came in, and began to make a mock of it. It is a most unhappy thing, that truth and falsehood have been mingled together in their miracles and legends, and many of them have been put before the minds of the people as of equal authority with Holy Scripture: *e. g.* there is not a devout person here who does not hold it quite as certain, that the thief on the cross was called Demas, and that he was forgiven at the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, as that he was crucified at all. Now the result of this is, that while among the uneducated or little educated you may meet with much devotion and faith, you find also the strangest mixture of legend and holy truth intertwined inextricably together: while among the more educated there is a dangerous tendency to disbelieve all. They find, that they have been deceived and imposed on in some things, and that throws a doubt on all. There are very many who believe nothing. Some of the merchants' sons would like to come to our service, but it is not permitted by law. One of them said to — last week, 'We could believe what your Church teaches, we cannot believe what we are taught here.' I know one sad case myself. Don F. is a thoroughly educated and refined gentleman, but he has not faith in what is taught him in his own Church; he knows the priests have taught him some falsehoods, and distrusts them wholly. I look upon him as a good, honourable, religious-minded man, but without religion. And the people have not the Bible here to fall back upon. Let the people say what they will of the abuse of that Holy Book, and the wretched way men too often deal with it, yet think what it would be to be robbed of it. Practically, people here are without the Bible. I shall never forget the eagerness with which Don F. borrowed my Spanish Testament, when he found that it was what he called 'puro.' 'We only get garbled scraps given us here,' he said."—pp. 8—10.

The Church of Rome has adopted the system of revivals, on very much the same system as the American Methodists and Sectarians, and with very much the same effects. A number of preachers arrive at a town, and sermons of the most exciting nature are delivered for a week or fortnight, while every kind of ceremony and worship calculated to interest the people is brought into play. This perpetual excitement at length overcomes the

feelings of those who are subjected to it: the women get into hysterics, the men shed tears—the whole population, men, women, and children, hasten to the confessional; multitudes come to the communion; the missionaries retire, enchanted at the success of their ministry—and then—matters resume their ordinary course.

The devotions recommended at one of these Roman Catholic revivals are described as consisting of fifty Aves, five Paters, and five Gloria Patris, with prayers and hymns addressed to the Virgin under the title of the Divine Shepherdess. Of course, devotions would not engage the feelings of the people, if they were not chiefly directed to the Virgin. The following remarkable extracts from a novena to the Virgin, in use in Spain, and to which indulgences are attached by an archbishop and eight bishops, are, as well as the remarks of the writer accompanying them, well deserving of attention. They will show the tendency of the popular religion in Spain to supersede the worship and love of God by that of the Virgin:—

“ ‘ *Of the Charity of Most Holy Mary.*

“ ‘ As the eternal Father delivered his only begotten Son to death in order to give life to men, so this admirable Mother of love delivered her only Son Jesus to the rigours of death, that all might be saved. She did not content Herself with giving to the Divine Word flesh, wherein to suffer for men: She Herself sacrificed Him. Standing at the foot of the cross, whilst her Beloved immolated Himself for the salvation of mortals, She Herself offered the sacrifice of this unspotted Victim, beseeching of the Eternal Father that He would receive it as a payment and satisfaction for all the sins of the world. She gave to men all that She could give, and She loved them more. She gave Herself, and if She did not realize the sacrifice, it was because her offering had all the merit of which it was capable.

“ ‘ *Of the Righteousness of Most Holy Mary.*

“ ‘ It is well known, that Most Holy Mary, instead of being a debtor, gave so abundantly, that all remained and are her debtors: men for redemption: angels for their special joy: even the Most Holy Trinity are in a certain way a debtor to her for the accidental glory which has resulted, and does result, to them from this their Beloved.

“ ‘ *Of the Patience of Most Holy Mary.*

“ ‘ She suffered in Jesus, and with Jesus, as much as Jesus suffered.

“ ‘ *Of the Obedience of Most Holy Mary.*

“ ‘ She obeyed more than all creatures united, and by her obedience supplied the want of obedience of all the evil angels in heaven, and of all the ungrateful men on earth.

“ ‘ *Of the Religion of Most Holy Mary.*

“ ‘ Blind and deceived should we all have been, if Most Holy Mary, in her great mercy, had not given us in Jesus Christ the needful know-

ledge of the only, sole, and true religion. Though neither angels nor men had given, nor should give, to God, the worship and veneration which they ought; Most Holy Mary would have fulfilled all the duties laid on every creature by the necessity of the virtue of religion. . . . Instructress of the Church, by whom, and of whom, the Apostles learnt to celebrate the mysteries of our redemption, to frequent the Sacrament of the Eucharist, to venerate the holy cross, to pray, and exercise themselves in all the acts of religion, I adore thee!

“ ‘ *Of the Hope of Most Holy Mary.*

“ ‘ She Herself was the object of the hope of the righteous, and scarcely did She show Herself in this world, when even as the shadows of the night begin to flee away before the coming of the dawn, so at the birth of Most Holy Mary, the Queen and Mother of Mercy, fled from many their doubts respecting the coming of the Messias. She Herself was persuaded that He was at hand.’

“ In these extracts you will see, that the office of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is attributed to her. *She sacrificed her Son for our salvation: we are redeemed by her sufferings: she was the teacher of the Apostles.* It is universally understood here, and affirmed in sermons, that when our Lord went into heaven, He gave his Mother to be the guide and ruler of the Church, and our intercessor; and consequently, as the Archbishop said, all the gifts of God pass through her hands. The same book concludes with a hymn called ‘the Joys.’ The following verses occur in it:—‘Life, salvation, and gladness, all was lost by man; but in Thee he found all. O sweet Virgin Mary! what would be our fate without so heavenly a Mother? Mother of Mercy, deliver us from all evil. God angry would have punished with hell man, who refused to respect his dominion; but Thou, Virgin Mary, didst faithfully succour him. Mother of Mercy, deliver us from all evil. All this world, buried in its wickedness, sighed and found no remedy, save in Thy pity. Thou wert the especial remedy of such great iniquities. Mother of Mercies, deliver us from all evil. *Thy union with the immense God*, infinite in power, alone could merit the pardon of such excesses. Hereby we were freed from such criminal acts. He denies Thee nothing who created Thee so beautiful, and so favoured and privileged with graces, and made Thee a Queen: for by Thee He gave all to unfaithful man. He who is able made Thee arbiter of his immense stores, that none in the most fatal cases might fail to share the universal protection of Thy abundant wealth. Mother of Mercy, deliver us from all evil.’

“ I remember, when I used to be pained at finding English children learning Watts’ Hymns, which represent the Father as an angry Judge, appeased by the intercession of his Son, and entirely forgot that He so loved the world, that He sent Him to redeem us; but what is that to this bold assertion, that the angry Judge was appeased, not by the Son, but by the Virgin! The assertion, too, that our redemption is due to the union of God with man, not in the Person of our Lord, but of the Virgin

Mary, is startling! And all this comes on the authority of the Church." —pp. 19—22.

It is really painful to dwell on such subjects; but still it is of the highest importance that the real state of things should be understood, and that persons should fully understand the system which has reduced Spain to its present lamentable condition, and the effects produced by the mingled imposture and immorality which are its accompaniments. Such is the system which some persons are desirous to see extended with every possible freedom, and with all conceivable advantages, in England itself

"The attempts to forge miracles are another great occasion of infidelity. I do not know whether the late attempt in France has reached the English papers. Blood was said to flow from a picture. It proved an entire forgery. Yet certainly the evidence at first was better than any given for Sta. Rita's miracles. It is well known, that in some of the disgraceful intrigues in the royal family of Spain, a very important part was played by a nun, who pretended to have the stigmata. For a time she was venerated as a saint, and some of her visions and revelations were used to separate the king and queen. The queen is bad enough, but if any thing could excuse her conduct, it would be the heartless cruelty with which she was treated, and the way in which the sanctions of religion were used to mislead her. The fraud was discovered, the king and queen reconciled, and the king's confessor sent away. What part the confessor had in it I do not know, for the newspapers were not allowed to say any thing on the subject. He was recalled some months ago. What effect must these things have on the minds of people, who are required to believe things as improbable as those which are proved false, and have no standard whereby to judge between the fundamental truths of the Gospel and the wildest fancies!

"The bitter hatred against the friars and monks is quite astonishing. None of them were murdered here, because when they were turned out the governor gave them warning, and allowed them ten days to escape in disguise, before the people knew it. An Englishwoman saved one by dressing him in her son's clothes: but I have no doubt, that now, if one made his appearance in his monastic dress, he would be torn in pieces. Not even the courtesy of Spaniards can make them behave decently to a priest. The priesthood in general seems to be thoroughly despised."—pp. 26, 27.

The inequality of privileges afforded to the rich and poor respectively in the Church of Rome has often been the subject of remark. The poor man is excluded from the benefit of having masses said for his soul, and being thereby released from purgatory, while the rich man is able to leave sums of money for the benefit of his soul. This injustice is the subject of remark even in Spain.

“There was an attack made upon the priest the other day, in which the laymen had got hold of one of the really weak points. When any one dies in the hospital, he is buried, as they say, like a dog. The body is put into a cart, and taken off to the Campo Santo, where it is thrown into a pit, without a word of prayer. The laymen asked him, ‘Where are the souls of those who die in your hospital?’ ‘Those who are not in hell, are all in purgatory.’ One of them turned round, ‘These people tell us that all are equal before God, rich and poor; but it is false. If a rich man dies, his friends will have one or two hundred masses said for him, and he goes to heaven; while these poor creatures are tormented in purgatory.’ I tried to turn it off by saying, ‘As you feel so much for them, of course you have masses said for them.’ He laughed at the suggestion, and said, ‘You do not believe all these things, though you believe a great deal more than we do.’ All that the good padre was able to say was, that once a year a mass is said for all who have died in the hospital. Conceive the outcry there would be in England if the bodies of our poor were treated in such a way, though we do not believe that their souls are suffering in consequence.”—pp. 29, 30.

The mode of raising funds for church building is sometimes curious enough. In one case, a committee having been formed, and a commencement made, funds began to run short, so they had a *bull-fight*, then they had a “funcion” in the *theatre*; moreover, they obtained from the civic authorities the assistance of several convicts. They then tried *another* bull-fight, and another “funcion!” but without sufficient success. At last one of the bishops on the committee was made Archbishop of Toledo, and some funds fell into his hands which he applied to the church building; and, in fine, the Government offered to give some help, and it is said that it will be finished. The whole is told in an Ecclesiastical Journal, with high commendation of the perseverance of the committee. We think that after this our charity bazaars are not worth talking of. In France there is now a *lottery* going on under the patronage of a cardinal archbishop, for the restoration of a church.

Catechising, though it is ordered on Sundays, and in Lent, by the canons, has gone out of use (p. 35). It is one of those old customs which has been superseded by new rites and ceremonies.

The picture which these publications present to us of the state of religion in Spain is altogether most deplorable. The combination of blind credulity and obstinate bigotry with moral corruption on the one hand, and the deep-seated scepticism so widely spread on the other, present as hopeless a case as well may be. And now the Spanish Government, like all the rest of the leading continental powers, has thrown itself wholly into the hands of the Pope, and by the recent concordat has declared that Romanism shall have exclusive sway and dominion; that all means

of enlightening the popular mind and removing superstitions shall be prohibited; that the bishops and clergy shall be aided by the civil power in preventing the circulation of the Bible, and in repressing all teaching but their own. Such is the toleration in foreign countries of those who, in this country, are enraged at the idea of "toleration" being extended to themselves, and will be satisfied with nothing less than dominion. The "Irish brigade" may well scoff at "toleration;" their brethren in Spain and Italy do so equally.

It may seem an inconsistency, and perhaps it is so, to recognize in a Church like that of Rome any part of Christianity, to admit it to be a branch of the Christian Church. Undoubtedly it has departed far from the way of truth, and has been "most rebellious" against the Divine Head of the Church. And yet, after all, do not those who, in their just indignation at Romish errors, altogether exclude that Church from the Christian name, thereby diminish the responsibility and extenuate the guilt of its members? If Rome be no part of Christendom, if Divine grace is in no degree imparted to its members, they are much less guilty than they would be, if they continued to sin notwithstanding the gifts of grace, and some knowledge of the Gospel. So that the severity of those who exclude Rome wholly from the pale of Christian grace, in fact defeats its own purpose. And, however it may be authorized by strict logic, it is little in harmony with the word of God; for even the children of Judah and of Israel did not cease to be God's people when they fell into idolatry. Nay, even after the rejection of our Saviour, they still remained in some sense the people of God.

It is the assertion of many persons at the present day, that there are but two consistent theories of faith—the one of which makes faith wholly dependent on the authority of the existing Church, to the absolute exclusion of all private judgment or liberty of action on the part of individuals; while the other makes faith wholly dependent on the free choice and private judgment of each individual, to the exclusion of all notion of authority of any kind. Now, without doubt, these theories are, respectively, clear, intelligible, and, to a certain extent, logical. The Roman Catholic theory professes to put an end to all doubt, perplexity, and difficulty, by wholly extinguishing private judgment, and giving infallible authority for the mind to rest on in every question that may arise. And this looks very well at first; but when it is closely examined, the whole fabric of reasoning is discovered to be illogical and inconsistent. Private judgment is set aside as incapable of being the foundation of faith. And yet the very persons who argue that infidelity or scepticism must be the result of trust-

ing to private judgment, have not the slightest hesitation in asking us to build our faith in *their Church* itself on our private judgment. They appeal to it without scruple when it is favourable to them, but deny it when it is exercised against them. And their inconsistency goes further than this. The Romanist will tell you that faith which does not depend on the infallible teaching of the Church is not true faith, but mere private opinion. But this assertion of his is, after all, an act of private judgment; for the Church of Rome herself has never asserted her own infallibility in any decree binding on all her members; its assertion is, therefore, an act of private judgment, and arises merely from a chain of reasoning, in the same way as the denial of the Church's infallibility arises from another species of reasoning. And even, supposing the infallibility of the Church, in her decisions and teaching, to be ever so clear, still the clergy of that Church do not pretend to be individually infallible; and therefore the people are obliged to resort to private judgment, in order to ascertain what the real teaching and decisions of the Church are. How can they know that the Church is universal, that its teaching is harmonious, that it has made decisions, that certain books purporting to contain such decisions are genuine, or authentic, or rightly translated, or rightly interpreted, or that they have attained a knowledge of the true sense of their Church? In all these cases they must have recourse to private judgment, because the Church herself has not solved any one of these questions; and thus in the event the faith of the Romanist depends immediately upon the very same exercise of private judgment, which he denounces in others as leading to heresy and infidelity.

And now let us look for a moment at those "consistent" Protestants who are so strongly opposed to Rome and to "Puseyism," and so anxious to eradicate all principles which they imagine to be in any way tending towards Romanism. They imagine that they have placed themselves in an impregnable position by asserting the absolute and unqualified right of private judgment, in opposition to Church authority and the claims of every hierarchy or priesthood. And, without doubt, the principle they advocate is one which *would* wholly sweep away the authority of Romanism; but it would also put an end to the Christian ministry, to creeds and articles of faith, and to Church government in any shape; for all of them are either checks on private judgment, or tend to impede its free exercise. They tend to create impressions in favour of a certain set of views, or obligations to maintain certain tenets. So that, if there are any advocates of those principles who are satisfied to allow schools in which particular religious tenets are taught, or to permit articles, and creeds, and declara-

tions, to be subscribed by candidates for degrees, or offices in the Universities, or by the clergy;—if they are contented to recognize the Christian ministry as a distinct order or body of men, peculiarly set apart for the service of religion, invested with any powers which are not exercised indiscriminately by every one, and tied to teach any particular form of faith;—if such be their views, then we must say that they are grossly inconsistent with themselves. They may assert private judgment as much as they please; but they are consenting to a limited exercise of it: they are placing authority as a check upon it. The truth is, that neither one extreme nor the other—neither the Romanist, nor the advocate of unlimited religious liberty, attempts to carry out or to act on its abstract principle. The one admits private judgment, so far as it is exercised in a right direction, and no further; and the other admits authority, so far as it is exercised in a right direction, or what is held to be so. So that, after all, these extreme opinions are liable to exactly the same charge of inconsistency which their advocates make against men of more moderate views.

And now, to consider for a moment what these more moderate views are. In the first place, every one has so far the right of private judgment that he may, on competent evidence, embrace the truth as revealed by Jesus Christ—as taught in his Holy Word. As a minister of Christ, he may teach it; as a layman, he may receive it. But, besides this, many individuals may agree in believing and teaching the truth; and, when they do so, their teaching has a greater or less authority: their authority arises from the combination of many private judgments. But, then, the question comes,—Are individuals bound to submit their own opinions to authority of this kind? We can only say, that they are bound to pay deference to it, in proportion to the amount and degree of its authority. They cannot differ from it without clear and distinct reason. But, if they differ from authority, and in so doing maintain the truth, they are free from all fault; or, if they are misled by some unavoidable error or ignorance, they are to a certain degree excusable; while, on the other hand, the authority from which they dissent is entitled, when it maintains the truth, to exclude from communion all who dissent from it. The Church, i. e. the congregation of many individuals, may be wrong, and the individual may be right; yet the Church must only act on the best of her judgment. When many Churches differ from few, the truth may be on one side or the other; but there is no absolute obligation on the minority to yield to the judgment of the majority. And thus the individual is neither relieved from the responsibility of exercising a judgment, nor is he authorized to disregard

the opinion of others possessing authority. He is not to imagine that the majority must necessarily be infallible, and thus recognize it as the rule of his faith; nor, on the other hand, is he to imagine that he is more likely to judge aright than all other, or almost all other, Christians in the world. He is bound to combine an humble sense of his own liability to error, with a sincere and prayerful endeavour to attain the truth, both by studying the Word of God and by giving their due weight to the judgments and teaching of the whole Christian world; and, where there are divisions, to the doctrines of that part of the Church of which he is a member.

It is our opinion, that principles such as these will be found, on examination, quite as consistent and as rational as those of others who, at first sight, may appear to be more strictly coherent and logical, and who are loud in their claims to the exclusive possession of the truth. The middle course of the Church of England in denounced by these extreme partisans as utterly self-contradictory and inconsistent: but we imagine that it is easier to make such accusations than to sustain them; that an authority which involves private judgment, and is based on it, cannot be inconsistent with it.

But while we thus plead for toleration for those who would not consider the Churches subject to Rome as altogether cut off from the people of God, even as the Israelites of old were not wholly cut off from the covenant though they had rebelled against God, yet we do say, that it appears to be high time for all parties to act together against their common foe. It is impossible to mistake the signs of the times. It is impossible to close our eyes to the impressive crisis in which we are placed. There is a great war of principles going on throughout the whole of Europe. Two years since, the democratical and anarchical principle gained the ascendancy throughout the greater part of Europe. Now the principle of absolutism and arbitrary power has gained the dominion, and democratic leaders and Socialists have been slaughtered, imprisoned, or exiled. And in their terror at the democratic principle, the absolute sovereigns of Europe,—nay, all sovereigns, in whose dominions Romanism holds influence, have sought the alliance of the Roman Church, in the hope of employing its influence to subdue the turbulent elements by which they are surrounded. Accordingly, a sudden change has taken place in the position of Romanism throughout Europe: it is now united in the closest bands with the ruling powers, who endeavour in all ways to promote its influence. In Portugal, the Pope gains whatever he seeks. In Spain, the Government propitiates him by a Concordat, and is preparing to restore the full

power of the Spanish Church. In France, the Jesuits are in the ascendancy, and the Government actually maintains the Pope on his throne by force of arms. In Belgium, Popery is predominant. In Naples, and throughout the greater part of Italy, the Papacy has every thing its own way, and has swept away many of the old barriers raised by Roman Catholic states against its aggressions. Austria has relinquished the greater part of its supremacy, in religious matters, to the Church, and is vehemently bent on spreading Romanism throughout Germany. From one end of Germany to the other, an inundation of Romish preachers spread themselves over the country, and are upheld and supported by the Governments, Romanist and Protestant. In Hungary alone, and Piedmont, Switzerland, and Holland, there is still some contest against Romanism. These countries, with the northern kingdoms of Sweden and Denmark, are now the only parts of the Continent where the Papacy is not making rapid progress.

We live in an age of sudden and strange revolutions ; but this is certainly one of the most remarkable we remember. The change in the position of Romanism within two years is astonishing ; and, of course, the hopes and anticipations of its adherents are perfectly boundless. It is quite natural that an aggression should be made and carried out in England. The Pope, without doubt, considers himself now strong enough to do any thing.

The Papal aggression on England has been carried into effect with an insolence which marks in the strongest way the confidence of strength which animates the Court of Rome, and the contempt which it entertains for the opposition of the English Government. The Court of Rome could not have dealt with England in the way we have seen, had it not known that Austria, and France, and Prussia, and Russia, Spain, Naples, and Portugal were its allies, offensive and defensive. It was the consciousness of immense political power that encouraged Rome to create an English hierarchy, and to assume the lofty tone it has done.

We are disposed to see in this proceeding of the Papacy the working of Divine Providence for the good of England. What has been its result ? It has reunited the whole national feeling of England : never was there so perfect an unanimity of opposition to the Papacy. It has turned back the tide which had been flowing in the direction of favour to Rome for the last half century. Our statesmen, and our legislature have at length been arrested in their course, and compelled to retrograde ; they have been forced to declare themselves opposed to Rome. We believe that no other combination of circumstances than that we have witnessed could have aroused this country from its criminal apathy

—from its increasing indifference to all those principles to which it owed its greatness.

And in what point of view should Churchmen contemplate the present state of things? We think they should consider it as a call to them to change in some degree their measures and their objects. We are now in a different position, at least for the time, from what we have been placed in since 1829. The State is apparently beginning to remember its principles and its duties, from which it so grievously deviated in that fatal year. If the State is disposed to adhere to those great principles on which its alliance with the Church in the sixteenth century was formed—if the Supremacy be once more the glorious and sacred possession of sovereigns who are not merely in name but in deed, “Defenders of the faith”—then we say, let the alliance of Church and State be perpetual! May it flourish without ever decaying or diminishing! May no jealousies ever arise between powers, which are alike constituted by God, and whose objects and ends ought never to be, and can never be at variance, if they be equally guided by the sense of duty to God! True Churchmen will seek to guard their faith against violation even by temporal rulers; but they will feel it a duty and a delight to give their most earnest support and their most dutiful obedience to rulers who are not ashamed of the truth, and whose aim it is to promote those high and essential principles which constitute the sacred and cherished inheritance of English Churchmen. We would appeal to the State for the means of giving the fullest efficiency to the Church of England. Let her have every facility for developing her resources—for completing her organization—for regulating all that is imperfect and out of order. Let devoted and faithful men be sent forth as bishops. Let this be done, on avowedly religious principles; and the State itself will reap its reward in the respect of the people—in the gratitude of the Church—and above all, in the blessing of the Almighty and Supreme Disposer of all earthly things.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

ETC.

1. *Warter's Plain Protestant's Manual.* 2. *A Letter to the Rev. J. F. Wilkinson.* By the Rev. T. T. Carter. 3. *The Progress of Beguilement to Romanism.* By Eliza Smith. 4. *Letters on some of the Errors of Romanism.* By W. Palmer. 5. *The Pattern showed on the Mount.* By the Rev. G. T. Carter. 6. *Wild Life in the Interior of Central America.* By George Byam, late 43rd Light Infantry. 7. *A Sermon Preached in the Parish Church of Cuddesden, on Sunday, March 16th, 1851.* By the Rev. H. Hoskyns. 8. *The Church Patient in her Mode of Dealing with Controversies.* By the Rev. Arthur W. Haddon. 9. *Rev. G. Stanhope's Paraphrase and Comment upon the Epistles and Gospels.* 10. *Dr. Cramp's Text-Book of Popery.* 11. *Two Sermons.* By Rev. J. Rogers. 12. *Roman Catholic Claims Impartially Considered.* By Amicus Veritatis. 13. *Speech of Henry Drummond, M.P., on the Second Reading of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.* 14. *The Talbot Case.* By the Rev. M. H. Seymour. 15. *Repentance: its Necessity, Nature, and Aids.* By the Rev. J. Jackson. 16. *Dr. Scoresby's Memorials of the Sea.*

1.—*A Plain Protestant's Manual; or Certain Plain Sermons on the Scriptures, the Church, and the Sacraments, &c.* By JOHN WOOD WARTER, B.D., *Christ Church, Oxford; Vicar of West Tarring, &c.* London: Rivingtons.

THE peculiar circumstances of the times have called for pulpit instructions of a controversial nature; and, while it is undoubtedly a cause for regret, on some accounts, that it should be necessary to exchange the more practical and spiritual office of the preacher for warning against error, and defence of the assailed truth, yet, there are counterbalancing benefits which are not of any light amount. It must often be a subject of regret to observe the imperfect intelligence which too many of the members of the Church exhibit in regard to religious topics, and which leaves them exposed to the arguments of the first zealous dissenter or Romanist they may happen to meet. If the excitement felt on religious circumstances in the present day should enable the clergy, with effect, to instruct their parishioners on the grounds of difference between the Churches of England and of Rome, and to guard them against the objections which dissenters are wont to raise, a great positive good will have been effected.

The author of this little volume before us has availed himself of the opportunity to develop in a very interesting manner, in a

series of popular discourses, the principal errors of Romanism. Like Mr. Warter's other publications it is quaint in style, though far from being above the intelligence of the classes to whom it is addressed; and abounds in the ideas and arguments of our elder divines. For the benefit of the more learned, each sermon is preceded by a series of quotations from the early Fathers illustrative of the subject. The Sermons are on the following subjects:—The Scriptures—the Church—St. Peter's Confession—One Mediator—Christian Sacraments—Confession—The Faith once delivered to the Saints, &c. In the first discourse the principle of Chillingworth that "the Bible alone is the religion of Protestants," is maintained and vindicated in its right sense, as opposed to the Romish notion of a tradition supplementary to Scripture. That doctrine is then referred to, and the dealings of the Church of Rome with Scripture, on which Mr. Warter writes thus:—

"What however I would for the present direct your attention to, is the fact, that the Church of Rome permits the use only of one authorized version, whether translated or not—that is to say, the Old Vulgate; and from this if she can establish a doctrine, as more than one she doth, no appeal is allowed; whereas in the Church to which we are privileged to belong, though we have a translation (one of the best ever made) 'appointed to be read in churches,' yet for all that we are not debarred from the use of the inspired originals, whether in the Hebrew or the Greek. Such as can use them may, and derive comfort, as many do, whilst searching for hidden treasure. Beyond a doubt, with the originals at hand, or such a translation as we have, there is no palming, even upon the most ignorant, what are called in our Homily 'the stinking puddles of man's traditions, devised by man's imagination, for our justification and salvation.' It was, in fact, by prohibiting, or, to say the least, by so restricting the use of Holy Writ as to amount to a prohibition, that corruptions gained ground in the Church of Rome—such corruptions as almost to overwhelm her,—so that the wisest and the best of her own sons called out for redress, and called long in vain."—pp. 13, 14.

In the Sermon on the Church, the claims of the Church of Rome to be the mother and mistress of all Churches is ably discussed; and while it is held that Rome is not altogether excluded from the Church, a similar view is held of dissent—though we have not observed any admission of the lawfulness of dissenting ministrations. The view which Mr. Warter here takes is certainly deducible from the principles laid down by Hooker and many divines. We must refer to the Sermons on St. Peter's Confession, on the practice of Confession and Absolution, and on the One Mediator, as peculiarly valuable and interesting.

II.—*A Letter to the Rev. J. F. Wilkinson, Priest of the Roman Catholic Chapel, at Clewer, in answer to Remarks addressed by him to the Parishioners.* By the Rev. T. T. CARTER, Rector of Clewer. London: J. H. Parker.

IT is not very often that local controversy presents an interest which entitles it to the public attention; but in the instance before us, there is something which really deserves notice, and will render Mr. Carter's Letter an acceptable gift to all who are interested in the Romish controversy. We never remember to have seen so complete, so popular, and so satisfactory a collection of evidence, as to the mode in which the perusal of the Scriptures is discouraged and prohibited in the Church of Rome. The facts which Mr. Carter has collected with great care and research, are perfectly overwhelming. The contrast between the Christian, and yet firm tone of the English clergyman, and the vulgar, insolent bluster and braggadocio of his Popish antagonist, is truly refreshing; and will, we doubt not, make their due impression in the inhabitants of Windsor. Mr. Carter thoroughly understands his subject, and we anticipate much benefit to the public mind from his being thus called to a discussion of the controversy.

III.—*The Progress of Beguilement to Romanism. A Personal Narrative.* By ELIZA SMITH, Authoress of "*Five Years a Catholic.*" London: Seeleys.

WE have seldom perused a more instructive and interesting little work than this. It details the process by which a mind of considerable cultivation and thoughtfulness was gradually won over to Romanism by theories of perfection, and anticipations of finding in Rome what could not be elsewhere found. Experience, however, gradually opened the eyes of the mistaken but conscientious inquirer. The tone of Romish society was so far remote from all her anticipations, so worldly, and so artificial; the horrors of the confessional, and the misconduct of those who availed themselves of its power for the most criminal purposes, were so fully confirmatory of all the objections which had been in vain urged to prevent secession to Rome; that at length a reaction took place, and the writer escaped from bondage, and from a system of craft and dishonesty, to the possession of those blessed privileges which she had lost. The details of her experience during her connexion with Romanism, are affecting and instructive in a high degree.

IV.—*Letters on some of the Errors of Romanism in Controversy with the Rev. Nicholas Wiseman, D.D.* By WILLIAM PALMER, M.A., *Prebendary of Salisbury, Vicar of Whitchurch Canonorum.* Third Edition. London: Rivingtons. 1851.

IN the present distressed and distracted state of the English Church, assailed at once by foes from without and traitors from within, it is cheering to see any intimation of unswerving faith in her doctrines, and unhesitating devotion to her cause in those whose duty it is to maintain intact and unadulterated the whole counsel of GOD. Alas! that such should be the case! But so it is; and to mince the matter is adopting the device of the foolish bird, which, when hotly pursued by those who seek its capture or death, plunges its head into the nearest bush, and hopes, by avoiding the sight, to escape the grasp of its enemy. We are externally attacked at once—by the aggression of the Roman Church—and the usurpation of the Civil Power—to say nothing of less important antagonists—less important, we mean, at the present juncture; and, at the same time, we have to contend with internal unfaithfulness, more or less fully developed; the unfaithfulness of those who would make the Church of the Living God the bondslave of a world that lieth in wickedness; of those who would supplant her Catholic and eternal faith by the novel dogmata of heretics and schismatics, or the form of philosophy, and the reality of infidelity; and, lastly, the unfaithfulness of those, who, from whatever cause, decline to offer a bold, straightforward, honest, and uncompromising opposition to the usurpations, the errors, and the idolatries of Rome.

It is at such a juncture, then, as the present, cheering to find any of our sentinels standing firmly at their posts, any of our watchmen looking out fearlessly into the night, any of our men-of-war buckling on their armour, and boldly *advancing* against the approaching foe.

We are happy, on their own account, to see these Letters printed in a form which makes them accessible to the public at large, instead of their being confined to the libraries of the studious, or the wealthy; and we welcome, with much satisfaction, the "*Introductory Letter to the Rev. Nicholas Wiseman, D.D., in reference to the Titular Romish Episcopate,*" which is, of course, entirely new; and to which, therefore, we shall confine ourselves on the present occasion:—

"I trust, sir," says Mr. Palmer, "that any little lack of courtesy, which I and others may have apparently evinced, in hesitating to concede to you a spiritual jurisdiction, which we did not believe you to possess, may be pardoned by yourself, at least, in consideration of the promotion

which you have sought and obtained, with a view to defeat our arguments, and to compel our recognition of your authority."—p. ix.

After citing various passages from the writings of Cardinal Wiseman and Mr. Bowyer, Mr. Palmer expresses a hope that he may be permitted to offer a few comments on them :—

"In the first place, then, it is clear, both from your own admissions, and those of Mr. Bowyer, that Romanists felt there was too much weight in the arguments which Churchmen directed against the Romish hierarchy under its late organization. It was felt that there was an 'advantage of ecclesiastical position' on the part of the Church of England; that many minds were 'influenced' by this to continue in the Church of England; that the assertion, that Romanists had no real Bishops, was a 'sarcasm,' which it was 'a point of no light weight and no indifferent interest' to silence if possible; that this 'standard and favourite topic' had 'some apparent colour;' and that the system of 'Vicars Apostolic,' was, no doubt, 'new' and 'anomalous.'

"Such, sir, by your own confessions, was the position of Romanism in England till the month of October, 1850! Up to *that time* our arguments against your hierarchy were felt—acutely and bitterly felt—to be such, that it was a matter of 'no light weight, and no indifferent interest,' to endeavour to elude them by a *change in your ecclesiastical organization!* Permit me, sir, to remark, that you have, according to *your own* statement of the motives which induced that alteration, borne the most satisfactory testimony to the force and validity of the arguments by which Churchmen refuted the claims of Romanists to possess a legitimate episcopate. The step you have taken indicates a feeling that your former position in this country was questionable; that it was incapable of satisfactory defence; that you could not hope to succeed in your project of overthrowing the Church of England, while you yourselves laboured under the imputation of possessing no true bishops, and, therefore, no true priests, and no lawful administration of the sacraments.

"Up to the autumn of the year of grace, 1850, then, it appears that Romanism possessed only a questionable episcopate; it did not possess what is held by Romanists themselves essential to the Church; it was without episcopal jurisdiction. Now this state of things, which had only been brought prominently into controversy of late years by our writers, was *peculiarly* embarrassing to Romanism in this country, because EVER SINCE THE REFORMATION, THE ONE GRAND ARGUMENT BY WHICH ROMANISTS HAVE BEEN ASSAILING THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, HAS BEEN A DENIAL OF HER EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION AND JURISDICTION."—pp. xi.—xiii.

After enumerating the various controversial writers who have in turn assailed the validity of our orders, or the jurisdiction or mission of our threefold ministry, Mr. Palmer goes on to say :—

"Such then being the favourite system of argument adopted by Ro-

manists, I can readily conceive the embarrassment they felt, when, not content, as our predecessors Mason, Bramhall, Prideaux, Burnet, and Elrington had been, with defending our own episcopate as valid and canonical, and truly apostolical in its jurisdiction, we proceeded to *retort* your arguments, and to prove from the authorities and principles to which you had appealed against us, that *you yourselves* were without any lawful episcopate.

"It became, *then*, a matter 'of no light weight, and no indifferent interest,' to escape from our objections, and to obtain, if possible, such 'an advantage in ecclesiastical position,' as would be subservient to your purposes of proselytism; and hence you submitted, with perfect satisfaction, to the transmutation you have recently undergone."—pp. xv. xvi.

"We argued," proceeds the writer of these Letters, "that the Romanists, so far from being the Catholic Church in England, as they claimed to be, were in reality *schismatics*, besides being involved in the crime of IDOLATRY, which is as grievous a sin as that of infidelity or heresy. It was remarked that the separation of communion which took place in the sixteenth century was *their* work, and that *they* then cut themselves off from the true and orthodox Church of this nation."—p. xvi.

After giving a succinct sketch of the line of argument here indicated, the author concludes by saying,—"*So far*, we have nothing more to say on the subject, *except this*—that you have conceded the non-episcopal character of your hierarchy till A.D. 1850—that *till within the last six months, at least, you have had NO LEGITIMATE HIERARCHY.*"

This is a strong point, and one which ought not to be lost sight of in the controversy. Having thus disposed of the earlier emissaries of the Roman See, Mr. Palmer proceeds to deal with those of later manufacture.

"Now, sir," says he, "let us consider the position of the '*new*' hierarchy—a hierarchy which dates its origin from A.D. 1850—that is, *seventeen or eighteen centuries* later than the hierarchy of the Church of England! You have, indeed, it must be allowed, a '*new*' hierarchy. It is '*new*' in date—it is '*new*' in titles and appellations—it is without succession. You have had no predecessors. Each pseudo-bishop of your hierarchy is a '*novus homo*'—sprung from no one—possessing no spiritual ancestry—holding no connexion with the ancient and historical sees of this Christian land—separated from the succession of the Apostles. To such it may be said, in the words of Tertullian, addressed to those heretics whose worship of Æons is rivalled by your worship of angels and saints,—'Who are ye? When and whence come ye? Not being mine, what do ye in that which is mine? In brief, by what right dost thou, Marcion, cut down my wood? By what licence dost thou, Valentinus, turn the course of my water? By what

power dost thou, Apelles, remove my landmarks? This is my possession: why do ye sow and feed here at your own pleasure? It is my possession: I have held it of old: I held it first: I have a sure title down from the first owners thereof, whose the estate was: I am the heir of the Apostles. As they provided by their own testament, as they committed it in trust, as they have adjured, so I hold it. You, assuredly, they have disinherited and renounced, as aliens, as enemies! You have no succession from the Apostles: your community in England and Ireland dates from the year 1570, when it forsook the Apostolic Churches here, and erected the standard of sedition. You do not, even now, succeed to the ancient and time-honoured sees of England. . . . While England is *still* presided over by the successors of Eborius, of Restitutus, of Adelphius, of Augustine, of Aidan, of Ceadda, of David, of Dubricius, of Cedda, and of Aldhelm; while the metropolitan rights sanctioned by so many ages; while the episcopal sees known to all Christendom from time immemorial, are still in existence, with all their rights, titles, jurisdictions, and canonical privileges untouched, you have attempted, without permission or consent of that lawful hierarchy, to usurp titles and jurisdictions within that portion of the fold of Christ which is intrusted to their care! *You have recognized their existence*; and have, in consequence, assumed new titles in order to avoid the appearance of interfering directly with them! You know that there are *already* metropolitans and bishops who preside over the people of this land, and yet you establish a rival and a schismatical hierarchy in opposition to them!"—pp. xix.—xxi.

After a course of argument, in which Mr. Palmer assails the Cardinal with his own weapons, and exhibits the invalidity and nullity of the Romish Schismatarchy, he adds:—

"The authority of the General Council of Chalcedon, which all Romanists recognize as *INFALIBILE*, conclusively establishes the unlawfulness of a second Metropolitan in the same province,—that is, a *real* Metropolitan; for the Council permitted a titular or honorary Metropolitan to be appointed, provided he did not in any way interfere with the jurisdiction of the actual Metropolitan."—p. xxv.

After pressing these matters still further, the author adds:—

"But you will, of course, reply to all this that the Papal dispensation is perfectly sufficient to remove irregularities; that the Pope is infallible; that his will as the viceregent of Christ, removes all opposing jurisdictions and canons, and supplies all defects in your ordinations and appointments. Now I need only say a word or two in reply to this. In the first place, the infallibility of the Pope is a doctrine which the Church of Rome has *never yet defined as an article of faith*. It is a *disputed point* amongst yourselves, even at the present day. Since, then, the Pope is not certainly infallible, it follows that he cannot be the head of the Church by the institution of Jesus Christ; for if God had placed him at the head of the Church, and given him universal

jurisdiction, *he must necessarily have been infallible*; or else every Christian would be bound to obey an authority which might teach heresy and idolatry! This argument is confirmed by the decision of the General Council of Chalcedon, to which you, and all other Romanists, bow as infallible; for this General Council declared that 'THE FATHERS had granted privileges to the See of old Rome, *because it was the IMPERIAL city*,' i. e., on account of its temporal rank. So that in the fifth century, this synod of all Christendom subverted, by anticipation, the supremacy of Rome, considered as a *Divine* institution; they only acknowledged in it privileges granted by 'THE FATHERS!' And if, then, this jurisdiction of Rome be viewed as a *human* institution, as you have argued its cause in the articles above referred to,—if it be treated as a *Patriarchal* jurisdiction, extending, in virtue of the canons, over all the West,—we can easily demonstrate its unlawfulness and nullity in this realm; for the Bishop of Rome exercised no patriarchal jurisdiction here for the first four centuries, nor, indeed, could he; for Ruffinus, at the end of the fourth century, declared that the jurisdiction of Rome extended only to the suburbicarian provinces, i. e.—a part of Italy, Sicily, and the adjoining islands. And his jurisdiction only commenced in France in the fifth century. Britain was free and independent in the early part of the fifth century, when the General Council of Ephesus made a decree that, 'No one of the Bishops beloved of God, take another province which has not previously and from the beginning been under his rule, and that of his predecessors; but if any one should have taken it, or have caused it to be subject to him by compulsion, *he shall restore it*. Wherefore it has seemed good to this Œcumenical Council that the rights of every province, which have always belonged to it, should be preserved pure and inviolate, according to the usage which has ever obtained, each Metropolitan having full power to act according to all just precedents in security.' And, therefore, the subsequent usurpation of jurisdiction by the See of Rome in England was unlawful; and it was strictly in accordance with the decree of this synod, which you believe to be *infallible*, that the Papal usurpation was removed by the Church and State upwards of three centuries ago. The See of Rome has, in consequence, no jurisdiction whatever, either by Divine institution or by canonical right, in Great Britain or Ireland. (I might, indeed, add several other countries.) So that any faculties, dispensations, briefs, or regulations of any kind, affecting the spiritual and ecclesiastical concerns of this country, proceeding from the Bishop of Rome, are null and void, and are incapable of conferring any spiritual powers or jurisdiction on the 'new' hierarchy; and in order to obtain licence to exercise any episcopal or sacerdotal functions in England, they must first submit themselves to the 'old' hierarchy, and relinquish their present claims."—pp. 27—30.

We do not see how the utmost ingenuity of our adversaries can escape or elude this reasoning. It appears to us simply un-

answerable. And here we are reminded of an earlier work by the same author, and one which we commend to all those who require information on the subject—"British Episcopacy Vindicated," which establishes the sole and canonical authority of our old hierarchy.

v.—*The Pattern showed on the Mount; or, Thoughts of Quietness and Hope for the Church of England in her Latter Days.* By the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A., Rector of Clewer, Berks. Oxford and London: J. H. Parker. 1850.

THERE is much sound sense and piety in this little tract, though we like a more simple style, and a less ambitious diction. In fact, we prefer good plain straightforward Saxon English, such as is intelligible to farmers, tradesmen, and labourers,—to all the charms of the most elaborate construction and the most ornamental language; and whilst we object to any thing approaching to undue familiarity in the treatment of divine things, we are equally averse to obscurity or mysticism. The following passage strikes us as containing much valuable matter:—

"There has ever been, in various parts of the Church, an overweening longing to form on earth a kingdom of the saints. The effort has invariably failed, simply because it was before God's appointed time. There is to be such a kingdom, but not yet. In building the Tower of Babel, the effort was to reach to heaven. All hasty forecastings of promised glory to be revealed to sight, while yet *we walk by faith*, are ever to be viewed with no common suspicion,—sometimes even with distress and with fear. One of the snares of Rome has been of this very nature. That Church has sought to seize by earthly force, and present to carnal sight, what can be won only by faith, be built up only on humility, and be fully realized only in another world. Thus, seeking to establish a perfect guidance for the soul, she has raised up a terrible earthly tyranny, in which the very responsibility of man is destroyed. Thus, too, she has sought to enforce an unquestioning unity of faith; and the issue has been, either that the reason, one of God's greatest gifts to man, is crushed, or the revolting mind learns to reconcile the coldest infidelity with the mere mechanical observance of outward forms. Many of the peculiar dogmas of Rome may be explained by this one cause of error—that she has sought to realize, in a carnal manner, and before the time, the mysteries of the kingdom which can exist only beyond the veil. What we, in the true Catholic Church of England *believe*, she will touch, and handle, and, in too presumptuous a grasp, alas! most awfully profane. Thus the real spiritual presence of Christ in the sacrament becomes, in her hands, material and carnal. Thus confession, which is to the quieting of an overburdened or scrupulous conscience, becomes, in her popular creed, as the very judgment of the last day. The blessed power of absolution, Christ's own appointment

or conveying to the very soul of the penitent sinner his message of forgiveness and peace, becomes the actual sentence of the All-seeing Judge himself. Thus the veil of reverence which God has drawn around the lead, and around the spirits who minister before his throne, is torn aside to make way for what the frail earthly fancy can invent; and purgatory, and the familiar worship of the saints, is the miserable substitute for the mysterious holiness and grandeur that pervade the Revelations of St. John. All is materialized. Nothing is left to the pure visions of holy hope and fear; nothing is permitted to remain in the dim but awful shadows, the dread uncertainties, that must hang about the confines of another world. There is throughout the Roman system a peculiar lack of the faith and patience of the prophet, who stands upon the tower to watch, whilst the Lord reveals to those who do his will, clearer views, and a growing assurance, as the morning breaks on the everlasting hills, and the day-star arises in their hearts.

"This same snare, alas! has been fatal to some among us, who once stood with us side by side, but now are parted from us by so wide a chasm. Of those who left our Church in these latter days, the greater number have done so from this cause. They saw, as they thought, in the distance, within the verge of Rome, a substantial unity, and an unearthly peace. They left their appointed path, and turned aside to taste the living waters—ah! it was but the mirage, the deceitful vision of the desert! Alas! has not to many that ensnaring beauty disappeared as they approached it nearer? To how many has it not proved only a barren waste! While they caught so hastily at these semblances of heavenly promise, to what fearful errors have they bowed down, as the price of that supposed peace for which they could barter away their former faith, their early loves, their simplicity of truth, and, greatest sacrifice of all, the sacredness of their own self-responsibility!"—pp. 11—15.

VI.—*Wild Life in the Interior of Central America.* By GEORGE BYAM, late Forty-third Light Infantry. London: John William Parker. 1849.

WILD Life in any part of the globe has always its charms, especially on paper; but Wild Life in Central America must be peculiarly exciting and entertaining, to judge from Mr. Byam's very animated and interesting account of it. The book is full of incident and anecdote, vivid description and valuable information; indeed, there is not a page put in to fill up—a rare merit in these days. Our first extract, a long one, describes phenomena that are frequent, and superstitions that are prevalent, in the beautiful region which was the scene of the author's adventures:—

"Early on the morning of January 20th, 1835, a few smart shocks of earthquake were felt, and the inhabitants, as they invariably do, ran out of their houses into their 'patios' (courtyards), or into the streets.

The alarm soon subsided, and the people returned to their dwellings; but the earth did not seem quiet, and continual repetitions of running out of the houses and returning, showed that the inhabitants were kept on the *qui vive*. These shocks continued at intervals all day, and the night was quieter; but early on the 21st the people were again driven out of their houses by a very violent one that lasted a few seconds, and it was some time before they would return, when, as it was still very early, most of them turned into bed again, or laid down in their hammocks. But the darkness seemed most unusually prolonged; a feeling of suffocation was universally felt: and when, at last, the people rose, they were still more alarmed by finding the air filled with a fine impalpable greyish black powder, which, entering the respiration, eyes, nose, and ears, produced a perfect gasping for breath. The first remedy was to shut up doors and windows as close as possible; but it was soon found worse than useless, as the powder was so subtle that it penetrated into every apartment, and the exclusion of air made the rooms insupportable. Possibly half a dozen persons in the country might have heard of the last days of Pompeii, and perhaps might have anticipated being discovered in some future ages in a good state of preservation; but the remainder put their trust in the Virgin Mary, and their different patron saints, especially St. Lorenzo, who is supposed to have a special interest in volcanos, eruptions, and burnings of every sort.

"The doors and windows were thrown open, and, generally, the wiser plan was adopted of covering the head and face with a linen cloth, dipped in water: some saddled their horses and mules, thinking to escape, but they would only have been going to certain death. The poor brutes were gasping for breath; but those who had the care and humanity to throw a wet poncho, or cloth, over the animals' heads, saved their beasts, but many died. To add to the terror of the day, at intervals smart shocks of earthquake made themselves felt, and a distant roaring, like thunder afar off, was heard during most part of the day. Still the ashes fell; and so passed that day,—the very birds entering into the rooms where candles were burning, but scarcely visible; and the sun went down, and the only perceptible difference between day and night was, that total darkness succeeded to a *darkness visible*, like that which we may fancy was spread over the land of Pharaoh. Night came on, and the lamp placed on a table looked like the street lights in a dense London fog, scarcely beaconing the way from one lamp-post to another; and the night passed, and the morning ought to have broken, for the sun must have risen; but, no! the change was only from black darkness to grey darkness; and some of the men, and nearly all the women, hurried to the churches; their forms wrapped up, and very dimly discerned through the deep gloom; and their footsteps, noiseless on the bed of ashes, recalled to the imagination Virgil's description of the shades; and they went and prostrated themselves at the feet of their saints, and, beating their bosoms, vowed candles and offerings for relief; but the saints were made of wood or stone, and heard them not; and another sun went down on their agony, for agony it was.

“ During the day, at intervals, several shocks of earthquake were felt, and frequently the distant thunder, or a noise very like it, was heard. The ashes had accumulated to some depth, the fall was as great, if not greater than ever, the darkness as grey by day, and as black by night, no termination of it even to be prophesied, and a tomb growing up around man and beast ; flight was useless ; thousands of cattle had perished in the woods and savannahs, though at that moment the fact was not then known ; and persons seemed more inclined to meet any fate reserved for them in the town, than to fly to what they knew not in solitude. And so they passed the second night. On the morning of the 23rd the layer of ashes had considerably increased in depth, but the fall had become very much more dense, and the natural grave of man seemed to be rising from the mother earth, instead of being dug into it. The women, with their heads covered with wet linen, again hurried to the churches with cries and lamentations, and tried to sing canticles to their favourite saints. As a last resource, every saint in Leon’s churches, without any exception, lest he be offended, was taken from his niche, and placed out in the open air,—I suppose to enable him to judge from experience of the state of affairs,—but still the ashes fell.

“ No doubt, at the height of two or three miles the sun was shining clear and warm in the bright blue sky, but all his power and glory could not penetrate into the thick cloud of ashes, even to make his situation in the heavens to be guessed at ; but when he was nearly sinking in the western horizon, a mighty wind sprang up from the north, and in the space of half an hour allowed the inhabitants of Leon just to gain a view of his setting rays gilding the tops of their national volcanos.

“ Of course the cessation of the shower of ashes was attributed to the intercession of these saints, who doubtless wished to get under cover again, which opinion was strongly approved of by the priests, as they would certainly not be losers by the many offerings ; but, during a general procession for thanks that took place the next day, it was discovered that the paint, that had been liberally but rather clumsily bestowed on the Virgin Mary’s face, had blistered ; and half Leon proclaimed that this image had caught the small-pox at her residence in that city, and, in consequence of her anger, the infliction they had just suffered was imposed upon them. Innumerable were the candles burnt before the altars of the ‘ Queen of Heaven,’ many and valuable were the gifts and offerings to her priests.”—pp. 32—37.

The numerous anecdotes of animals of various kinds, and the accounts of their habits, predilections, and peculiarities, are very curious and interesting. Amongst the birds which have attracted Mr. Byam’s notice, the king of the vultures occupies a prominent place :—

“ Having mentioned the vulture,” says he, “ I cannot let the opportunity pass without remarking the extraordinary respect, fear, or

whatever it may be called, shown by the commoner species of vulture to the king of the vultures. In Peru, I have been told, that it might frequently be witnessed in that country, but never had my curiosity gratified; but one day, having lost a mule by death, he was dragged up to a small hill, not far off, where I knew in an hour or two he would be safely buried in vulture sepulture. I was standing on a hillock, about a hundred yards off, with a gun in my hand, watching the surprising distance that a vulture descends his prey from, and the gathering of so many from all parts, up and down wind, where none had been seen before, and that in a very short space of time. Hearing a loud whirring noise over my head, I looked up, and saw a fine large bird, with outstretched, and seemingly motionless wings, sailing towards the carcass that had already been partly demolished. I would not fire at the bird, for I had a presentiment that it was his majesty of the vultures, but beckoned to an Indian to come up the hill, and, showing him the bird that had just alighted, he said, 'The king of the vultures; you will see how he is adored.' Directly the fine-looking bird approached the carcass, all the 'olloi polloi' of the vulture tribe retired to a short distance; some flew off and perched on some contiguous branch, while by far the greater number remained, acting the courtier, by forming a most respectful and well-kept ring around him. His majesty, without any signs of acknowledgment for such great civility, proceeded to make a most gluttonous meal; but, during the whole time he was employed, not a single envious bird attempted to intrude upon him in his repast, until he had finished, and taken his departure with a heavier wing and slower flight than on his arrival; but when he had taken his perch on a high tree, not far off, his dirty ravenous subjects, increased in number during his repast, ventured to discuss the somewhat diminished carcass, for the royal appetite was certainly very fine. I have since witnessed the above scene, acted many times, but always with great interest."—pp. 91—93.

On the much-agitated question, whether the cause of the gathering of the vultures be sight or smell, Mr. Byam decides in favour of the former, and with a great appearance of justice on his side. The fact, however, still remains one of those marvels of nature, which we are unable perfectly to comprehend.

Birds, however, are not the only or the principal objects of our author's observation; beasts of all kinds have an interest in his eyes. There are many incidents and adventures relating to the various denizens of the forest: amongst the most striking are those in which pigs play a conspicuous part. These animals appear to be not only fierce and strong, but also sensible and faithful to each other, being always ready to act in concert when the death of one of their herd has to be avenged. Their vindictive fidelity to each other is very striking, and was, on one

occasion, very nearly the cause of Mr. Byam's losing his life. He thus describes the circumstance :—

“ I was one day hunting alone, on foot, with a double-barrelled smooth bore, one barrel loaded with ball, the other with No. 2. shot, in a rather (for that country) open wood, when a large boar made his appearance about sixty yards off, and not seeing any of his comrades, I let fly the ball-barrel at him, and tumbled him over. He gave a fierce grunt or two as he lay, and a large herd of these boars and sows immediately rushed out of some thicker underwood behind him, and, after looking a few seconds at the fallen beast, made a dash at me ; but they were a trifle too late, for, on first catching sight of them, I ran to a tree, cut up it for life, and had only just scrambled into some diverging branches, about ten feet from the ground, when the whole herd arrived, grunting and squealing, at the foot of the tree. It was the first time I had ever been *treed*, as the North Americans call it, and I could not help laughing at the ridiculous figure I must have cut, chased up a tree by a drove of pigs ; but it soon turned out to be no laughing matter, for their patience was not, as I expected, soon exhausted, but they settled round the tree, about twenty yards distant, and kept looking up at me with their little twinkling eyes, as much as to say, ‘ We'll have you yet.’ Having made up my mind that a regular siege was intended, I began, as an old soldier, to examine the state and resources of the fortress, and also the chance of relief from without, by raising the siege. The defences consisted of four diverging branches that afforded a safe asylum to the garrison, provided it was watchful, and did not go to sleep ; the arms and ammunition ‘ *de guerre et de bouche* ’ were, a double-barrelled gun, a flask nearly full of powder, plenty of copper caps, a few charges of shot, but only two balls, knife, flint and steel, a piece of hard dried tongue, a small flask of spirits and water, and a good bundle of cigars. As to relief from without, it was hardly to be expected, although a broad trail ran about half a mile from my perch, and as for a sally, it was quite out of the question ; so I did as most persons would do in my situation, made myself as comfortable as possible, took a small sup from the flask, lit a cigar, and sat watching the brutes, and wondering when they would get tired of watching me. But hour after hour elapsed, and as there seemed no chance of the pigs losing patience, of course I began to lose mine ; they never stirred, except one or two would now and then go and take a look at his dead comrade, and return grunting, as if he had freshened up his thirst for revenge. All at once it occurred to me, that though I could not spare any lead, but must keep it for emergencies, yet as powder and caps were in abundance, it would be a good plan to fire off powder alone every few minutes, and follow each shot by a loud shout, which is a general signal for assistance ; and as one barrel was still loaded with shot, I picked out a most outrageously vicious old boar, who was just returning from a visit to his fallen friend, grunting and looking up at

me in the tree, and gave him the whole charge, at about twenty yards off, in the middle of his face. This succeeded beyond my expectation, for he turned round and galloped away as hard as he could, making the most horrible noise; and though the remainder, when they heard the shot, charged up to the foot of the tree, yet the outcry of the old boar drew them all from the tree, and away the whole herd went after him, making such a noise as I never heard before or since. Remaining up the tree for several minutes, until all was quiet, I loaded both barrels very carefully with ball, and, slipping down to the ground, ran away, in a contrary direction to the one they had taken, as fast as my legs could carry me."—pp. 100—103.

This is not a solitary instance of national vengeance, if we may use the expression; nor is man the only animal whom these fierce companions of the forest call to account for the slaughter of their fellows, as the following very curious and interesting fact will show:—

"Before leaving the subject of the wild boar and his habits, an anecdote, told me by an old ally and friend, the 'Tigrero,' or panther hunter, may be acceptable, as showing the courage and savageness of the brute far better than any thing I have met with myself.

"We were hunting together on foot, when, arriving at an open spot in the forest about forty yards across, with a single tree in the centre, he stopped and told me he had a curious story to tell me connected with that place, and that if I chose to sit down on a fallen tree at the edge, we could rest awhile. So we lighted our cigars, and, after a puff or two, he began this little zoological tale, the truth of which I cannot vouch for, but the man was well worthy of credit.

"'Don Jorge,' he began, 'I have purposely brought you here to show you the spot where a curious accident befel a tiger a few years since. I had crossed the trail of a tiger, but as it was rather stale I took little notice of it at first; but as the trail led towards the bed of the river, which was on my road, I began to take an interest in it. The trail left the river and entered the wood, and I followed it to this very spot, but never was I more astonished than at the sight before me. You see, Don Jorge, that large shooting branch,' pointing to a horizontal limb that shot out at right-angles from the isolated tree, and about eight feet from the ground; 'Well, from that branch was hanging part of a tiger, with his hind claws stuck deep into the bark. His head, neck, and fore-arms, had been torn off and mangled, as far as the shoulders, and a young pig, badly striped by the panther's claws, was lying dead underneath him. I saw at a glance how it had happened, as the ground all around was beaten in by the feet of a large herd of javalinos. The tiger had been crouching on the bough, and the drove passing under him, he had hung on by his hind claws sticking into the soft bark of the branch, and swung himself down to pick up the young grunter; but

before he could recover himself he was seized by the old ones, who had torn and mangled him as far as they could reach."—pp. 104—106.

We had intended to have added two other anecdotes relating to a very poisonous snake called the *Coral*: but we have already exceeded the limits of a mere notice, and we must therefore conclude, heartily recommending Mr. Byam's amusing little work to any of our readers who wishes for two or three hours of good entertainment.

VII.—*A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Cuddesden, at the Ordination held by the Lord Bishop of Oxford, on Sunday, March 16, 1851. By the Rev. H. HOSKYNs, M.A., Rector of Aston Tyrrold, Berks, late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.* Oxford and London: J. H. Parker. 1851.

A SOUND and sensible Sermon, published by request.

VIII.—*The Church Patient in her Mode of dealing with Controversies. A Sermon, preached before the University, at St. Mary's, Oxford, on St. Stephen's Day, 1850. By ARTHUR W. HADDON, B.D., Fellow Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford.* Oxford and London: J. H. Parker. 1851.

A VERY excellent and able discourse, eminently adapted for the present crisis.

IX.—*A Paraphrase and Comment, upon the Epistles and Gospels, appointed to be used in the Church of England on all Sundays and Holidays throughout the Year. By GEORGE STANHOPE, D.D., sometime Dean of Canterbury.* A New Edition. In 2 vols. Oxford: at the University Press. 1851.

WE are glad to see a new edition of this valuable and justly popular work.

X.—*A Text Book of Popery; comprising a Brief History of the Council of Trent, and a Complete View of Roman Catholic Theology. By J. M. CRAMP, D.D.* Third Edition. London: Houlston and Stoneman. 1851.

THOUGH there is much in this book to which we strongly object, both as to matter and manner, it will be found a valuable addition to the libraries of those whose principles are already formed, and who wish for a magazine of facts and documents available in the contest which every English Churchman is bound to wage against the corruptions and usurpations of Rome.

XI.—1. *Roman Catholics hostile to the free Use of the Bible: a Sermon preached in Exeter Cathedral.* By J. ROGERS, M.A., Canon Residentiary. London: Rivingtons.

2. *Jesus Christ the sole Mediator virtually denied by Roman Catholics: a Sermon.* By the Same.

WHILE men, like Canon Rogers, advocate in our cathedrals and parish churches the cause of truth, we have little apprehension of the triumph of Romanism. But assuredly these are not days in which the weapons of defence, or offence either, can be permitted any longer to rust on our shelves: they must be taken out, and edged afresh, and used with zeal and assiduity, if we wish to maintain the ascendancy of truth against an insidious, false, and desperate opponent. Canon Rogers has in these excellent discourses controverted two of the leading errors of the Church of Rome—the refusal of the Scriptures to the laity, and the worship of creatures instead of the Creator. These two subjects have a natural connexion; for the latter practice can only be maintained by those who do not study God's word. In the Sermons before us there is much learning, and much weighty argument on these important topics: in both instances the strongest points are seized, and presented in such a way as, we think, may fairly be regarded as unanswerable.

We extract the following passage in illustration of the plain and forcible style of these discourses:—

“ ‘Come unto me,’ says our Saviour Himself, ‘all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.’ The Saviour is ever ready to listen to the prayers of all who need his aid, or his mercy: ‘Him that cometh to me I will in nowise cast out.’ What, then, we may ask, is the need of the numerous mediators and intercessors who are objects of adoration in the Church of Rome, and who hold nearly the same place in that Church as was held by the tutelary deities amongst the ancient Greeks and Romans? The Virgin Mary is regarded by the Church of Rome as a *Mediator* and a *Saviour*. She is notoriously more an object of worship in Roman Catholic countries than the Saviour Himself. This may be proved by abundance of passages from the Litany of the Virgin Mary, and from other accredited works. It may be proved from the experience of every traveller in Roman Catholic countries. It is the crying sin of the Roman Catholic Church. A very few passages will prove that she is regarded as a *Mediator*, and an object of *direct prayer*. ‘O my holy Lady Mary! I commend to thy blessed trust and especial custody, and into the bosom of thy mercy, this day and every day, and in the hour of my death, my soul and my body . . . that by thy most holy *intercession* and *merits* all my works may be directed and disposed according to thine and thy Son's will.’ ”

XII.—*Roman Catholic Claims as involved in the recent Aggression, impartially considered, &c.* By AMICUS VERITATIS. London: Hatchard.

A VERY caustic and severe criticism of Dr. Wiseman's publications on the Papal Aggression; expressing the indignation which that unjustifiable act has called forth so generally.

XIII.—*Speech of HENRY DRUMMOND, Esq., M.P., in the House of Commons, on the Second Reading of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill.* London: Bosworth.

WE believe that fact entirely bears out Mr. Drummond's statements in this remarkable speech; though there are certain allusions which the delicacy of the present age cannot tolerate, and which of course raised a furious storm amongst his auditors. There is much that is sound and true in this speech, and it evinces an extraordinary acquaintance with the Romish controversy.

XIV.—*The Talbot Case. An Authoritative and Succinct Account from 1839 to the Chancellor's Judgment. With Notes and Observations: and a Preface.* By the Rev. M. HOBART SEYMOUR, M.A. London: Seeleys.

THE whole circumstances of the Talbot Case—showing as they do, the tactics by which funds are obtained for the propagation of Romanism—are deeply instructive, and ought not to be forgotten. Mr. Seymour has judged very wisely in presenting the details of this remarkable Trial and the proceedings connected with it in such a shape as will render them available for future reference, and for permanent circulation. We regard it as one of the most valuable publications which have recently appeared on such topics.

XV.—*Repentance: its Necessity, Nature, and Aids. A Course of Sermons preached in Lent.* By JOHN JACKSON, M.A., Rector of St. James's, Westminster, &c. London: Skeffington and Marshall.

AMIDST the more exciting discussions of the present times it is truly gratifying to turn aside from the strife of tongues, to the perusal of a work like that before us, in which the minister of God is seen pursuing his holy mission in calling sinners to repentance. In these discourses there is no attempt at popular oratory, but there is a careful, and conscientious, and judicious dividing of "the word of Truth"—much of the words of truth

and soberness—much of the solid and well-compacted theology which befits an able minister of the Gospel, and steward of its mysteries. It is gratifying to think that the very important position which the author holds is occupied by one who is plainly so competent to meet its responsibilities.

XVI.—*Memorials of the Sea: My Father: being Records of the Adventurous Life of the late William Scoresby, Esq., of Whitby. By his Son, the Rev. W. SCORESBY, D.D., &c.* London: Longmans.

THIS volume appears to us to be amongst the most interesting of the records of maritime experience that it has been our lot to see. The simplicity of the style, the detail of adventure, and the constant reference to Divine Providence, remind us of De Foe's celebrated work; but we have here the advantage of perusing a narrative of actual facts.

In the first few pages we have an account of a remarkable adventure and escape from destruction in a snow-storm; the accidents of a first year's apprenticeship at sea, including a dangerous fall into the hold of the ship, a narrow escape from being trepanned, an attack from a privateer, a preservation from being on board the *Royal George* when she foundered. Then we have accounts of the efforts of a seaman to gain a knowledge of his profession; the punishment he inflicted on a pair of bullies, the preservation of the ship by his self-taught seamanship, the jealousy which ensued, the capture of the vessel by the enemy, and imprisonment in Spain, escape from a Spanish prison, &c.

We need not say that great part of the volume is occupied with adventures in the Northern Ocean, and with accounts of regions within the northern latitudes. This work may be safely recommended for the perusal of the young, being replete with interest to a most unusual degree; and presenting a noble example of results which may be achieved by energy, and industry, and high-minded integrity.

Foreign and Colonial Intelligence.

AUSTRALASIA.—The Conference of the Metropolitan and Bishops of Australasia, at Sydney, referred to in our last number, has issued in the publication of a Report, which we are prevented by want of space from inserting at present.

A very numerous attended meeting was subsequently held at Sydney, at which the Metropolitan presided; and resolutions were moved and seconded by the Bishops of Tasmania, Adelaide, New Zealand, Melbourne, and Newcastle, and Messrs. Kemp, Cooper, Lowe, Metcalfe, and Campbell, for the purpose of establishing the Australasian Board of Missions, having for its object the propagation of the Gospel among the heathen races, in the provinces of Australasia, New Caledonia, the Loyalty Islands, the New Hebrides, the Solomon Islands, New Hanover, New Britain, and the other islands in the Western Pacific. Upwards of 1300 persons attended the meeting, and hundreds were not able to obtain admittance. The proceedings were characterized by the utmost unanimity, and appeared to have been deeply gratifying to all who were present. The following remarks from the Bishop of New Zealand, to whom the design, in a great degree, owes its origin, will be read with interest:—

His Lordship rose to move the third resolution,—“That the foreign efforts of the Australasian Board of Missions be first directed to the islands lying nearest to Australia, viz., New Caledonia and the Loyalty Islands, in the hope that, by the blessing of God, its missions may hereafter be extended to all the heathen races inhabiting the islands of the Western Pacific.”—If he could have felt that his drawing their attention to the subject matter of this resolution would, in the slightest degree, have weakened their interest in the eternal welfare of their own poor Blacks, he would not have said a single word. It was to the misery of the Australian Black that New Zealand was indebted for the present condition of its aboriginal people, and he (the Bishop) was indebted for his own position. That venerable and lamented missionary, the Rev. Samuel Marsden, was first induced to direct his attention to the moral condition of the New Zealanders by

his observation of the misery and degradation in which the native races of the Australian continent were plunged. But their attention would not, he trusted, be the less forcibly drawn to the consideration of the Australian Black, because of his desire to enlist their sympathies in favour of those benighted races who inhabited the islands of the Western Pacific. On the contrary, the one work would be a material assistance to the other. He would first draw their attention to the wonderful progress of the Gospel in New Zealand, and by marking this progress they might derive additional encouragement to persevere. The first missionary efforts were made in the vicinity of the Bay of Islands; but the news that such instruction was to be had was soon spread over the whole of the northern island. At a district on the southern part of that island, far distant from the place where the missionary resided, the two sons of the chief were so desirous of obtaining instruction, that they left their home clandestinely and embarked in a whaler for the Bay of Islands, in order to bring back, if possible, a missionary to reside among themselves. The missionaries were by no means certain at that time as to the condition of the southern coasts, as to the safety of the attempt; but Mr. (now Archdeacon) Hadfield volunteered to return with these young men to the place from whence they came. A few years after this, these young men, who had in the interim been baptized, and became zealous Christians, finding that their missionary was not able to do all the work necessary to promote the rapid spread of Gospel truths, volunteered to go along the coast in an open boat to convey instruction to their less favoured brethren. Thus it was that many who had never seen the face of an English missionary, had become Christians and civilized. At one place of this description, when he asked, with some feeling of diffidence, whether there was any one among them who was able to read, he was told that there were a good many who could do so, and a class of thirteen was at once formed, who were able to read the Scriptures as fluently as their brethren at the Bay of Islands. Could there be any greater manifestation of Divine goodness than was afforded by this rapid spread of Christianity and civilization over a whole country resulting from the exertions of one man? He might well say that New Zealand and the New Zealanders owed a deep debt of gratitude to the memory of Samuel Marsden, and of Christian sympathy to the Australian Blacks, whose misery had drawn the attention of that good man to the equally forlorn condition of the neighbouring islanders. The Chatham Islands are brought within the influence of the Gospel in the same manner; and when he visited that place, he found there no less than 300 candidates for baptism. The islands of the Western Pacific, lying in the closest vicinity to the equator, such as New Britain, New Hanover, the large island of New Guinea, might, he hoped, in the end, become the field of missionary enterprise. At present, as far as he could ascertain, there was not a Christian among them. The Church of Rome had made some attempts to convert

these islanders, but had been compelled to abandon these attempts in consequence of the savage nature of the people. At present, however, he proposed to direct their attention to the islands lying in nearer proximity to the eastern coast of Australia. His attention was first more particularly directed to this subject during a voyage which he made in the "Dido" man-of-war, touching at the Samoas, at Tonga, at the Friendly Islands, and at Rotumah. Bearing in mind what he had himself become acquainted with as to the almost miraculous manner in which religious knowledge had spread throughout New Zealand, he came to the conclusion that it was the solemn duty of all Christians, and more particularly of himself, to do as far as practicable for these islanders, what had been done in former times for the aboriginal natives of his own diocese. He remembered that mercantile men in New South Wales had been able to induce persons belonging to these islands to go with them, in order to obtain employment, and he did not doubt that he should be able to procure in the same way pupils whom he might instruct and return to their parent lands. The result showed that he was right in this. He procured a small vessel, and in his very first voyage he met with so much success and encouragement, as determined him to adopt some definite plan upon which he might pursue the work. He saw plainly that he could not contemplate the establishment of Christian ministers upon the islands, and he, therefore, brought the young men to New Zealand, where, after a residence of eight months, they acquired a sufficient knowledge of the English tongue, and communicated to the teachers a sufficient knowledge of their own language, to enable them to understand each other. They were then returned to their native place, to exercise upon those people such influence for good as the knowledge which they had acquired would give them. This plan had succeeded so well, that in every place where there were persons who had been subjected to this slight training, masters might land as freely, and might reside with the natives as confidently, as in any part of New Zealand. It was this plan which he should propose now to follow. The climate of these northern islands was such, that in the months of January, February, and March, they were most unhealthy for Europeans, who were apt to suffer so severely from fever and ague, as to paralyse their exertions for the remainder of the year. In the intermediate period between these unhealthy seasons, the islands might be visited by a small vessel, and a teacher left, from whom the people would receive some instruction, and by whom arrangement might be made for getting some of the younger natives to accompany them to the place of their destination. Until a better place could be provided, his own college at Auckland would do very well for training these young men; and the vessel, on her return voyage, might call at the several stations, and take them there. At this place they might acquire a sufficient knowledge of the English language to be able to read the Scriptures, and to impart religious education to their own countrymen. He preferred teaching them to read the Scriptures in English, because by

this means they would avoid the delay and difficulties of making translations into a number of languages. In the islands of the Pacific, as among the tribes of Australia, the languages of the people very much varied, and at one time, while lying at Tanna, he had heard as many as ten different languages spoken on board the vessel. The College at Auckland would at present accommodate some twenty or thirty pupils, or perhaps more, at the expense of not more than 10*l.* per annum each; for there was an agricultural establishment, and various workshops attached to it, which aided in its support. Experience had shown that industry must be cultivated simultaneously with the imparting of religious instruction, in order to insure any permanent success to their efforts in the latter direction. He therefore left these men to choose the kind of employment best suited to their tastes and abilities; and it was found that they usually settled down to some particular branch of industry, which they steadily followed. The only missionary efforts of any consequence which had been made in this direction was by a clergyman of the Presbyterian Church, who had been sent from that Church in Nova Scotia, a distance of about 20,000 miles, and who at present occupied a station on one of the New Hebrides. If people so distant had awakened to the importance of this work, surely New South Wales, which lay within 1000 or 1200 miles of these islands, could not be less interested in the eternal welfare of their inhabitants. When he was last there, he was enabled to do this good missionary a service, which would, he trusted, not only benefit the missionary himself, but advance the work in which he was so zealously engaged. A custom prevailed at these, as well as other islands of the South Seas, of strangling the wives of those who were absent when they had been away for a sufficiently lengthened period, to induce a belief that they had died or abandoned the country. A number of the people of this island were away at Tanna, and had been so long absent, that preparations were being made to carry out this horrid custom. The chief, naturally anxious, applied to him (the Bishop) to go with his vessel to Tanna and fetch those men back. Upon this he told them that they must go to their missionary and prevail upon him to intercede for them. Thus constrained, they went to the missionary, to whom, in all probability, they had paid but little attention before, and the missionary, of course, made no difficulty in complying with their request. He (the Bishop) was also equally ready in his compliance, when the intercession of the missionary had been sought by the natives. They therefore went to Tanna and fetched away the men. Their visit to Tanna was, however, a most providential one in other respects, for they were enabled to bring away the remnant of the French mission which had come to that place from Samoa, and had been almost destroyed by fever and ague. The people of the other island were so delighted at the service which they had obtained through the intervention of their missionary, that they held a meeting, and conferred upon him the rank and privileges of a

chief of the first class. And this naturalization was an object of far greater importance than at first sight appeared, for the islanders had a practice of attributing to the evil influence of such foreigners as resided among them all evils of magnitude, such as famine or pestilence, with which they might be afflicted. A ready devotion, too, was displayed among the converted natives, and there was an immediate offer made to replace at Tanna, one who had died there while seeking the advancement of religion. The natives themselves, indeed, when they had once become believers in the truths of Christianity, were always anxious to make their heathen brethren participators in their knowledge. This, then should encourage the civilized man to exertion. He must know that, when once the Gospel was planted among the heathen, all blessings would spread, as the seed upon the sea-bird's wing, until the neighbouring races were made fully to participate in them. Of New Caledonia they, like himself, have doubtless heard many evil reports. Captain Cook, who was generally an accurate observer, spoke well, seventy years ago, of the people inhabiting this large island, preferring them even to those of the group generally known as the Friendly Islands. But no two opinions could be more at variance than those of Captain Cook and of the traders who had made this island a place of resort. As far as his own observation went, he was happy to say that it was confirmatory of the report of Captain Cook. When he was on the beautiful lagoon which surrounded this island, between the outer reef and the shores of the mainland, he saw a man fishing in a canoe, and he approached this man in a little boat which he always carried with him. He found the man perfectly affable and friendly, and, after an interchange of the customary marks of friendship, he had no difficulty in inducing the islander to come on board the vessel, where he remained for several days. He also visited a beautiful district in the island, over which a chief who had been in Sydney—and who, as was not often the case, had been improved by his visit—was the ruler. When he was last there, this chief had erected a good house for him (the Bishop) upon the banks of a river, and would be very glad, doubtless, if he could get him there to occupy it. He believed, therefore, that the inhabitants of this island were by no means so bad as had been generally stated, although he doubted whether Captain Cook was quite correct in thinking them superior to the Friendly Islanders. At this latter group he had witnessed one of the most interesting sights he ever beheld. About 200 children, who were at school, dispersed at the word of the teacher, and returning immediately afterwards, each with some little trinket or curiosity as an offering which they laid at his feet. They subsequently followed him to the boat, which was almost filled by these offerings. The Feejee Islands were partially occupied by Wesleyan missionaries, who had met with so much success among this hitherto savage people, as to induce a lively confidence in their continued success. At one of the savage islands of this group, two native women

had been caught fishing, and, according to the heathen custom, were condemned to be killed and eaten,—but two ladies, Mrs. Little and Mrs. Cotterell, in the absence of their husbands, went off in a boat to the chief, and presented him with the ransom demanded by custom. By this intercession the women were saved. Missionary ardour and devotion, they must see, were not only manifested by the male sex, but were felt with equal power by their wives. At the Island of Anatum a party of Fejeans had attacked and wounded most severely the wife of a carpenter, then absent; the Europeans proposed to kill the whole party, but only the man who actually inflicted the wounds was shot. The rest, dreading vengeance, fled to the woods; but one of them made his way to the missionary's dwelling, and lay concealed there for thirty-six hours, until he was compelled by hunger to come out and beg the missionary's intercession, which was accorded to him. These people then knew enough of the missionary character to have confidence in one of that class. Here was another reason for persevering in the work before them. At another island, where no great period had elapsed since Captain Padden lost seventeen men, and within three miles of the very spot where the massacre occurred, there was a native mission established by the London Society, and which had been handed over to him on account of his being so much nearer to the spot. Here he had met three congregations; one of about 200 persons, a second of about 150, and a third of a somewhat lesser number. There was no single person on the island, at the present time, with whom he could not have lived on terms of the greatest confidence, and for whom he did not feel a hope that they would be made wise unto salvation. The work of Christianizing these people might then be carried on with a good hope of success, and at the same time they might carry on the work of civilizing and Christianizing the Blacks of Australia. That they were not destitute of capacity had already been shown; and he had himself trained and prepared a youth of this race, who was deemed worthy by his Metropolitan of the rite of confirmation. The most important step was to remove the educated Blacks from beyond the influence of the barbarous tribes; and if they founded colleges, this could easily be done. The work of a Christian mission was often very slow, and apparently profitless in the first instance for a long period of years, and equally rapid in the end. At New Zealand they were fourteen years without making any progress. At the Society Islands the time was even greater. Although the efforts to convert the aborigines of Australia had been hitherto without material success, he believed from the various indications already mentioned that the time had now come when they would be able to do very much for these poor people. By God's blessing and by their own exertions they would also, he trusted, be able to extend over the Western Pacific the same beneficent rays of the Gospel light, which had shone so gloriously over its Eastern Islands. They must earnestly pray therefore for strength to carry out their great and holy work.

Sydney.—We extract the following advertisement from the *Sydney*

Morning Herald, as a specimen of the way in which Romanism in the Colonies assumes rank and titles in defiance of the Queen's supremacy. Has the Sovereign no supremacy in the Colonies?

"His Grace the Archbishop of Sydney will open and dedicate to the honour and glory of the Great and Good God, under the Invocation of St. Nicholas, Archbishop of Myra in the fourth century, the new church at Penrith, on Wednesday, the 13th November, 1850.

"The dedication sermon will be preached by His Grace.

"The grand pontifical high mass will commence at eleven o'clock.

"A selection from the masses of Haydn and Mozart will be sung by the choir of the metropolitan church.

"A collection will be made on the occasion in aid of the Building Fund."

Hobart Town.—The fourth annual commemoration of Christ's College, took place on Thursday, the 5th December, 1850. The proceedings commenced with morning prayer in the College chapel at 11 a.m. The chapel was quite filled; and many of the congregation were assembled round the door, where, however, they were able to join in the service. Archdeacon Marriott, who acted for the Bishop in his absence, Archdeacon Davies, the Warden, and Sub-Warden having taken their places, the service commenced. The prayers were said by the Warden; and the chanting was accompanied on the organ by Mr. J. M. Norman, late a divinity student in the College. In the "Benedicite, omnia opera," the first phrase of each verse was taken alternately by the Warden and one of the boys, the whole congregation joining, heart and soul, in the "praise Him, and magnify Him for ever," which concludes each verse. The service being ended, the two Archdeacons were conducted by the Warden and Sub-Wardens to their seats in the upper school-room, which was presently filled by the rest of the company. When every body was seated the Warden rose, and having put on his cap, delivered an appropriate Latin oration.

Upon the conclusion of the Warden's oration, the Venerable Archdeacon Davies arose and presented the following financial statement, in nearly these words:—"As usual," said the Archdeacon, "he had to regret that the accounts were not more satisfactory, and that he was unable to report any diminution of the debt with which the estate was still encumbered, the interest of which, during the past year, had absorbed not less than 394*l.* of their income." The Archdeacon here produced the accompanying statement:—

Receipts.

Rents of land	£894 15 0
On account of scholarships, &c.	223 15 0
Subscriptions	170 0 0
Balance	34 0 6
	<hr/>
	£1322 10 6
	<hr/>

Expenditure.

Salaries	£590	0	0
Interest	394	2	7
Improvement of College property	62	3	0
Balance due to Treasurer and late Warden, 1849	85	10	0
Books for Library	30	0	0
Paid Warden on account of fellowships and scholarships	160	14	11
	<hr/>		
	£1322	10	6
	<hr/>		

“The prospect before them was any thing but cheering. It must have been evident to all, as they passed through the estate that morning, that the crops were almost a total failure, which involved a serious diminution in their income for 1851. To make any further reduction in the expenditure was impossible; it would tend to impair the efficiency of the institution. To meet this deficiency, then, we must exhort those who have not yet paid up their subscriptions, to do so at once; and such, he would beg leave to remind of the old adage, ‘*Bis dat, qui cito dat.*’ It was well known to many that our dear and valued friend Mr. Gell was exerting himself in England on our behalf; and he had the pleasure of telling them, that in a letter he had received from that gentleman, he was assured that there was very little doubt that 3000*l.* would be given by the societies in England to the College, and that the sole cause of delay was the want of an official application for the grant, through the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of the Diocese. He need scarcely add that this objection would be speedily removed, and that the money, when received, will be expended in paying off the mortgage on the estate.”

“Had Mr. Wedge been present, he would have explained a proposal which he had made to the College Trustees, of keeping back the farms, as the leases fell in, and stocking the whole of the College estate with sheep. This plan, requiring a certain outlay, which Mr. Wedge thought would make a proportionate return, had been referred by the College Trustees to two practical gentlemen, Messrs. Toosey and Clerke, whose report had not yet been received. While anxious to improve the estate, the College authorities had not forgotten their duty to the children residing upon it. A gentleman, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, whose indefatigable exertions have been amply repaid with success, has the management of the village school, for which a matron also has been engaged to teach sewing, &c. He would now beg leave to present them with another account of a more satisfactory character. Last year, when it was found necessary to diminish the house expenditure, in order to bring it within the yearly income, he had informed them of a calculation of the Warden’s, in which he had undertaken to effect this most desirable object. A year’s trial had been made, and he had to announce the perfect success of the Warden’s efforts, to whose careful attention to every detail of house expenditure might be attributed the success which

had attended his exertions, and to whom the thanks of the community were justly due."

Archdeacon Davies then handed over the accounts to Archdeacon Marriott for the information of the Bishop as Visitor.

Archdeacon Marriott:—"My friend and brother fellow has reminded us, in his last words, of the one subject of regret, which we all feel in common on this day, and which I must feel more than any—so much so, that could I have anticipated the absence of the Bishop, I should gladly have remained at home, rather than appear to occupy his place on such an occasion; and now, therefore, I am most unwilling to make you feel his absence the more, which must be the effect of my addressing you. Still there are two or three points on which I can hardly refrain from touching, especially as the Warden's speech was delivered in Latin, and as he has adverted to subjects of much interest to many who are here present. Our beginning has been, according to the excellent and invariable custom of this College, whether in its daily work, or in its annual commemoration, to express, in words common to us all, and common to all occasions, those deeper feelings with which we regard not one another alone, but Him on whom we trust—feelings of hope and anxiety, of regret and of thankfulness, in regard to those special and particular interests that unite us together on this day. Such has been our beginning; and we may now venture, without being misunderstood, to advert to two or three circumstances only, to which the warden has most appropriately alluded. And first, as no pleasure is without its pain, so no source of regret is without its mingled cause of thankfulness; and the Warden has well reminded us of the cause of the Bishop's absence. There are interests dearer and deeper than those even which are associated with this institution—deeper to all than many are aware, but which some are fully conscious of in their hearts, and we know on what mission our Bishop has been, and that he has been where he ought to have been for our good; and we trust to that mission proving a source of comfort, and peace, and confidence to many, as an help to godly union and concord. There are others also to whom our Warden has alluded most kindly and most justly. And I must speak of them, in order to say a word of encouragement to all the members of the College body, down to the youngest boy,—for the one thought I wish to impress upon you is, that the prosperity of the College must and will depend infinitely more, under God, on the character of each youth as he leaves its walls, than on any outward aid. We are beginning now, though only in the fifth year of our work, to gather round us one of the blessings which belong to older institutions,—I mean, the cherished recollection of those who have gone forth from among us, but who are still of us, and with us."

When Archdeacon Marriott had ended, the Warden invited the company to a luncheon which had been prepared in the College hall.

After luncheon, some of the company left; but at evening prayer the chapel was again filled, as in the morning; the chapel bell ringing at four instead of five o'clock, in order to meet the convenience of those of

the visitors who wished to attend. By half-past five all the visitors (the number of which was thought to be 200) had left,—many, we would hope, carrying away with them deep feelings of thankfulness for the occasion which had called them together, and of trusting faith in Him by whose permission alone they felt the institution would stand or fall.

BELGIUM.—The Bishop of Jamaica has been engaged on a tour of confirmation of persons of the English communion in Belgium. Fifty-six persons were confirmed at the Chapel Royal, in Brussels. On Good Friday his Lordship preached and administered the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to eighty communicants. There was a large congregation.

BRITISH NORTH AMERICA.—*Church Movements in the Diocese of Toronto.*—The aggressions of the Liberal and Romish party on the Church in Canada have been instrumental in rousing Church feeling and energies in a very remarkable way. The appeal of the venerable Bishop, and his subsequent visit to England, have had the effect of providing funds for the endowment of a Church University—the Church having been deprived of its educational institutions by the vote of an adverse legislature. The Bishop of Toronto laid the foundation-stone of the Church University on March 17th. In his address the Bishop spoke sanguinely of the prosperity of the new College :—

“ We may seem to those who look only to earthly and outward appearances as a feeble band ; and, because we have little or no endowment, to be in danger of passing away like the summer-cloud ; but it is a work which has for its object the glory of God and the extension of his kingdom ; and therefore, if we prosecute it in the right spirit, it will obtain the Divine blessing, and be sure to prosper. We have, indeed, much already for which to be thankful ; the contributions of the members of the Church, both here and at home, have enabled us to contract for a noble edifice, which will, it is hoped, not only adorn, but become the channel of many blessings to this city and diocese. Even already, we stand, as to worldly means and appliances, much in advance of the two great Universities in England at their commencement, whose scholars, many years after they began the business of instruction, were so poor, as Chaucer tells us, as to be compelled to carry their own grist to the mill : and from so small beginning what are these Universities now ? The most splendid establishments for literature and science in the world, and justly called the breasts of England. And how have they risen to this eminence ? By untiring diligence and attention to the great objects for which they were instituted—the training up the rising generation to virtue and piety, and imbuing their minds with the sacred truths of Christianity in their purest form. The fruits are seen in the generous offerings made from age to age by grateful pupils to extend the power and usefulness of these Universities till they are now the wonder of the world.”

The Bishop then took the spade from the architect, and, having filled it with the soil, said, "We begin this work in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." He then threw it into the barrow, which was soon heaped over by the Council, each throwing into it one or more spadeful; the Grand Sheriff of the county, volunteering to be his Lordship's barrowman, wheeled it to the place of deposit:—

"Three cheers were then given for the Queen, three for the Bishop, and three for the prosperity of Trinity College. After the cheering, which was very hearty, had subsided, the Bishop said:—

"Gentlemen,—Before we separate, let me beg of you all to lift up your hearts in silent prayer to Almighty God, that all who are employed in erecting this building may be preserved from accidents and dangers, and that, when completed, it may ever promote the glory of God and the welfare of his people."

So ended this simple but very interesting preliminary step towards the erection of Trinity College. The site which has been selected is exceedingly beautiful; and the building, when finished, will present a striking and pleasing object to all ships approaching or leaving the harbour, which it will in a great measure overlook.

The Bishop of Toronto has addressed a letter to the Prime Minister, urging the necessity of the Church in Canada being permitted to make local regulations for the management of her own affairs.

The following passages comprise the principal recommendations or suggestions of the Bishop:—

"Let the Church in Canada be allowed full liberty of action. While there was only one Bishop and a few missionaries scattered over the surface of this vast province, and while the government here, and in the mother country, were members of the Church, and her natural guardians from position and inclination, we had security and peace. Her ministrations were gradually extended as the country became settled, and she possessed that influence in public affairs to which she was justly entitled; but now that the State at home and abroad professes to have no religion, and seems, in practice, to prefer all religious communities, but more especially the Roman Catholic, to the United Church of England and Ireland, it is unjust to hold her in chains by antiquated laws, which have no force against any of Her Majesty's subjects, except those that belong to the National Church, and to which she submitted at a time when there were no other religious bodies, and for the sake of the preference and special protection which are now withdrawn.

"To speak of the Church as in unity with the State, in the present state of things, is as ridiculous as it is untrue; for, since the unequal application of the principle of civil and religious liberty, in 1827 and 1829, she has been left as a target for all sects and denominations to shoot at, and as helpless as such target, because she is not free to exercise, in her own defence, the rights and inherent powers which, in common justice, ought to be confirmed to her, from that same principle.

" All other religious bodies have their legislatures, which are free to meet when and where they please, to deliberate and pass by-laws, so long as such only affect the spiritual concerns of those who are willing to accept them, and impose nothing inconsistent with their condition as subjects, to which all denominations must yield obedience.

" In this province the Roman Catholics are under no restraint; the Wesleyans have their Conference; the Kirk of Scotland and the Free Kirk have their Presbyteries and Synods; but, should the Church desire to meet in Convocation for the regulation of her affairs, she is threatened with the Act of Submission, which is said to reach the Colonies, although this country was not known at the time of its enactment.

" A special licence from the Queen is said to be absolutely necessary to enable any Bishop to assemble his clergy in Convocation for the purpose of passing canons and regulations for the peace and good government of his diocese.

" Now, as such licence has been refused to the mother Church in England for upwards of a century, it would seem to be in vain to apply for one here; nevertheless, the attempt must soon be made; and should it prove unsuccessful, we must then carefully examine the restraining enactments of Henry VIII., as doubts have been lately thrown out by high legal authority of its application beyond the seas.

" It is, however, our design to proceed with all becoming respect and moderation. We shall therefore petition, in the first place, for licence to meet in a diocesan synod for the regulation of the spiritual affairs of the Church; and should we fail, it will then be our duty to consider what can be done in the premises, for it is quite evident that the Church in Canada is now far too large to proceed with dignity and efficiency under its present imperfect ministrations.

" Assuming that the lay members of the Church in Canada approach three hundred thousand, under three Bishops and two hundred and forty clergymen, it must needs be that difficulties and offences will arise: and how are they to be dealt with?

" The Bishop is, in most cases, powerless. Jurisdiction is no doubt granted him by his appointment and commission, but he has no regular courts by which to try causes, and acquit or punish, as the case may be. Hence he is frequently unable to suppress reckless insubordination and sullen opposition, even in things purely spiritual. At one time he is accused of feebleness and irresolution; and at another, when he acts with firmness and vigour, he is called a despot.

" It may, indeed, be true that the Church has increased so rapidly that no great inconvenience has as yet been felt. The Clergy, as a body, have acted beyond all praise in the faithful discharge of their important and onerous duties. But this state of things cannot be expected to continue. The Bishop frequently feels himself weak, and requires at such times the refreshing counsel of his brethren, and their constitutional co-operation in maturing the measures which he may feel

it proper to adopt. Their presence, therefore, appears indispensable, if the Church in this extreme portion of the Lord's vineyard is to carry out successfully her Divine mission.

"Were the Clergy of the province to meet under their three Bishops, or even were they to meet under one Bishop in their respective dioceses, with such representatives of the laity, being communicants, as might be thought right, they would accomplish all that might be required.

"Never, perhaps, did the Church proceed in any colony with the like rapidity; and this not merely in Upper Canada, which happens to possess peculiar advantages, but equally so in Lower Canada, notwithstanding the overwhelming number of Romanists.

"Hence, we fear not Rome, her Jesuits, or her schemes. Our holy Church, resting on the faith once delivered to the saints, has successfully opposed them for three centuries, on the principles of primitive truth and order, and is still equally able to do so, leaning on Divine help, in every part of the world.

"I. The Clergy and lay delegates might meet, with their Bishops, and make rules and regulations for the better conduct of their ecclesiastical affairs, and for holding such meetings from time to time as might be deemed necessary and convenient.

"II. Such rules and regulations not to impose or inflict any corporal or pecuniary penalty or disability, other than such as may attach to the avoidance of any office or benefice held in the said Church.

"III. That no such rule or regulation shall be binding on any person or persons, other than the said Bishop or Bishops, and the Clergy and lay persons within the colony or diocese, declared members of the Church of England.

"IV. That it shall not be competent to the said Bishops, Clergy, and lay persons, or any of them, to pass any regulation affecting the rights of the Crown, without the consent of Her Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Colonies.

"V. That no such rule or regulation shall authorize the Bishop of any diocese to confirm or consecrate, or to ordain, licence, or institute any person to any see, or to any pastoral charge or other episcopal or clerical office, unless such person shall have previously taken the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty, and shall have also subscribed the Articles of the United Church of England and Ireland, and declared his unfeigned assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer.

"Were the Bishops and Clergy to meet, with such powers as these, slender though they be, the moral influence of such meetings and proceedings would be immediately felt and acknowledged."

In accordance with the intentions expressed in the above letter, the Bishop of Toronto addressed a pastoral letter to his Clergy, summoning them to a convention of the clergy and lay representatives of the Church in his diocese, to consider its position with regard to its relations to the State:—

In this pastoral the following are the most important passages:—

"It has been suggested, and even pressed upon me, by many of the most pious and respectable members of our communion, both lay and clerical, that the Church, now so numerous in Canada West, ought to express her opinion, as a body, on the posture of her secular affairs, when an attempt is again making by her enemies to despoil her of the small remainder of her property, which has been set apart and devoted to sacred purposes during sixty years; and that it is not only her duty to protest against such a manifest breach of public faith, but to take such steps as may seem just and reasonable to avert the same.

"Having taken this suggestion into serious consideration, and believing it not only founded in wisdom, but, in the present crisis of the temporalities of the Church, absolutely necessary, I hereby request every clergyman in my diocese to invite the members of his mission or congregation, being regular communicants, to select one or two of their number, to accompany him to the visitation.

"For the sake of order, it is requested that such lay members be furnished with certificates, from their minister or churchwardens, that they have been duly appointed, to entitle them to take part in the proceedings which may take place subsequent to the visitation.

"It is expected that such missions or congregations as accede to this invitation will take measures to defray the necessary expenses incurred by their clergymen and representatives in their attendance on this duty, which will be strictly confined to the consideration of the temporal affairs and position of the Church."

A report has lately been issued by the Church Union of the diocese of Toronto recommending co-operation:—"with our brethren in the United Kingdom in endeavouring to obtain for the Church, both at home and in the colonies, particularly in these provinces, an efficient organization, such as its necessities and the times demand; whilst it leaves the maintenance of its doctrine and its discipline in other and more competent hands."

The Synod of Toronto.—The clerical and lay delegates, convened by the Bishop, met at the Church of the Holy Trinity, at Toronto, on the 1st of May, when Divine service was performed and the Holy Communion celebrated; after which the certificates of the lay delegates were verified, and two secretaries, one clerical and one lay, elected. On the following day the synod proceeded to consider the best means of protecting the property of the Church, when the following resolution, the first of a series on the same subject, was agreed to:—

"That the Bishop, Clergy, and laity of the diocese of Toronto, in conference assembled, by the request of the Lord Bishop, at his Triennial Visitation, holden on the 1st and 2nd of May, 1851, do solemnly protest against the alienation to any secular purpose whatever of the lands called Clergy Reserves, originally set apart by Act of 31 George III., c. 31, and finally sanctioned by 3 and 4 Victoria, c. 78, for the maintenance of religion and religious knowledge in the province—as being opposed to the constitution of the Church of God in every age, at variance with the principles acted upon by all Christian nations,

subversive of the recognized rights of British subjects, and in violation of the fidelity and integrity of Parliamentary enactments and the decisions of law."

The next subject proposed by the Bishop was the revival of Convocation, on which the following resolution was adopted:—

"That this meeting is of opinion, that, for the more effectual exercise of the discipline of the Church, and the more advantageous management of its temporal affairs, it is expedient and desirable to apply to the Crown for the establishment of a Diocesan Synod or Convocation, consisting of the Laity as well as of the Clergy of the Church, so as best to meet the requirements of the Church in this diocese; and that the Committee aforesaid do draft a memorial to the Queen, founded upon the observations upon this subject expressed in the episcopal charge of the Lord Bishop delivered yesterday."

In the course of the discussion, the Bishop stated that he had been informed by the highest authorities in ecclesiastical law in England, that, for the purpose of obtaining synodical action, the Queen should be memorialized through the Archbishop of Canterbury. Education was another topic considered by the Synod, whose opinion on the subject was embodied in the following resolution:—

"That this meeting desires to express its sense of the paramount duty of connecting religion with secular education; and, in order to carry out this obligation, they deem it to be necessary to petition the Colonial Legislature to permit the establishment of separate Church schools, and that the assessments ordinarily paid by Churchmen for the support of common schools be applied to the maintenance of such as are in connexion with the Church, where such appropriation is practicable and desired, and that the Committee aforesaid be empowered to draft the same."

A vote of thanks to the Bishop was carried by acclamation. In acknowledging it, his Lordship observed on the harmony which had distinguished their proceedings, and which gave great promise of success. The Bishop concluded with the Apostolic benediction; after which the meeting separated.

In the evening a meeting of the Toronto Church Union was held at the City Hall, which passed off with equal unanimity, and with great enthusiasm.

Nova Scotia.—The Archdeacon of Halifax has called together his Clergy to take counsel concerning the raising of funds for the endowment of their Bishopric, the Archbishop of Canterbury informing them that the only available sum at the disposal of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts is the interest of the fund left by Archbishop Tennyson, amounting to about 440*l.* a year "for the maintenance of Bishops in America." His Grace urges the subject on the colonists in the following language:—

"I need hardly remind you that a Bishop has now been maintained in Nova Scotia for upwards of sixty years, to the manifest advantage of the Church, and the benefit of the province generally, without any

expense to the inhabitants. That support has now been withdrawn; but, I trust, that I do not mistake the feelings of the members of the Church, in presuming that they will be anxious to meet the difficulty arising from the cessation of Government aid by their voluntary contributions.

"A moderate income is all that is required; but at whatever amount it be fixed, (and of this the Clergy of the colony are the most competent judges,) it should be derived from capital subscribed, so as to secure a permanent endowment of the see. It seems only fitting, too, that a suitable residence for the Bishop should be provided from local resources. What proportion of the necessary income of a Bishop can be raised in the diocese I have no means of judging; but I sincerely trust that both Clergy and laity will perceive that the present is an occasion for the exercise of an ungrudging liberality; and I would urge you, therefore, to take immediate measures for commencing an endowment fund."

A meeting of Clergy and of lay representatives of the diocese of Nova Scotia having been convened by the Archdeacon, it was resolved to aid in carrying out the design of raising additional funds for the endowment of the bishopric; but the Clergy and laity present expressed their opinion that they ought to be permitted to take part in the election of future Bishops. The following important resolution was adopted, —

"That it be an instruction to the committee of correspondence to mention to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury a feeling among Churchmen in this diocese, that some measures be adopted for securing to them some voice in the nominations of their chief pastors after the present vacancy shall have been filled up; and to solicit his council with regard to the best means of regulating generally the ecclesiastical and temporal affairs of the Church."

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has voted the sum of 2000*l.* towards the endowment of the bishopric of Nova Scotia. The Rev. Hibbert Binney, D.D., late Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford, has been consecrated Bishop of Nova Scotia, by the Archbishop of Canterbury and other Prelates, and has proceeded to the scene of his pastoral labours.

CHINA.—It was reported at first that the young emperor of China, who succeeded last year to the throne, was very favourable to the Christian religion, and had invited four Romish missionaries to reside in his palace. It was stated by M. Perrocheau, a Romish Bishop in China, that the emperor had been educated by a Christian. The emperor, however, has since then issued edicts unfavourable to Christianity.

FRANCE.—The opening of the Holy Week was solemnized at Nôtre Dame with the accustomed pomp, by the Archbishop of Paris; and the reliques of the true cross, the crown of thorns, and nails, were carried

in procession. All houses, omnibuses, and stalls, were adorned with sprigs of box, which replaces in the north the palm. In the south the olive is used.

Miscellaneous Intelligence.—The Municipal Council of the town of Arles have handed over their commercial college to the Archbishop of Aix, for the purpose of an establishment of secondary instruction. The Bishop of Valence has received the commercial college of Montelimar for the same purpose. Both grants have been confirmed by Government.

Lions.—At the close of the Jubilee, the Te Deum was sung, and the benediction was given by the Archbishop of Turin (M. Fransoni). This prelate used the magnificent cross which had been purchased for him by public subscription by his friends at Turin.

Paris.—The Archbishop of Paris, to whom “the devotion to the august Virgin Mother of God, has always been, after the love due to her adorable Son, the object of his most tender solicitude,” has issued regulations for the worship of the Virgin during the month of May, or “month of Mary,” as he entitles it.

The preachers Lacordaire, Ravignan, and others, have issued a letter protesting against the unauthorized publication of their sermons by short-hand writers.

Arles.—At Lancon the Jubilee was lately preached by two missionaries from Aix. It is stated that the number of annual communicants out of a population of 2000, used to be scarcely forty; but that 300 communicated during this mission.

Aveyron.—A number of the adherents of the *Petite Eglise*, who adhered to the Bishops of France deposed by Pius VII. in 1801 at the desire of Buonaparte, have recently sent in their submission to the Pope.

Toulouse.—The Cardinal Archbishop has issued a circular, urging a subscription to meet the expense of proceedings *in re* the canonization of the venerable Germain Cousin of Pibrac, “whose name,” he says, “is honoured and blessed by all classes of society,” especially by the sick, “who have felt marvellous effects in numbers from his protection.” He rejoices that the Pope has recognized “the heroism of his theological and cardinal virtues,” and has directed that the four miracles ascribed to him should be canonically examined into. He trusts that Germain will eventually obtain “the ineffable honours which the Church accords to her most fervent disciples,” and thinks he sees the approach of the “splendour of this magnificent apotheosis.”

Marseilles.—The Bishop, Chapter, Clergy, and others at Marseilles, have been issuing a series of addresses and congratulations on occasion of the Pope having granted the use of the Pallium to the Bishop of Marseilles.

Mans.—A “deplorable” circumstance lately occurred at Evron. While a missionary priest was haranguing the people, he was interrupted by the exclamation, *A bas le G—!* and numbers of persons

were seen smoking pipes and cigars at one side and towards the end of the church.

The liberals of France, having learnt by the result of the expedition to Rome that Romanism is only favourable to Liberalism and Republicanism when it suits its own purpose, and is ready to exterminate Liberty with the sword, whenever it is opposed to the interests of the Papacy, are now adverse to that Church, which was the first to join in the cry of *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*. In some of the recent debates the Mountain moved for the suppression of the sum of 45,000 francs granted to the French Cardinals for defraying the expenses of their installation, and of the supplementary stipend of 5000 francs a year, which these dignitaries receive over and above their episcopal incomes. In the opinion of MM. Bourzat, De Montjan, and other members of the Mountain, the French Cardinalship is useless and onerous to the State. The answer of the Romish party to this is set forth in the report of M. Ponsjoulat on the subject.

“For eight centuries the election of the Popes has been in the hands of the Cardinals, and throughout the whole of that period there have always been French Cardinals. Many of these Popes, and not the least illustrious, have belonged to the French nation. Since the times of Hubert the Benedictine, and Frederic of Lorraine, our first Cardinals, how many striking names have there been, how many personages esteemed by their country for their great virtues and services, and who are deeply and gloriously interwoven with our history! The Sacred College is the representation of the Catholic nations of the universe around the chief of the Church. Is it possible for France to be absent from such a Senate? France, who so long since founded the independence of the Popes by the constitution of their temporal authority, and who has always played so pre-eminent a part in Catholic questions. The French Cardinalship is part and parcel of our exterior influence; its action is real and serious when a chief is to be given to the immense family of the Church. Both in a religious and political point of view, one candidate for the tiara may be preferable to another; those who speak of the nullity of our influence in the conclave are ignorant that the powers have a right of exclusion which is recognized at Rome. More than once France has seen the votes of the Sacred College select the name which had appeared to her most congenial to the interests of Europe and of religion. What shall we answer to those who tell us that the Roman purple unnationalizes our Bishops? When will men cease to expect that Catholics, in obeying the Pope, obey a foreign prince? Is it so difficult to understand that the dignities of the Church, like submission to the laws of the Church, are placed in a region pure and spiritual, in that empire of the conscience which knows no fanatics and escapes all earthly dominion? History has abundantly proved that the accomplishment of Catholic duty is no injury to patriotism, and that the French Cardinals most faithful to the Holy See have energetically displayed their love for their country. . . .”

The above is quoted because it gives, in substance, the arguments used, in the course of a very long and very tumultuous debate, by the Minister of Public Worship, and others, in defence of the endowment; which was supported by the Assembly by a majority of 441 against 194.

The religious rites and ceremonies of the different communions at Paris, during Passion week, have been attended by numerous congregations. On Passion Sunday, the Sunday but one before Easter, the relics were transported by the Archbishop from the different churches in which they are preserved to the metropolitan church, preparatory to their exposition on Good Friday. On that day the ceremony at Nôtre Dame was attended not only by an unusually large assemblage of the people, but by the Chief of the State and his officers. The circumstance, so unusual, has been the subject of universal remark and comment. On Easter Sunday the Church of St. Roch was filled to such an extent that people were standing outside the doors, as before a theatre, waiting for admission; and the Madeleine and other churches appeared to be almost equally frequented. At the Oratoire, one of the temples of the Reformed communion, as large as the nave of many cathedrals, the attendance was so great that hundreds went away under the impossibility of finding an entrance. It was the ceremony of the reception of the catechumens, at which a number of young people of both sexes are admitted to their *première communion* by the minister who has instructed them, and in presence of their parents and the assembled congregation. The ceremony is highly affecting and interesting. After the whole congregation is seated, the catechumens are introduced from an external part of the building; the girls first, all clad in white, and enveloped in white veils, followed by the boys. Then come the parents who, all together, high and low, rich and poor, take the seats prepared for them to witness the entrance of their children into the Church to which they themselves belong. Some allusion, such as the subject of the day admitted, is of course made to the ceremony in the sermon; but on the approach of the catechumens to the long narrow communion table in the centre of the church (round which all receive the elements standing in the Reformed congregations of France), M. Coquerel, the presiding minister, addressed to each sex an exhortation, appealing to the presence of their parents and the assembled congregation, and to his own toil and trouble expended upon them in the course of a long *cours*, or class of religious instruction, at which all must attend, as additional inducements to perseverance in well-doing. After the usual prayers, M. Coquerel preached an extempore sermon of more than an hour, in a tone elevated enough to be heard in every part of the immense building, and with that animated gesture and action which seems so essential to make an impression upon vast congregations. After this the celebration of the sacrament occupied nearly three hours; and as each party assembles round the table, a fresh exhortation is addressed to them, thus keeping up a perpetual call upon the mental and physical energies of the officiant.

The *Univers* speaks thus of the observances of the season:—

“An influx truly extraordinary has not ceased to fill the churches of Paris during the last two sacred days (the *Grand Jeudi* and *Grand Vendredi*). . . . Who can say how many hearers have this year listened to the sermon of the Passion at Nôtre Dame, at St. Sulpice, at St. Roch, at St. Germain-des-Prés, at St. Eustache, at the Madeleine, every where in our forty churches? . . . Yesterday (Good Friday) evening all the theatres were spontaneously closed, and in the *restaurants* the fast was generally observed. At the hour when the holy relics of the passion were to be adored, a mass of people encumbered the nave of our cathedral, amongst whom were numbers of workmen and their families, in Sunday attire. After having piously kissed the wood of the true cross, the crown of thorns, and one of the holy nails, the majority of these Christians proceeded to touch with their lips the *cinq onctions* of the sacred stone of the altar of the Virgin. . . . In the evening the vast Basilica scarcely sufficed to hold all who wished to hear the Père Ravignan. The assemblage was such that many were fain to resign themselves to catch only at intervals some few of his words. This rich harvest is the fruit of the *conferences* of Père Lacordaire and of the *retraite* began on the Monday of Holy Week by the Père Ravignan. Amongst the hearers of distinction who yesterday evening surrounded the Père Ravignan, we remarked, by the side of the Archbishop, the President of the Republic, accompanied by Marshal Excelmans, and surrounded by his officers of state. Other remarkable personages also attracted attention. The Princess Mary of Baden (Marchioness of Douglas), M. Molé, M. de Montalembert, M. le General de Lamoricière, M. de Duc de Rohan, M. le Préfet de Police, &c.”

Letters from Rome announce that on the solicitation of Monsignor Pie, Bishop of Poitiers, the title of Doctor of the Church has been definitely conferred on St. Hilary, formerly Bishop of that diocese, by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and will be immediately confirmed by a Papal decree and brief.

A letter by M. le Pasteur F. Monod has been published, declining an offer made in a friendly letter to the Marquis of Cholmondeley by the Bishop of London, that certain proprietary chapels and the like non-parochial places of worship might be placed at the service of foreign Protestant ministers of religion now in London; but intimating that the use of the parochial edifices, or the aid of clergymen of the Established Church, is precluded by law. M. Monod declines the offer, in the name of his brethren; the ministers of continental churches holding that they ought not to accept an *inferior* position. The letter declining the offer is written with simple dignity; heartily acknowledging the spirit of the Bishop's offer; though dwelling with peculiar emphasis on the fact of the Bishop twice intimating, that the expected stay of the foreigners will be short, and urging what he terms the unchristian tendency of exclusiveness in the English law. The writer says:—

“We render full homage to your fraternal sentiments and your cha-

ritable intentions. You have done all that you could do; we thank you for it, and we shall remember it with gratitude; but we complain of the law by which you are fettered—of the ecclesiastical system which prevents you from acting according to your heartfelt wishes.”

GERMANY.—*Proselytism of the Romish Church*—It is in the midst of Protestant and speculative Germany that the greatest efforts of Roman Catholicism have been lately made, and have, if we are to believe the organs of the Roman Catholic priesthood, been crowned with the greatest success. The instruments employed in this new crusade are the Jesuits, the Redemptorists, and an association calling itself the Association of St. Boniface.

The Redemptorists have established no less than seventy missions in Moravia and Bohemia. During the present season of Lent they have filled all the pulpits in the Roman Catholic churches of Treves and Coblenz, and so popular has been their preaching, that standing-room was with difficulty found in any one of those edifices. It is not merely in the country of John Huss, Jerome of Prague, or on the banks of the Rhine, that the Redemptorists boast of having obtained such signal successes. In the months of February and March they have been busy in Wurtemberg, and, if we are to believe their trumpeters and thurifers, their successes, not merely among the *Bauerschaften*, but among the better classes, have been prodigious. They triumphantly tell you that many thousand Wurtembergers assembled in the open air, and *una voce* voted that a Redemptorist establishment should be founded in Wurtemberg.

The Jesuits allege that they have obtained in Protestant districts of Germany what they themselves call results not less striking than their brethren the Redemptorists. To credit their organs and panegyrists, three of the foremost disciples of Loyola have not merely electrified but edified Cleves. They say that every one of the preachers daily had 10,000 auditors. In the town of Bonn, the seat of a Prussian university, in which the husband of our queen studied, another Jesuit preacher, it is added, produced to the full as much impression as his brethren. So, if we are to credit the Papistical organs in Germany, have like results been obtained at Weingarten, at Wolstein, at Hechingen, at Rottweil, and throughout Middle Germany, while Protestantism has been boldly attacked in the old episcopal town of Osnabruck, of which one of Her Majesty's uncles was bishop. They say a Protestant professor of Halle has abjured his Church, and is about to become a priest of their own religion. The Jesuits exclaim, “We have many more instances, among the rest a Protestant minister of Treves, who abjured his ‘*heresy*’ in the beginning of the holy season of Lent.” Thus in Italy, in Belgium, in Austria, in Prussia, in Bavaria, in Wurtemberg, as well as in England, is the Roman Catholic Church on the *qui vive*. The missionaries, whether Jesuits, Redemptorists, Dominicans, Capuchins, or Franciscans, are

aided by three associations called the Association of Pius IX., of St. Francis Xavier, and of St. Boniface. These three societies are in their turn served by religious sisterhoods, who go about collecting for the ornaments of Roman Catholic churches. Among these female societies is one called the *Filles de la Croix*, and already have thirteen ladies of this order purchased the old castle of Aspel, on the banks of the Rhine. Thus is an ancient residence of the archbishops of Cologne and the dukes of Cleves about to become a convent of proselytising Roman Catholic nuns.

The reader will remark, it is only in those countries of the Continent of Europe in which representative institutions and democratic opinions have been widely diffused, that the Roman Catholic Clergy encounter any obstacles. While in Austria Proper, in Bavaria, and even in Prussia, the preachers and propagandists of ultramontane Popery have had considerable success, they have encountered obstacles in democratic Baden and in independent Hungary. Whilst the Countess Ida of Hahn-Hahn, a recent convert to Romanism, has published canticles and poetry full of Mariolatry, the presses and pulpits of Baden and Hungary have been silent on these revivals of mediæval practices. The spread of Rationalism and of Socialism in Germany, it cannot be denied, has given an immense vantage-ground to the Roman Catholic Clergy. They now openly proclaim, that the year 1860 will see them complete masters of the religious world—Protestantism routed, Dissent destroyed, and Rationalism and Pietism merged in the unity of one great and true Church. "Look," they say, "to the effect produced in Holstein by the contrast of an ardent and comforting creed with a cold and a cheerless one." The Protestant population of Holstein, they contend, is struck with wonder and admiration at the religious enthusiasm of the Austrian soldiers of occupation, whether Germans or Italians. When the Imperial regiments proceed to mass with military music, or traverse the streets singing in chorus the hymn to Pius IX., or the Litany of the Virgin, there are many Protestant lookers-on, the priests tell you with unction, who desire to be received into the bosom of a Church which, undoubtedly, enlists into its service all that can thrall the imagination, if not a particle that can satisfy the reason. Such are the arts to which the Romish party have recourse every where; and there can be no doubt, that with weak men and imaginative, enthusiastic, and disappointed women, they are occasionally successful.

No doubt the Roman Catholic Clergy in every country of Europe that has been disturbed by Socialism, or agitated by Communism, have regained inordinate power; for the Government have called in their aid with a view to contend with and vanquish the plague of such doctrines.

Manteuffel, the present Prime Minister of Prussia, is the symbol and instrument of the Pietists and mystic party in Prussia. These Pietists, who have a regard for Roman Catholicism, are naturally befriended by Russia and Austria, whose plans they abet, or do not oppose. It is

easy to see, therefore, why M. Manteuffel is sure of the praises of the Pietists, not only in Prussia, but every where else. But whilst he pursues this system, the Jesuits are daily making progress, and in all directions gaining ground.

Number of Students in the Universities.—A statistical analysis of the number of students in all the German Universities, with the exception of those of Königsberg, Kiel, and Rostock, the numbers for which have not been officially published, furnishes, for the term about to expire, the following results:—

“In all the universities, taken collectively, there have been inscribed on the registers 11,945 students. The various universities may be classed, according to the number of students at each, in the following order:—Berlin, Munich, Bonn, Leipsic, Breslau, Tubingen, Gottingen, Wurzburg, Halle, Heidelberg, Giessen, Erlangen, Friburg, Jena, Marburg, Greifswalde. Berlin has 2107 students, and Greifswalde only 189. The number of those studying the law is 3973; of the theological students, 2539; of those pursuing the study of philosophy and philology, 2357; of the medical students, 2146; and there are 549 engaged in the study of political economy. The University of Halle reckons the greatest proportional number of theological students, there being 330 out of 597; Heidelberg has the most students of law,—viz., 349 out of 557; Wurzburg, the most students of medicine,—viz., 271 out of 871; Jena, the most students of theology,—viz., 132 out of 358. The greatest number of foreign students is to be found at Heidelberg, Gottingen, Jena, Wurzburg, and Leipsic. The number of students has increased at Berlin by 119; at Wurzburg, by 47; at Breslau, by 43; at Heidelberg, by 35; at Friburg, by 27; at Bonn, by 11; at Tubingen, by 6; at Leipsic, by 5; at Greifswalde, by 3; at Erlangen, by 1; while they have diminished in number, at Gottingen, by 49; at Halle, by 39; at Munich, by 39; at Jena, by 35; at Giessen, by 25; and at Marburg, by 24.”

Reactionary tendencies.—Scarcely a day passes without bringing fresh confirmation of the apprehensions entertained respecting the attacks which Romish and Protestant reactionaries combined are making upon the results of the Reformation in Germany. The Protestant reactionaries undermine and attack political liberty, the Romish reactionaries the spiritual liberty, which dawned upon northern Europe through the Reformation. The power of the Austrian government in religious matters is great within the Austrian dominions; in fact, the stability of the empire is founded on the subservience and obedience to existing powers, which the Roman Catholic religion teaches. Prussia is now under the yoke of Austria and Russia. Her attempted policy of national independence has failed against the overwhelming forces of re-invigorated despotism. The ministers who advised that policy have long since left the government, and other men with other principles now sway the destinies of Prussia. England and France now perceive the consequences of their acts. Neither the one nor the other, nor both united, can extricate her from the bonds into which

she has fallen. The present ministry and the *Kreuz Zeitung's* party, which governs the ministry, do not wish to be released. They feel perfectly comfortable in their dependence on Austria and Russia, because Austria and Russia will help them to re-establish despotism at home; and if England or France were to make the slightest effort in favour of Prussian independence, the present government would stigmatize it as a revolutionary proceeding.

Those countries which are in possession of political and religious liberty—England, France, Prussia, the small states of Protestant Germany, and Switzerland—could, united, have withstood the assault against political and religious liberty contemplated by the other parts of Europe. The grand cause of Protestantism and freedom required that each should have supported the other. But now the opposite influence rules in Prussia. The smaller states of Germany and Switzerland are in immediate danger of being conquered by the same influence. The principles of the Roman Catholic Church and of absolutism spread with rapidity among the lower orders when once proclaimed by the higher orders of society. Extravagant political principles lead to conversions from Protestantism to popery. Such people look upon the Protestant Church as an imperfect form of Christianity; and they consider the Roman Catholic to be perfect, because it establishes stronger than any other religious authority above and obedience below. Political absolutism desires to establish the same principle as the first axiom of government.

BAVARIA.—*Demands of the Romish Bishops.*—“Nearly as great a strife has arisen in Bavaria, through the lately published ‘Memorial of the Bavarian episcopacy to the King,’ as has occurred in England through the Pope’s intrusion into the governmental rights of the realm. That ‘memorial’ is a compound of the most extravagant assumption and arrogance against royal and legal authority, and contradictory to almost all the civil laws. If all the things which the Bavarian Bishops require could be granted, they would not be Fathers in the Church, but despots in the country, and the King their servant. They, without abandoning their rank, pay, royal privileges, or standing in the State or in society, categorically demand the entire abolition of the *Placetum Regium*, and ask full power and the right to appoint and to dismiss, at their pleasure, not only the subordinate Clergy, but also the professors in the Universities and the teachers in all other schools. They require also full and undisputed power of instituting new Catholic universities, seminaries, schools, monasteries, and nunneries of every order and kind they please, and to send Jesuits and Redemptionists as missionaries into their dioceses. Priests, justly or unjustly judged by the Bishops or their ordinaries, are to have no appeal to the King’s courts of justice. If that memorial were to be granted, the subordinate Clergy would be delivered up to the arbitrary cruelty of the *Jus Canonicum*, as in the time of Gregory VII.

“It is by such means that the Bishops think to regain their lost

spiritual influence. The Bishop of Augsburg alone signed it, with a protest added to his name—'The concordat, nothing but the concordat, and the whole concordat.' Now, the concordat is an integral part of the Bavarian Constitution; so the Bishops have thrown the firebrand of division into their own house. The Parliament, now assembled, begins already to complain, and to abuse all ecclesiastical orders, and the people do the same. One furious pamphlet has already appeared, calling upon the people to put an end at once to all priestcraft and kinglycraft by cudgels," &c.

HESSE CASSEL.—*Activity of the Romish Church.*—The influence of Austria is steadily extending the Roman Catholic Church throughout Germany. Even in those parts where Protestantism is the religion of the State, the system of propagandism is brought into the most unscrupulous play. In Hesse Cassel, where the Austrian political and military power is dominant, the influence of the Jesuits is to be essayed. An announcement was made from the pulpits of the Romish Church, in the district of Fulda, lately, that priests of the Society of Jesus, who had been summoned by the Bishop of the diocese, would hold regular missions. The inhabitants of the unhappy electorate are punished by every possible visitation for their passive resistance to the illegal and despotic acts of their Sovereign. Military law, enacted and carried out by Austrians, terrorizes over all; hundreds of families are deprived of their natural supporters by the decrees of the standing courts-martial; and while thus the political and material independence of the population is being crushed, the Jesuits are introduced to wean them from their religious errors, and restore them to that Church which demands absolute dependence. Of course those who are convinced by the preachings of the Society of Jesus will be better treated by the military and political powers. The elector himself and his head minister may, perhaps, be brought to enter the Roman Catholic fold.

Opposed to the constitutionalists and republicans in Hesse Cassel, there stands the elector with Hassenpflug and his ministers. Foremost among these is Vilmar, minister in the department of public worship. One of his works is the creation of a Hessian *Treubund*, similar to the Prussian, the members of which are sworn to be faithful to God, to the elector, and their country—*Mit Gott fur Kurfurst und Vaterland*. This society is mainly supported by the dregs of the legal profession and the Clergy, who, from various causes, have been the strictest adherents of the elector. Their fervour in his cause has gone so far that from more than one pulpit doctrines of unlimited obedience have been preached, combined with exhortations to join the *Treubund*, in order to get rid of the Bavarian soldiery. The lists of the members are periodically shown to the elector, and for some who have joined, the heavy burden of the soldiers quartered upon them has been lightened. Upon the mass of the people, however, little impression has been made, and the efforts of the Clergy in general meet with the same result as those of Hassenpflug to organize a secret police. In the southern districts of

Hesse Cassel the fanatical proceedings of the Redemptionists are producing great excitement. The brothers of this order have threatened with the most terrible punishment, after death, all those who have intermarried with Protestants, and who do not bring up their children in the Roman Catholic faith.

HESSE DARMSTADT.—*University of Giessen.*—At Giessen there is a faculty of Roman Catholic theology, whose professors have incurred the displeasure of Rome. One of these professors was lately chosen Archbishop of Mayence; but the Pope refused to approve the nomination, and the present Archbishop was consequently appointed. Since then attempts have been made to transfer the faculty of theology from Giessen to Mayence; but they have proved vain, in consequence of the numerous impediments in the way. Then another plan was set on foot, and a faculty of theology has been actually created at Mayence, and its lectures and courses opened a few days since. The school has been organized according to a plan which will probably deprive Giessen of most of its students, inasmuch as lodging and food in common, obtainable at the lowest possible cost, are part of the new system. This progressive movement on the part of the priestly and Jesuit party in Germany is general at this time. But it may not last long, for the association of the three parties—the priestly, the yunker or aristocratic, and the absolutist—must eventually destroy them all. Meanwhile, they are still sufficiently strong to dominate Germany; but their acts are so impressed with haste and anxiety that they show the desire to make as much use as possible of a moment which may never return.

MECKLENBURG.—*Conversions to Romanism.*—In all his attempts to increase the political power of Austria in Northern Germany, Prince Schwarzenberg has not failed to seek the assistance of the Roman Catholic Church, and re-establish its power. His success has been chronicled in Mecklenburg by the sudden conversion to popery of five or six members of the highest families in that duchy.

RHINE, UPPER.—*Aggressions of Romish Bishops.*—The bishops of the Roman Catholic provinces of the Upper Rhine, viz., the Archbishop of Friburg, the Bishops of Limburg, Rottenburg, Fulda, and Mayence, have agreed to a memorial to be presented to the several governments, urging the following demands:—

“1. Abolition of all the concessions made since March, 1848, in matters affecting the jurisdiction of the Church, such as the civil contract of marriage, &c.—2. Free exercise of the power of the bishops in their respective dioceses to grant spiritual offices.—3. A limitation of the right of patronage in benefices.—4. Permission to the bishops to examine canonically, and canonically to punish their subordinates.—5. Abolition of the state examinations for candidates for the priesthood.—6. Abolition of the assent of the state to the appointment to vacant livings.

—7. Abolition of the present right of appeal to the civil government from the sentences of the Ecclesiastical Court in criminal cases; the latter shall be immediately put in execution, after the simple evidence given of guilt, as far as deprivation from a benefice and confiscation of the income.—8. Every appeal to the civil courts to be considered a rejection of the legal and normal authority of the Church, and to be followed by excommunication.—9. Abolition of the state titles of the clergy.—10. The bishops to have the confirmation of all appointments of teachers of religion in the gymnasia and universities.—11. Abolition of the assent of the state to the publication of Papal bulls, letters, and episcopal pastoral addresses to the clergy.—12. Right of the bishops to give their licence for holding popular missions and religious exercises on the part of the priesthood.—13. Permission to form spiritual associations of men and women for prayer, contemplation, and self-denying obedience.—14. Restoration to the bishops of their power to punish members of the Church who despise its regulations.—15. Free intercourse of the bishops with Rome.—16. The temporal power to have no right to interfere in appointments to vacancies in Cathedral chapters.—17. Independence of the clergy in the management of the property of all Catholic Church and endowment revenues.”

Jesuitism at Friburg.—At Friburg, in the Breisgau, Brother Rotenflue, a Jesuit, reads public lectures to the students on casuistry; and, though the Rector of the Faculty of Theology has forbidden the students to attend these lectures, the Roman Catholic youth, having appealed to the Senate, continue to listen and take notes. No philosopher or historian can give public lectures in a university against the will of the authorities; and in the present instance means might soon be found for enforcing silence on the Jesuit. But the Faculty of Theology at Friburg, which once was liberal enough to displease the ultramontanist party, has of late followed the current of the time, and most of its professors have rallied to Rome.

PRUSSIA.—*Romish Propagandism.*—A Berlin correspondent of a contemporary has the following:—

“The preachers of the Order of the Redemptorists, who have been exciting some sensation during a mission in Westphalia, Bavaria, and the Pfalz, are, it is said, about to extend their activity to the provinces of East and West Prussia. Some strange stories have reached Berlin of their style of preaching, and the facts mentioned hardly bear repetition. They recall what is recorded of the sermons of the wandering preachers of the sixteenth century, or a still earlier period, or the topics and language of the most violent American revivals. If half related of them is true, the Prussian police will infallibly prohibit their exhibitions as dangerous to public morality.”

The Jesuits are progressing northward, bringing religious disturbances and family discords wherever they appear. In Mannheim, their preaching missions have created great discontent; and as several citizens took

the liberty of speaking their minds openly and freely on the subject, the police interfered and arrested them. Fears are entertained, if their missions be continued, that a serious breach of the peace may occur.

Persecution of Dissenters.—The following extract from the Berlin correspondent of the "Daily News" comprises much important information:—"According to the constitution, passed and sworn to in February, 1850, all religious persuasions may be freely exercised, and are wholly separate from political rights. The State Church of Prussia is Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish—that is to say, the teachers of the Lutheran, Catholic, and Jewish persuasions are all paid by the State, and are under the immediate control of the cultus Minister. All persons preaching tenets differing from either of these three must depend for support on the voluntary contributions of their followers. Of late years the number of the sects has greatly increased, owing mainly to the forcible union of the Evangelical and Lutheran Churches, decreed some years ago. There are Baptists and Anabaptists, Methodists, Christian Catholics, German Catholics, Free Christians, Primitive Christians, and others, the majority of which have found locations principally in the Saxon and eastern provinces of Prussia. They have long since been viewed with suspicion and dislike by the higher authorities in the Protestant branch of the State Church; and as the leaders of this confession are now in peace at Court and in the Government, they have set in motion the whole of the machinery of the ecclesiastical and political police, in order to put them down, and efface them from the country. The brethren of the sects have been declared political offenders, because they hold public meetings not sanctioned by the law. In Pomerania and East Prussia, in Breslau, numbers have been arrested, and sentenced to the payments of fines, varying in amount from five to thirty thalers. The common illiterate police are the machinery employed to terrify and suppress. In East Prussia all the sacred offices of the Church performed by members of these sects have been declared illegal with a retrospective action. The married have been unmarried, the christened unchristened, the dead not buried with the usual Christian rites. In point of fact, all persons professing any other faith but those recognized by the State have been excommunicated. In the Saxon province the police have been strictly ordered to watch, with the greatest care, the proceedings of the dissenting bodies, and the activity of their leaders. Wherever they occur, the parish authorities have been instructed immediately to acquaint the police authorities, in order that the necessary repressive measures may at once be put in force. This is merely the commencement of a crusade against Dissenters from the recognized Protestant Church."

"I have described the matter in which the authorities of the Church are punishing dissent. What are they doing within the Church to prevent it? I will not enter upon the new *Kirchen Ordnung* (Church regulations), as it requires a more careful digest than I have yet been able to give to it. Suffice it here to remark, that it entirely subverts

the principle upon which the old *Kirchen Ordnung* was passed, viz., that the parish clergymen or priests were under the direction, and subordinate in many matters to the parish council, the elected administrative body. The new regulation places the council and administration entirely under the dominion of the clergyman, whose power is in some degree to be absolute. He is to keep conduct lists of his parishioners, &c. There are many other obnoxious points in the regulation, and I must return to it in another letter. Its spirit and its action must be Catholic and not Protestant. I do not suppose that the enforcement of such a regulation is calculated to prevent dissent; for, careless as the Berliners may be to religious matters, there is in the eastern and northern parts of Prussia a mass of Protestant feeling and principle, full of life and vigour, which revolts at the progress now making by Popery, and at every incident in the government of the Prussian Church which is calculated to assist that progress. It is this feeling which has secretly stimulated the Yunker or squirearchy to oppose the admission into the Germanic Confederation of the non-German Catholic provinces of Austria. There is, indeed, sufficient cause why this feeling should be kept awake, and be provoked if possible into greater activity. The metropolis of Berlin has witnessed for several weeks past the rise and progress of 'Liturgische Andachten,' prayer meetings at which the ordinary Church service is performed with all the effect which illumined churches and sacred music can impart. Choristers clad in scarlet robes assist at the ceremony. During the service different robes are worn at different periods."

New Regulations for the Protestant Church.—A new Church law (*Kirchen Ordnung*) has been settled by Synodal Commissioners, and is about to be submitted for the royal assent, in the provinces of Westphalia and Rhenish Prussia, which declares Holy Scripture to be the sole standard of faith, and recognizes, in addition to the Catholic creeds, —for the Lutheran congregations, the Augsburg Confession and Apology, the Schmalkald Articles, and the two Catechisms of Luther, —for the Reformed (Calvinistic) Congregations, the Heidelberg Catechism, —for the United Congregations, as much of both as they have in common, with liberty to individual members to be Lutheran or Calvinistic, as they please. All the three sorts of Congregations are to form one United Church.

GREECE.—*Religion of the Future Sovereign.*—The final arrangement as to the succession to the throne is settled by Prince Adalbert consenting to marry, settling in Greece, and baptizing his children according to the rites of the Greek Church, when, if he has a son, and that son is of age at the time the Greek throne becomes vacant, he promises to abdicate in his favour.

HOLLAND.—A law having been proposed to the States-General of Holland to authorize and regulate Romish Conventual Establishments,

a pamphlet has appeared in opposition to it, entitled, *Des Couvents et des Maisons Claustrales; Lettre Patente aux Membres des Etats-Generaux.* This pamphlet has given vast offence to the Romish party, who complain of it as a part of a general plan of hostility and aggression in Holland against their rights and liberties.

The Ministry in Holland being favourable to the principle of religious equality, and being about to propose laws for giving to Romanism the same advantages as the established Protestantism, a strong feeling of discontent has manifested itself amongst the majority of the population; and the King is said to have received, in the most unfavourable manner, the application of a Romish Deputation. The Romish party are much discouraged by their reception, which appears to have been of no ordinary character—the King having given expression to the strongest sentiments in opposition to their religion. Possibly this sovereign has not been an unobservant spectator of what has been going on at this side of the Channel, and is resolved not to be made a tool by Romish propagandism.

INDIA.—*Promotion of Christianity.*—The “Lahore Chronicle” has the following paragraph:—“It is with unfeigned satisfaction we are permitted to announce, that a truly Christian member of our community has authorized us, through the Rev. J. Newton, of the Presbyterian Mission at Lahore, to intimate his readiness to contribute the sum of ten thousand rupees towards the funds of the Church Missionary Society at home, on the following conditions, viz.:—first, that the Society determine on establishing a mission in some part of the Punjaub; secondly, that the Society signify, in this country, their intimation of establishing a mission on or before the 1st of October; and, lastly, that the missionaries intended to enter on such an extensive field be in Calcutta, or in any part of India, on or before the 1st day of March.”

Romish Jurisdictions.—The “Calcutta Star” states, that, by a “concordat” just terminated between the Crown of Portugal and the See of Rome, the Goa priests are to have no jurisdiction over churches within the British territories. The Boitakhana Church in Calcutta is the only one that is at present in charge of the Goanese padres, and may be expected now to be made over to Dr. Carew.

ITALY.—*Modena.—Concordat with Rome.*—The concordat recently agreed upon between the Pope and the Duke of Modena authorizes the suspension of appointments to benefices for a year, in order to furnish an asylum for old and infirm priests, and to endow poor parish churches. Clergy taken in *flagrante delicto* shall be arrested by the civil power and handed over to the Ecclesiastical tribunals. Provisions are also made in favour of legacies and donations to the Church and monasteries.

Proceedings of English Perverts at Naples.—A correspondent of the “Daily News,” writing from Naples, under date May 14th,

says,—“ Lord and Lady Feilding have gained golden opinions for their devotion, by ‘ assisting’ at the miracle of St. Januarius, where they devoutly kissed the magic bottle containing the saint’s blood. Such an example of faith from the distinguished converts staggers even the bigots of Naples, who hesitate themselves to do public homage to this silly imposture.”

PIEDMONT.—*Introduction of a Law on the Monastic Orders.*—A project of law, on the subject of the Religious Orders, was presented on March 27th to the Chamber of Deputies at Turin, and was received by a great majority, notwithstanding the opposition of the Government, who were engaged in negotiations with the Pope, relating to the laws introduced by M. Siccadi, in consequence of his retirement. The bill was brought in by the deputy for Mondovi, M. Peronne, who, on presenting it, spoke in the following manner:—

“ The civil laws have, in most cases, taken care of the persons and property of those who, on account of their tender years, were unequal to the protection of their own interests. These laws, however, have been silent with respect to a class of persons who, at an age when no experience of the world has been acquired, undertake to dispose of themselves, even at the age of sixteen, in monastic and religious seclusion. For the purpose of protecting those minors of both sexes, and saving them from a useless and late repentance when nature has been fully developed, and when they are capable of understanding the folly they have committed, I have the honour to present the present bill. It appears to me that no doubt can be entertained of the propriety of giving the civil power jurisdiction in this case, because the project of law is meant to affect persons who do not, and should not, on account of their tender age, belong to Ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The following is an outline of the measure:—

“ ‘ 1. Individuals of both sexes, who desire to make religious profession in a convent, congregation, or a monastery of the state, shall not be allowed to take solemn vows in perpetuity, unless they have completed the age of twenty-one years.

“ ‘ 2. The persons competent, according to the preceding article, shall not be allowed to take the said vows without having lived in the social world for at least six months within the period of two years preceding their adopting that final state.

“ ‘ 3. Strangers who have taken vows in any foreign convent, not in conformity to the present law, are not admissible into the religious institutions of this country.

“ ‘ 4. Subjects of the realm who have taken vows beyond its jurisdiction shall be considered as strangers in the eye of the law.

“ ‘ 5. Such persons as receive, or allow to be received, religious candidates in contravention of the first and second clauses of this bill, shall be punished with five years’ imprisonment, and all such subjects of the realm who may infringe the terms of this law out of the kingdom, shall lose their civil rights.

“ ‘ 6. All dispositions of preceding legislation contrary to the present law are annulled.’

“ Though (continued the speaker) all legislation is subject to modification by the hand of time, we see that religious and monastic orders obstinately refuse to make any alteration in that which affects them from the remotest period. We are, therefore, called on to perform that which those orders refuse to do for themselves. It appears that the Church will in no manner diminish the control it has so long exercised over the human mind; but, while that fact accounts for the blind obstinacy with which it repels all change, it compels us to protect the young and the ignorant, and to provide, by wholesome legislation, for the public good. The house has, therefore, only to examine whether the motion I have the honour to propose be in principle just, and whether it be within our attributes to adopt it. On the first point, I need only say that the taking of eternal vows is the most solemn act a human being can perform, and that it is a reflection on common sense to allow them to be adopted at the age of sixteen years, which the actual law permits, when neither the mind nor body is developed, and the judgment and the passions given to us by Divine Providence for wise purposes, are not yet matured. Will you continue to expose the youth of both sexes to the influence of interested persons, who desire the possession of their worldly goods, and to the misery of an ineffectual repentance? With regard to the second point, the Chamber has already discussed and disposed of matters of a similar nature, and, in any case, I must presume that, whatever your final decision may be, you will not refuse for the present to take the measure I propose into serious and immediate consideration.”

The proposition was received amid cheers from all sides of the house. The leader of the opposition, M. Brofferio, declared that the only fault he found with the measure was, that it did not go far enough, as he wished it did away with monastic institutions altogether. The *L'Amé de la Religion* states that the Chambers have under consideration a number of laws of the most “ detestable description;”—i. e., most unfavourable to Roman Catholic views.

The royal palace of Turin, and the palace of the Duke of Genoa, was illuminated on the feast of the *Saint Suaire*,—a festival to which the Romanists of Piedmont are much attached. The ministers did not illuminate their houses.

Rumoured Concordat with Rome.—The *Croce di Savoia* has the following:—

“ We are assured that a *concordat* has been concluded between Rome and the Sardinian Government. The latter, it appears, agreed to the unconditional return to their respective dioceses of Archbishops Franzoni and Marengia, and to the appointment of a new Nuncio to Turin. It is not known whether the Nuncio is to be invested with the powers enjoyed by his predecessor. The object and result of these arrangements, which are partly the work of the Court of Caserta, would be a political league between Rome, Naples, Piedmont, and Tuscany, in

order to obtain the evacuation of the Pontifical States by the French and Austrian troops."

This statement is contradicted by later accounts, from which it appears probable that there is little likelihood of a concordat. Piedmont and Switzerland appear to be, at present, the only countries on the continent which have not placed themselves unconditionally in the hands of Austria and Rome.

ROME.—*Disturbed State of the Population.*—The wretched government which has been thrust back on the Roman people at the point of the bayonet, and which owes its preservation to the continued forcible intervention of foreign powers, is learning by experience the rooted antipathy with which it is regarded, and is compelled, in self-defence, to resort to new measures of violence and severity against its subjects. The disturbances commenced by disputes between the Roman and the French troops, since which they have taken the shape of combination against the use of tobacco and other excisable articles.

The recent conflicts between French soldiers and Romans have suggested to the French general the necessity of taking some additional precautions for ensuring his own safety, and that of the army under his command. It is remarkable that, in the following proclamation, announcing the general's intentions to the inhabitants of Rome, no mention whatever is made of the Papal authorities, nor of the established government of the country:—

" Serious and repeated attempts have been committed against French soldiers, whose good conduct and discipline are generally recognized and proclaimed. This audacity on the part of men of disorder is owing to the moderation shown until this day, which signalizes the generosity of France. Since this generosity is not understood, it must give place to a just severity. Consequently, the general commanding the division of occupation in Italy, fixes the following dispositions for the city of Rome and the Comarca:—

" All permissions to carry arms are suppressed. All fire-arms, side-arms, and poignard knives are to be deposited at the *Etat Major de la place* between this and the 17th of May. After which delay domiciliary visits will take place; every inhabitant retaining arms in his possession will be arrested, and brought before a court-martial, to be judged according to the usual laws; and besides the sentence there passed upon him he will be fined fifteen scudi for each weapon found in his house. The proprietors of houses will be responsible for weapons seized in them.

" In the course of Sunday, the 11th May, a great number of individuals were observed in the city, and particularly on the Corso, carrying sticks of such dimensions as to lead to the inference that they contained hidden weapons. Such a kind of threat can no longer be suffered. Men carrying the above-described sticks will be arrested by patrols, which will be ordered for that purpose, and accompanied by agents of police. They will be detained in prison until they have paid the

above-mentioned fine (fifteen soudi). Sticks of a suspicious form are to be deposited at the *Etat Major de la place*. The fines will be paid to the paymaster of the division for the use of the military hospitals. The *Commandant de la place*, the Prefect of Police, and the Provost of the army, are charged with the execution of the present order, towards which the general requests the concurrence of all the officers and subalterns of the army, who, by causing the French uniform to be respected, will exercise a right and fulfil a duty.

“The General commanding the division, “A. GEMEAU.
“At the head-quarters, Rome, May 12, 1851.”

It is a general supposition, that the recent quarrels between the French and Romans are not entirely owing to the national antipathy of the parties, but that a feeling of hostility has been purposely fomented by the agents of the secret police, in order to maintain in full force the detestation with which the citizens and their conquerors have hitherto regarded each other, and to prevent any measure of fraternization taking place between the people and soldiers in case of a change of policy in France. Should a fresh revolution burst forth in that most volcanic of countries, it would no doubt be a great point for the ecclesiastical authorities to be perfectly sure of the movements of the present garrison, and to obtain a safe refuge from popular fury by retiring with General Gemeau into the precincts of the Castle of St. Angelo; for it is a fact, that the Romans look alike on the priests and the French with vindictive exasperation, and would take the first opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on either.

The general disarming of the people has not sufficed to calm the fears of General Gemeau, whose patrols, in company with police agents, begin perambulating the city as soon as it is dark, arresting, searching, and annoying the passers by. The uneasiness of the Government at the unanimous resolution of the inhabitants not to smoke any longer, is displayed by the following document:—

“NOTIFICATION.—Giacomo, of the holy Roman Church, Cardinal Antonelli, Dean of St. Agatha, in Suburra, Pro-Secretary of State of the Holiness of our Lord Pope Pius IX. The insults offered to this peaceable population to prevent it from using tobacco have called the attention of the Government to the best means of guaranteeing the free exercise of legitimate actions, and subjecting as soon as possible the persons guilty of such crimes to their due penalty. Wherefore, according to the orders of his Holiness, we publish the following dispositions. Whoever renders himself guilty of promoting, favouring, or executing any act directed to hinder the free exercise of lawful actions, and so disturb public order, will be subjected to a summary judgment, to carry out the penalties determined by law. The proceedings adopted will aim solely at establishing the impartial proof of the truth of the fact. In the term of twenty-four hours after the compilation of the proceedings, sentence will be passed by the competent tribunal, and put into execution immediately. Those who distribute or divulge intelligence, printed or written, of an alarming nature, or are found in possession of

such printed or written papers, will be subjected to the same form of trial, and punished by being sent to the galleys for a term of from one to three years, *salvo* heavier penalties when the prints or writings assume the character of a deeper crime. The police is charged to adopt all preventive and repressive measures against those who in any way provoke them, and all the authorities will watch over the full execution of the present dispositions.—Given at Rome, in the Secretary of State's office, on the 16th of May, 1851. G. CARDINAL ANTONELLI."

The next mode of annoyance against the Government adopted by the liberals will be the refusal to buy lottery tickets, the Papal treasury deriving an enormous yearly profit from that mode of encouraging the gambling propensities of the people. A great diminution is said to be already observed.

Romish Intolerance.—Religious toleration and reciprocity are approved of when such principles answer the purpose of ecclesiastical schemes abroad; but in the Roman states the plan pursued is different. Two Swiss citizens have recently applied for protection to the British Consul at Ancona (having no consul of their own to appeal to), their religion being the cause of vexatious measures adopted against them by the local authorities, both spiritual and temporal. It is to be regretted that nothing, or next to nothing, can be done for them. One case is that of a Swiss youth, named Rothpletz, who lately arrived at Ancona as assistant to a fellow-countryman, who carries on an extensive business as a baker. This youth is a quiet and inoffensive being, but coming from a suspected part of Switzerland (so it is surmised) he is ordered to quit the country immediately, to the great detriment of his prospects in life, and to the pecuniary loss of his master, who will have to bear his travelling expenses both ways. A Swiss resident of influence in Ancona has succeeded in procuring a delay of eight days, in order that he may communicate with the Swiss representative at Rome upon the subject, as the police at Ancona will not assign any reason for sending the young man (who is a Protestant) out of the country.

The second case relates to a lady of Sinigaglia, who, in 1827, she being then 21 years of age, was married to a Swiss gentleman, named Charles Flournois, with whom she went to reside in the vicinity of Geneva, and was registered and considered as a Swiss citizen, like her husband. In the winter of 1845-46, they proposed a trip to Italy, to visit their Italian friends, when, unfortunately, on their journey M. Flournois was attacked with a severe malady, which ultimately deprived him of his senses, and, in a moment of mental alienation, he precipitated himself from a window, and was killed on the spot. The widow continued her journey to Sinigaglia with her only child, a boy now nine years old, born in Switzerland, and baptized in the Protestant faith of his father. This lady since then has continued to live with her relatives, all of whom are Roman Catholics, and she nominally one also. The priests have now determined to convert this child to their own religion, which the mother opposes, notwithstanding all the menaces of the bishop, as her late husband's will expressly declared that his son should be brought up "in the pure Christian faith, as purged of its gross errors

by the Reformation." She wishes now to fly from the country with her child, which she will not be enabled to effect unless the Swiss government aids her in the effort.

On the 10th April a consistory was held at the Vatican, when Cardinals Fornari and Goussset received their hats, and M. Lucciondi was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople, *in part*; M. Scerra, Archbishop of Ancyra, *in part*; M. Baldanzi, Bishop of Volterra; M. Cordova, Bishop of Pace, in South America; M. Florenti, Bishop of Costa Rica, South America; M. Sarrebeyroseze, Bishop of Etalonia, *in part*.

On April 8th, the Congregation of Rites held a meeting for the approbation of the martyrdom and miracles of Jean de Britto, Jesuit, missionary at Madura in the seventeenth century, preparatory to his canonization.

M. Perret, a French artist, has made a large and valuable collection of drawings from the subterranean relics of ancient Rome. He traces the origin of the conventional representations of our Lord, and the apostles, and saints. Many of the subjects are of the second and third centuries. It is proposed to publish this collection in France at the expense of the state.

By a decree of the Congregation of Rites, the worship of the "blessed" Laurence de Ripafracta, a Dominican friar, has been fully authorized. The beatification of Ægidius of S. Joseph, and Vincentio Romana, are going through the regular stages.

Ceremonies of Holy Week.—The following item of Romish news is from the pen of the "Daily News" correspondent:—

"The religious ceremonies of the Holy Week commenced with the customary blessing and distribution of palms by the Pope, which took place in St. Peter's Church, instead of the narrow limits of the Sixtine Chapel, as heretofore. A great number of foreigners were present. The procession of cardinals, bishops, state officers, and foreign dignitaries, which accompanied the portable throne of his Holiness up the vast nave of the Basilica was of un wonted length, the whole of the *corps diplomatique*, with General Gemeau, and the principal officers of his staff, in full uniform, with palm-leaves in their hands, following in the train of the ecclesiastics; and last of all a select band of English Catholics, likewise bearing palms, some of whom were dressed in black, as was Lord Feilding; and others, amongst whom was Lord Campden, displayed the splendour of deputy-lieutenants' and militia uniforms to the admiring Romans."

The subjoined rescript, enjoining collections in Rome towards meeting the expenses of erecting a Roman Catholic cathedral in London, has recently been issued:—

"Constantino Patrizi, by the mercy of God Bishop of Albano, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, Archpriest of the Patriarchal Church of St. Maria Maggiore, Vicar-General of his Holiness our Lord, and Ordinary Judge of the Roman Tribunal and its district—

"The mission to England at present attracts the religious attention of every Catholic, and especially that of the Romans, who so distinguish themselves by their zeal and piety. The numerous conversions which

have lately taken place in that kingdom, and the good-will and tendency towards the true faith which is already manifested there by so many others, ought to fill with zeal, joy, and grateful pleasure the minds of all good men; but the want of churches, especially in London, is a great obstacle not only to the propagation, but also to the preservation of the Catholic faith in that metropolis. The Italians, who are very numerous there, feel in a special manner the evils of so great a deprivation, and the necessity of a church in which to congregate. In consequence of this privation, and the greater number from their poverty being unable to pay the tribute which is generally demanded for an entrance into the English Catholic Churches, and the limited accommodation there assigned them not being sufficient, they find themselves in the painful alternative of either renouncing all religious practices, or of joining the Protestant Churches.

“The Holiness of our Lord Pope Pius IX., in his provident zeal for the good of religion, and of souls, having approved of the project of building in that capital a church commensurate with the wants of the Italians as to size and central locality, and having by circulars to the end of the year 1848, exhorted the Bishops to obtain donations for that most noble design, we, with notifications of the 16th of March of that year recommended to the inhabitants of this metropolis so good a work, and we commanded the superiors of each church, not excluding the regular Clergy, to make collections for it, ordering them to remit the amount of the collections to his Eminence the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide.

“Well-known distressing political circumstances having impeded the prosperous results which were anticipated, and the necessity now being most urgent of a larger sum of money to complete the payment of the site, and to commence immediately the building of the aforesaid church, we again appeal to the pious generosity of the Romans to contribute with those means which each has to a work so honourable for Italy, and so urgent and necessary for the circumstances of London.

“The holy Father, in order to give a greater stimulus to the piety of the faithful towards this object, has granted, with the decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, on the 9th of March inst., the indulgence of 200 days to whoever shall contribute any donation for the above object. We recommend, however, to the reverend preachers and curates to excite with special exhortation the charity of the faithful to contribute to the great work; and we commend, at the same time, all the superiors of every church in Rome, including those of the regulars, to establish in their churches collections in the manner and time most convenient, to commence with the present Lent, and to continue for a year, putting the money into the hands of the Sacred Cardinal Prefect, &c., or of Monsignore his Secretary.

“Dated from our residence, March 26, 1851,

“Cardinal Vicar, **GUISEPPE TARNASSE,**
Canon Secretary.”

Miscellaneous Intelligence.—Among the books recently condemned by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Index, are the Italian translation of the *Chronological Dictionary* by d'Harmonville, Dr. Whately's *Elements of Logic*, Mr. Hobart Seymour's *Pilgrimage to Rome*, and Henry's *History of the Institutions of the Egyptians under their National Kings*.

An incident of an alarming character occurred at the Church of St. Prassede, on the 27th of March, where a mission had been just opened for the inhabitants of the Quartier des Monts. Whilst a Franciscan friar was preaching, a bomb was thrown into the church, and burst in one of the side aisles, fortunately without injuring any one.

The alarming explosion at the Church of Santa Prassede, was followed up by a scene of another, but not less singular kind, in the ancient Basilica of Santa Maria, in Trastevere, where a preacher of the order of missionaries succeeded in working up his hearers to an unwonted pitch of fear and contrition at their misdeeds, and informed them that a collection of such miserable sinners had no longer any right to insult the Divinity by appearing in his holy house and presence. He, therefore, invited them all to leave the church, and, setting them the example himself, he came down from the pulpit, and led his wondering congregation into the Piazza, where some time was occupied in prayers or processions. Finally, he informed them that, by the intercession of the holy mother of God, he hoped they were more worthy of returning into the church, and, accordingly, he knocked at the door, (which had been shut meanwhile,) and obtained admittance for himself and his flock, who were surprised to find a large image of the Virgin Mary, surrounded by lighted tapers, exactly opposite the entrance. The usual cry of "Miracolo" saluted this change of place on the part of the statue, and salutary effects are asserted to have already shown themselves in consequence amongst some hardened Trasteverini offenders, whose consciences have been touched by so great a prodigy!

An extraordinary congregation, or commission, composed of six Cardinals, has been appointed by the Pope for the purpose of inquiring into the moral state of the convents, and reporting on the best mode of reforming the abuses which have crept into these establishments.

The order of confirmation, according to the rite of the Church of England, was performed lately in the English chapel, outside the Porta del Popolo, by the Right Rev. Dr. Spencer, late Bishop of Madras, fifteen persons (of whom fourteen were young ladies) being confirmed on the occasion. It was apprehended at first, in consequence of some vague rumour to that effect, that the Papal Government would have interfered with the ceremony, on account of its affording example of a British Protestant Bishop exercising his episcopal functions at Rome—the see, *par excellence*, of his Holiness. The Roman authorities, however, proceeded to no such imprudent step, the consequence

of which, in the present state of public opinion in England, would, of course, have been incalculably prejudicial to the interests of the Roman Catholic Church.

TUSCANY.—*Concordat with Rome*.—By a recent Concordat with Rome, the Papacy has acquired a vast extension of jurisdiction in Tuscany. At the same time, the Tuscan Government has repressed by force the attendance of the people at Protestant worship.

Count Guicciardini has been arrested at Florence, and committed to the common felons' prison, for the offence of reading and expounding the Bible, with which he had been made acquainted through the English residents.

In January last, by order of the authorities at Florence, numbers of persons were formally prohibited, by a document called a *precetto*, from attending Protestant service at the Swiss church. The Italian service in that church, usually performed for the benefit of Italian Swiss, was ordered to be suspended; and a large number of persons were thus deprived of their usual religious ceremonies. Herr von Reumont, the Prussian envoy, a Roman Catholic, was consulted by the consistory, in his character of protector to the Swiss Church; and, in reply, advised the temporary suspension of the service. In doing so, he admitted the right of the Tuscan Government to act in direct contradiction to the Constitution sworn to by the Grand Duke, which stipulates, amongst other things, complete tolerance for every creed. In the correspondence between the Prussian minister and the consistory, the latter stigmatized the presence of Tuscan policemen at the Swiss chapel as an insult to the King of Prussia, and asked permission to have in future the Prussian arms exhibited over the doors of the chapel. They urged in strong terms the right of a large number of Italian Protestants to a religious service in their own language, and declared their intention to appeal to the king directly, if the minister gave no satisfactory reply.

The consistory then indulged hopes that their correspondence with Herr von Reumont would be submitted to the king at Berlin, and they were not mistaken; but he so mutilated portions of it as to paralyze its effect.

In fact from what we have elsewhere remarked, the influence of Jesuitism at present appears to be predominant in Prussia. The hostility of Herr von Reumont is evident from the report he drew up to present to the king, and communicated to the consistory on the 8th of May. In this document he described the steps he had taken with the Tuscan ministry, in view of obtaining permission to perform the Italian service, a boon which he said might be granted if the consistory consented to admit to the service by tickets, *exclude every Italian*, keep the service private, and let all doors be closed as soon as proceedings commenced.

The consistory refused to give their assent to this report, and asked for two days to deliberate. At first this delay was granted, but before its expiration the Prussian minister sent word that he had been unable

to wait, and had sent up his report to Berlin, adding that if his proposals were not accepted, he would take no further steps with the Tuscan government.

Thus, the celebration of Protestant worship has been stopped. The pastor of a flock has been ordered out of the country, merely because he had assembled some of his congregation after service to read and explain portions of Scripture to them. His curate has been taken to gaol, and subsequently marched between gendarmes for seven days like a felon, and made to cross on foot the whole of Pisa, Lucca, Pietra Santa, Massa (in which state he was ironed), and Sarzana. His crime was that of assisting in reading the Scriptures for his colleague, who has been exiled.

L'Ami de la Religion states, that "many persons known by the exaltation of their political notions, have been arrested at Florence as guilty of having laboured to promote Protestantism in Tuscany."

In 1838, the British representative at Florence obtained leave to open a private chapel for Anglican worship. In January last, a formal complaint was addressed to the Hon. P. C. Scarlett, by the Duke de Casigliano, that "persons other than British subjects had been admitted, and that praying and catechising in the Italian language had been introduced, to the weakening of the Catholic religion"—*threatening to close the chapel*. It turns out that this accusation was wholly "groundless and erroneous." Lord Palmerston, in a spirited note to Mr. Shiel, exposes "the intolerant spirit manifested in the Duke of Casigliano's communication," and contrasts it with "the liberal and enlightened system which prevails in the United Kingdom in regard to the exercise of religious belief."

MEXICO.—An American writer, quoted in the *Banner of the Cross*, gives the following description of a treasure he was permitted to see on a recent visit to Mexico Cathedral:—

"By special favour they showed us every thing; among others the custodian, in which the consecrated host is exposed on certain occasions. It cost 200,000 dollars, but is worth 500,000; and you will not wonder at this when I inform you that it is full four feet high, made of solid gold, and studded with precious stones. The pedestal is a foot and a half square, inlaid with diamonds and rubies. At each corner is the golden figure of an angel, exquisitely carved; around his waist and neck are strings of the finest pearls; his wings are inlaid or covered with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. In his right hand he holds sheaves of wheat, made of yellow topaz: in his left, bunches of grapes, made of amethysts. The shaft is also studded with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. The upper part, containing the host, is made to represent the sun, and is a foot and half in circumference; the rays that emanate on one side are made entirely of diamonds of the first water, beginning with some of large size, and gradually tapering off. The cross that surmounts the top is also on this side made of diamonds, and

is superb. On the other side, both the cross and the rays are of the most beautiful emeralds—perhaps larger than the diamonds.”

PORTUGAL.—Papal Diplomacy.—A correspondent of the “Times” thus writes from Lisbon, in reference to the “Papal aggression” upon Portugal:—

“This aggression upon Portugal consists in the Pope’s attempt to deprive the Archbishopric of Goa of its jurisdiction over the Roman Catholic Church in those adjacent possessions which have passed from Portugal to the dominion of the English and Dutch. The Pope had evidently attempted to tamper with Archbishop Torres before he went to Goa, but he, upon his arrival, insisted upon maintaining intact the rights of the Portuguese Crown; he would not allow the Pope’s Vicars-Apostolic to usurp the jurisdiction of his Archbishopric, and, so far as the English possessions are concerned, it appears the Archbishop’s spiritual authority was acknowledged, and the Pope’s innovations disallowed. The Holy See is, however, never at a loss to compass its ends, and therefore the Nuncio in Lisbon adopted the Count of Thomar’s party, and the Count being appointed by the Ministry to arrange the affair with the Nuncio, Archbishop Torres was recalled from Goa, with the consent of the Government, and no other successor being appointed to that distant See, the Pope can in the mean time play his cards in India just as he likes.”

SPAIN.—Concordat with the Pope.—The concordat with the Pope, the ratification of which took place on the 11th instant, between Monsignor Brunelli and Senor Bertran de Lis, was published the following day. The following is a statement of its chief provisions:—

“Art. 1 declares that the Roman Catholic religion, being the sole worship of the Spanish nation, to the exclusion of all others, shall be maintained for ever, with all the rights and prerogatives which it ought to enjoy, according to the law of God and the dispositions of the sacred canons.

“Art. 2 deposes that all instruction in universities, colleges, seminaries, and public or private schools, shall be conformable to Catholic doctrine; and that no impediment shall be put in the way of the Bishops, &c., whose duty is to watch over the purity of doctrine and of manners, and over the religious education of youth even in the public schools.

“Art. 3. The authorities to give every support to the Bishops and other ministers in the exercise of their duties, and the Government to support the Bishops when called on, whether ‘in opposing themselves to the malignity of men who seek to pervert the minds of the faithful and corrupt their morals, or in impeding the publication, introduction, and circulation of bad and dangerous books.’

“The subsequent articles refer to the new arrangement of archbishoprics and bishoprics. An archbishopric of Valladolid is created in

addition to the existing archbishoprics of Toledo, Burgos, Granada, Santiago, Seville, Tarragona, Valencia, and Zaragoza. Eight Bishoprics are suppressed, and three new ones—those of Madrid, Ciudad-Real, and Vittoria—created. The dotation of the archbishops ranges from 160,000 to 130,000 reals, and that of bishops from 110,000 to 80,000. The dotation of the other dignitaries, &c., is also fixed.

“The 29th article provides for the establishment by the Government of certain religious houses and congregations, specifying those of San Vicente Paul, San Felipe Neri, and ‘some other one of those approved by the Holy See;’ the object being stated to be that there may be always a sufficient number of ministers and evangelical labourers for home and foreign missions, &c., and also that they may serve as places of retirement for ecclesiastics, in order to perform spiritual exercises and other pious works.

“Art. 30 refers to religious houses for women, in which those who are called to a contemplative life may follow their vocation, and others may follow that of assistance to the sick, education, and other pious and useful works; and directs the preservation of the institution of Daughters of Charity, under the direction of the clergy of San Vicente Paul, the Government to endeavour to promote the same; religious houses in which education of children and other works of charity are added to a contemplative life also to be maintained; and, with respect to other orders, the Bishops of the respective dioceses to propose the cases in which the admission and profession of noviciates should take place, and the exercises of education or of charity which should be established in them.

“The 35th article declares that the Government shall provide, by all suitable means, for the support of the religious houses, &c., for men, and that, with respect to those for women, all the unsold convent property is at once to be returned to the Bishops in whose dioceses it is, as their representatives; but it adds, that in attention to the circumstances of the case, his Holiness disposes that the property shall be sold by the Bishops, and the proceeds invested in untransferable three per cent. Inscriptions, to be distributed among the convents, in proportion to their wants and circumstances, the Government to make up any deficiency in the pensions of those who have a right to them.

“The dotation of the secular clergy is provided for by the 38th article, which recites the provisions of the existing law on that head passed in 1849, but it also adds that whatever property belonging to the Church, including that of the religious communities of men, which remains unsold, and which has not been restored under the law of 1845, shall now be restored forthwith; but, as in the instance of the convent property above mentioned, his Holiness disposes that it shall be sold and invested in the three per cent. stock for the use of the Church.

“By the 39th article, the Government are to make proper dispositions that those amongst whom the property of pious foundations and endowments has been distributed, shall secure the means of fulfilling those

charges, and the same with those who have purchased ecclesiastical property liable to those charges.

“ Article 40 declares that all the property and revenues above mentioned belong to the Church, and shall be enjoyed and administered by the clergy, and provides for the funds of the Cruzada, &c., being administered by the Bishops.

“ Article 41 says, ‘ The Church shall besides have the right to acquire property by any lawful title, and its property in all that it possesses now or may acquire in future shall be solemnly respected. Consequently, as regards the old and new ecclesiastical foundations, there shall not be any suppression or union without the intervention of the authority of the Holy See, saving the faculties belonging to the Bishops according to the Holy Council of Trent.’

“ The 42nd article guarantees the purchasers and present holders of ecclesiastical property, sold under the civil dispositions existing at the time, in the quiet possession of it, free from all molestation on the part of his Holiness or his successors.

“ This document was drawn up, March 16, by the parties who have now exchanged ratifications.”

The dotation of the clergy and of public worship, as fixed by the bill of 1840, amounts to 154,000,000 reals; but it is computed by parties who have examined the new concordat, and the increased scale of many of the sums assigned in it, that there will be an increase of expenditure under this head of 36,000,000 of reals.

The capital of the estates restored or assigned to the Church is estimated as follows :—

	Reals.
Possessions of secular clergy, originally estimated at	2,000,000,000
Deduct sold up to July, 1844, when the sales were suspended	470,000,000
	<hr/>
Value of property restored	1,530,000,000
Ditto, estimated value of encomiendas and maestrasgos of military orders	280,000,000
Ditto, estates of religious communities of men	260,187,325
Ditto, hermitages, sanctuaries, &c.	126,715,436
	<hr/>
	2,196,902,811

The estates (unsold) belonging to the religious communities of women were estimated at 357,184,392 reals.

It is asserted that many of the minister's best supporters contemplate the desertion of his standard, on account of the concordat. Even many of the Carlist party are said to be indignant at the humiliation of the nation. The Pope's nuncio receives 100,000 reals a year as president of the ecclesiastical tribunal of the Rota, a tribunal which has to judge of ecclesiastical affairs. Besides his regular pay, he has a

number of perquisites. Whenever any of the suppressed order of monks wishes to obtain permission to offer himself as a candidate for a curacy, he must pay the Pope's nuncio three dollars. His Holiness's representative has in this manner extracted 40,000 dollars from the Spanish clergy. There are dispensations and indulgences at the rate of 60,000 reals, without mentioning those which belong to the general agency office of indulgences for marriages, &c., of which there are no less than 477 degrees, varying in price from 2000 to 44,000 reals, and for which the Spanish nation pays 12 millions a year. It appears, also, that the abolition of the commissionership of the crusade was, in a great measure, owing to the manœuvres of the Pope's nuncio, into whose hands a great deal of the lucrative business of that department will now fall.

Intelligence of a somewhat alarming nature has come from Zaragoza. Symptoms of discontent had sprung up among the people, which induced the authorities to redouble their vigilance, besides adopting every military precaution likely to check a popular movement should it be attempted. The cause of this sudden change in the aspect of things there, as elsewhere, can only be ascribed to the concordat, in proportion as its unacceptable stipulations become more generally known, because the people at large were sick at heart of riots; but, of course, the unquiet spirits, those who only thrive by such events, take advantage of the treaty in question to work on the passions and raise up the ire of the working and industrious classes. "La Nacion" insists that, according to former precedents, the concordat cannot be considered the law of the land until the Cortes give their sanction, because the authority conferred on ministers by both Chambers in May, 1849, for entering into the negotiation did not mean that any law should be revoked without the previous consent of the legislature. Even Napoleon, who signed a concordat with Pope Pius VII. on the 15th July, 1801, did not consider it as the law of the land until the 8th of April of the following year, after the Legislative Assembly had approved it. The concordat which Louis XVIII. adjusted with the same Pope on the 16th of July, 1817, was submitted to the Chambers by his Cabinet on the 22nd of November following, and thrown out, so that he was compelled to abandon it. The concordat adjusted by Philip V. of Spain was never carried into effect, and had to be replaced by another many years afterwards. This concordat affair may bring trouble and disquietude on Spain.

The dissatisfaction generally felt is increased by the suspicion of a secret article, providing for the restoration of the whole of the eighteen orders of monks and friars by which Spain was formerly infested; so as to give to each order at least one convent in every province, and to establish a Papal militia of some 28,000 men at the public expense.

The religious ceremonies of the Holy Week were celebrated with the usual pomp in all the churches of Madrid. The Queen washed the feet of six poor men in the royal chapel, and at four o'clock Her Majesty, accompanied by the King and the entire Court, left the palace to perform the seven stations.

A mysterious and tragical affair has caused a great sensation at Madrid. An ex-minister and ex-ambassador, suspecting an intrigue between his wife and an ecclesiastic, a near relative of one of the highest dignitaries of the Spanish Church, laid wait for his rival, and having surprised him on his criminal errand ran him through the body with a dagger. The corpse was conveyed away and interred with much haste and secrecy, and every effort was made to hush up the affair, and to baffle the endeavours of the civil magistrate to institute an inquiry.

A Madrid daily paper relates a strange story of Spanish ideas of religious liberty in connexion with an English manufacturer, residing in San Felice de Guisols, a town situated between Barcelona and Rosas. It appears the gentleman in question sought the hand of a young lady in marriage, but the curate refused to solemnize the marriage unless he first turned Roman Catholic, and with his father's consent. The latter, however, threatened him with disinheritance if he changed his religion:—

“In this terrible dilemma he proceeded to Barcelona, and, after consulting the English consul there, was duly married by that functionary, in accordance with the Consular Marriage Act of 1849. This step taken, the happy pair returned home, with the certificate of their nuptials, and passport *en regle*. For a time they lived together unmolested; but their happiness did not last long. The curate, enraged at what had occurred, complained to the Bishop, who ordered the separation of the bride and bridegroom. They refused to obey the mandate, and he then had recourse to the civil governor of the province, who directed the *alcalde* of San Felice to carry the separation into effect. This official, however, confined himself to giving them notice, and was in consequence prosecuted with the Englishman and his wife. The former had recourse to his consul, who reported the affair to the British minister in Madrid, who, in his turn, applied to the Spanish Government for redress. Lord Palmerston had passed various communications upon the subject to our Government, which has referred it to the Royal Council. It appears that the Ministers of the Interior of Foreign Affairs, and of Grace and Justice, have given contrary opinions, and that the Royal Council has decided that the separation shall take place until a dispensation is obtained from the Bishop to enable the curate to solemnize the marriage according to the Roman Catholic ritual.”

SWITZERLAND.—The speech of Sir Robert Peel, in the debate on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, has elicited a reply from Monsignor Luquet, Bishop of Hésebon, and Apostolic Nuncio at Switzerland, at the time of the war of the Sonderbund. The bishop reminds the young baronet that he was bound to respect the religion professed over the whole universe by 160,000,000 of Catholics:—

“Now, you have not done this—you have forgotten yourself to such a degree as to treat that very Christian truth as ‘idolatry’ and ‘superstitious mummery.’ You have forgotten yourself so far as to hold up

to ridicule, in the description of an imaginary and impossible picture, one of the greatest names of Christian ages—St. Gregory VII.—whose glory has been so extolled by German Protestantism itself.”

After declaring his belief that the aggression of Pius IX. has for its object the relief of freemen from the slavery of infidelity, “for the freemen of England the single but ardent desire of Pius IX., as of all of us, is to break in pieces the chains under which, in the name of liberty, Protestantism crushes your souls.” The Bishop hopes, for the sake of his soul, soon to number Sir Robert among “the number of the faithful devoted to the Roman unity;” and then proceeds to correct the diplomatist’s version of what he saw as chargé-d’affaires in Switzerland.

The Popish party appears to be generally depressed in Switzerland. M. Marrilley remains in exile. The Roman Catholic Cantons have consented to send deputations to Zurich. *L’Ami de la Religion* is inconsolable at the humiliation of those Cantons, and their submission to the central authorities. It has received the most afflicting accounts of the state of instruction in the Canton of Geneva. “Catholic” books are every where suppressed, and replaced by Protestant works; the Roman Catholic Catechism is no longer taught in schools, and the inspector of Romish schools is a high Protestant!

The Swiss Protestants.—The letter addressed by the Bishop of London to the Marquess of Cholmondeley, offering to place certain proprietary chapels at the service of foreign Protestant ministers during their stay in London, has elicited letters from M. Duby, Pastor of the National Church of Geneva, Dr. Merle d’Aubigné, and Archdeacon Baggesen, Vice-President of the Ecclesiastical Synod of the Swiss Reformed Church, who have written to express the lively joy created by this recognition of brotherhood with the Evangelical Churches on the Continent on the part of the English Church.

UNITED STATES.—The following statistics are taken from the journal of the General Convention of 1850:—

“Churches consecrated in three years, 155; Priests ordained, 228; Deacons, 221;—total, 449. Candidates for orders in seventeen dioceses (New York, New Jersey, and Virginia, among those not reported), 120; confirmations, 18,937; clergy (1850) in twenty-nine dioceses, 1558; baptisms, adults, in twenty-four dioceses, 5957; infants in ditto, 33,072; not specified in four dioceses, 3896—total, 42,925. Communicants added in eight dioceses, 4987—total ditto in twenty-eight dioceses (New York omitted), 79,802; marriages in twenty dioceses, 3420; burials in twenty dioceses, 16,233; Sunday school teachers in seventeen dioceses, 4520; Sunday school pupils in nineteen dioceses, 38,603; clergy deceased in sixteen dioceses, 43.”

The Bishop of Oxford has received from Bishop Chase, of Illinois, the presiding Bishop of the American Church, a reply to the communication of the protest of the Diocesan Meeting at Oxford on the Papal aggression, in which the venerable Bishop says:—

"The estimation in which your excellent father was held by good Lords Gambier and Bexley, my once best of earthly friends, now doubtless in Paradise, makes me confident that they would join me in most heartily commending the 'protest' your lordship has made against the invasion of the Pope (recently set forth) on the faith and primitive discipline of the Protestant Church of England.

"May the Lord of Hosts bless your Lordship and all the Clergy and laity of your diocese in opposing this 'man of sin,' whether he work by secret machinations or by open force, and may you be crowned with triumph in everlasting glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

The Archbishop of Canterbury has addressed a circular to the Bishops of the American Church, inviting them to join in the approaching jubilee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as a means of "keeping alive and diffusing a missionary spirit, and so, under the Divine blessing, enlarging the borders of the Redeemer's kingdom." His Grace observes that, in making this proposal, no gift is sought, but only Christian sympathy and communion in prayers, and that it is wished that any alms which the American congregations might add to their prayers, should be appropriated to the relief of the pressing needs of their own church. The first response to this invitation has been made by the Bishop of Maryland, who, reserving any more definite plan of action until he shall have taken counsel with his brother Bishops, at once promises to 'recommend the observation of the Jubilee Sunday throughout his diocese.' In the course of his letter he says,—

"Our debt of gratitude to the venerable Society is owned with pleasure and filial pride. It will be doubly gratifying to make the recognition of that debt the occasion for adding another to the bonds by which we are so closely bound to our brethren in Great Britain, and her many colonies and dependencies."

Dr. Henshaw, the Bishop of Rhode Island, acknowledges, with "cordial approbation," the receipt of the Bishop of Oxford's protest against Papal aggression:—

"This act, clearly opposed as it is to the canons and usages of the Catholic Church, will doubtless be condemned by all Bishops not of the Roman obedience as schismatical and wicked. Whether it would be practicable to obtain the opinion of any considerable number of the Oriental Bishops I have no means of forming a judgment; and many of them have suffered so severely from the encroachments and treachery of Rome, that they can feel little sympathy for her. The Church in this country, however, gratefully acknowledging the Church of England as a mother to whom she is deeply indebted, under God, for her first foundation, and a long continuance of nursing, ease, and protection, deeply sympathizes with her venerable parent in all the vicissitudes of her lot, and laments the present sufferings, whether arising from treachery within or assaults from without, as if they were her own. Many true hearts here offer up before the throne of grace fervent prayers for pro-

tection and blessing on behalf of the Bishops, Clergy, and people of our fatherland in this their time of need.

"The protest adopted in Oxford, manly and firm in its language, and at the same time temperate in its spirit, seems to me to be a document well suited to the crisis; and it is to be hoped the example may be followed in the other dioceses of the United Church of the British empire."

The *Banner of the Cross* announces another loss to the American Church in the death of the Rev. Dr. Jarvis. The following notice bears the impress of the familiar initials G. W. D. :—

"Scarcely has the grave closed over the remains of the beloved Ogilby, when the Church is called to renew her grief by the grave of the venerable Dr. Jarvis. It was a great thing to possess, in two men, such treasures of learning, enforced by the highest principles, and adorned by every Christian grace. How mysterious the Providence, which, within two months, withdrew them both from among us! What riches must be his, who can spare from his Church such men! Truly he is a God that hideth Himself!

"Dr. Jarvis seemed to be among our oldest Presbyters. The son of the venerable Bishop of Connecticut; admitted early to Holy Orders; the companion and assistant of his father, even before he was ordained; and, ever since, the companion and assistant of older men, he seemed to us all much older than sixty-five. There was in him a gravity of person, a solemnity and a fulness of wisdom, that sustained this impression. The present writer undertakes no detail of the useful and honourable life of Dr. Jarvis. His acquaintance with him was through a period of more than thirty years. It was his privilege to be his pupil; and the debt of love, contracted then, could never be repaid. Dr. Jarvis was then the rector of St. Michael's Church, Bloomingdale; and the very model of a country parson. He became one of the four professors in the General Theological Seminary; and none who sat at his feet as pupils will ever cease to remember, with grateful pleasure, the fulness and accuracy of the scholar, the assiduity and suggestiveness of the teacher, the blandness and dignity of the gentleman. Brought up among books, and living in the atmosphere of his large and well-selected library, it was his delight to pour from his own fulness into the minds of the young. And those whom he taught as pupils he conciliated and secured as friends. Dr. Jarvis has held some of the highest places in the Church. In the General Convention he always exercised a wide and wholesome influence. At the instance of that body he undertook to prepare a history of the Church; and had published two volumes, and made extensive preparations for the remainder of the work, when he was called to his rest. To the whole Church it is an irretrievable disappointment. It may be doubted if he has left one so well qualified for that high and responsible enterprise. But it is not for us to doubt or to distrust, when God has spoken. Let us rather thank Him that He has lent us so long the talents, the wisdom, the

learning, the courtesy, the dignity, the purity, the piety, which must ever consecrate, to all who knew him, the memory of Dr. Jarvis. The present writer has known him as few knew him, and loved him even better than he knew him. Kindly will he cherish his memory. Humbly will he emulate his excellence. Fervently will he pray that he may follow him, as he was the follower of Christ. 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.'

The Baptist Coloured Church at Buffalo has suffered a large diminution of its members in consequence of the Fugitive Slave Law:—

"One hundred and thirty of the communicants, as we are informed by the pastor, left the place from fear of arrest on the charge of being fugitive slaves, and have passed over to Canada. The Methodist Church, in the same place, has lost a considerable number of its members from the same cause. There is said to be amongst these more disposition to make a stand and to evade and resist the law than among their Baptist brethren. Somebody had advised them to arm themselves and defend their liberty. The Baptist pastor, however, told his people that he found in the Gospel examples which justified running away, but no examples which warranted fighting. The Coloured Baptist Church at Rochester, which formerly numbered one hundred and fourteen communicants, has lost them all except two since the passing of the Fugitive Slave Law. The pastor, a native Kentuckian, was the first to flee, and the whole flock followed him. The Coloured Baptist Church at Detroit has lost eighty-four of its members from the same cause. They abandon their homes and their occupations, sell such property as they cannot conveniently carry with them, and seek refuge in Canada."

It was generally reported that Dr. Hughes, Romish Archbishop of New York, was to be made a Cardinal, but no such appointment has taken place as yet. Dr. Eccleston, Romish Archbishop of Baltimore, died on April 26th. His funeral, which passed through Philadelphia, was attended by his clergy in full costume, and the President of the United States, with his ministers, and the diplomatic body, formed part of the funeral procession.

WEST INDIES.—Lord Harris has determined upon carrying out a course of Government secular instruction at Trinidad, totally irrespective of religion. At a council held on the 2nd of April, the Governor laid before the board, in a message, an outline of his plans, which, to carry into effect, the Attorney-General would follow up by a series of resolutions. They are simply the machinery for normal schools of three grades (primary, superior, and collegiate), to afford the rising generation instruction in languages, grammar, geography, arithmetic, science, and morals; every thing but religion, which latter is to be ignored because of the community being divided among Christians, Mahommedans, Gentoos, and Heathens, and the Fetish. As Lord Harris cannot consent that the Bible should be "considered a

banished book," an unobjectionable selection is to be made, as his lordship in no way yields "to the notion that, as the word of God, the whole of it may not be consulted by all for their religious instruction." At an earlier part of the proceedings, the Attorney-General presented a petition from the Wesleyans, praying for an annual grant of 200*l.* for educational purposes, which, he gave notice, he should move the consent of the board to at their next meeting.

M. Laherpeur, the newly-appointed bishop of the See of Martinique, just erected by the Pope, has arrived at St. Pierre, Martinique, and been received by the authorities with great ceremony.

INDEX

OF THE

REMARKABLE PASSAGES IN THE CRITICISMS, EXTRACTS, NOTICES, AND INTELLIGENCE.

Achill, Dingle, and Askeaton, Missions among the Romanists at, 207, 298.

Achilli's Dealings with the Inquisition, 322, 323; his letters to Pope Gregory XVI., 324; the *Liber Nero* of the Inquisition, 325, 326; its mode of obtaining a conviction, 327, 328; case of a lady commanded to denounce her son to the Inquisition, 329, 330; another case of a wife, 331—334; and others, 335; morality and ascetism amongst the Romish clergy, 336; imprisonment of a priest who had become a Protestant, 337; all these the deeds of Rome as she is now, 338.

Albertus Magnus, his treatise "Of adhering to God," 214.

Amari's History of the War of the Sicilian Vespers, 25; the foundation of the Sicilian monarchy, 26; contest between the Popedom and the House of Suabia, 27; the talents and zeal of Manfred, 28—30; conquered and slain by Charles of Anjou, 31; rebellion of the Sicilians in favour of Conradin, 32, 33; his murder, 34; and the horrors which followed it, 35; whether chargeable on the Pope, 36; the origin of the Sicilian Vespers, 37; and the event, 38—41; the Sicilians expel the foreign domination, 42; execution of Alaimo de Lentini, 43, 44; perfidy of King James of Arragon, 45; and of John Loria, 46, 47.

Ancient British Church, Antiquities of the, 12; its traditions preserved by the bards, 3; in the Triads of Dywnwal Moelmud, 4; of doubtful antiquity, 5—7; not known to Gildas, 8; nor to Nennius, 9; inconsistent with the facts of history, 10, 11; of Caractacus, 12; of the introduction of Christianity into Britain, 13—15; under King Lucius, 16—19; the evidence of St. Paul's mission to Britain questioned, 20, 21;

no certain mention of Christianity in Britain before Tertullian, 22; orthodox in its views, and not recognising the Papal Supremacy, 23, 24.

Baker, Rev. Arthur, his "Plea for Romanizers," 120; his appeal to the Divines of the 17th century, 128; his quotations from Archbishop Laud, 129.

Bennett, Rev. W. J. E., and the Bishop of London, 111, 112; Mr. Bennett's offer of resignation, 113—115; reluctantly accepted by the Bishop, 116, 117; Mr. Bennett embraces "Catholic" principles in 1842, 118, 119; his theory of the restoration of practices not distinctly forbidden, 120; untenable, 121, 122; tends to restore "Romish," rather than "Catholic" unity, 123; at any rate, ill-timed, 124—126; his appeal to the divines of the 17th century, unfair, 127, 128; Laud's opinion of the idolatry of the Church of Rome, 129, 130; Mr. Bennett's accusation of treacherous dealing against his Bishop, 131, 132; who had but inculcated obedience to the Church of England, 133—136; no inconsistency of principle between the Bishop's two charges, 136, 137; but only in Mr. Bennett's practice, 138; further personal accusations against the Bishop, 139, 140; review of Mr. Bennett's position, 141, 142; and of the state of feeling in England, 143—146; the aid of the fine arts to be encouraged, 147; within our restrictions, 148.

Butler, the Very Rev. Richard, his Preface to Clyn's Annals of Ireland, 310.

Calendar of the Anglican Church, the, dissertation on, 186.

Carter, Rev. F. F., his "Pattern showed on the Mount; or, Thoughts of quiet-

- ness and hope for the Church of England in her Latter-days," 442; the longing to form on earth a kingdom of Saints, a snare in all ages, 442, 443.
- Central America, Wild Life in*, by George Byam, 443; description of an earthquake at Leon, 444; the King of the Vultures, 445, 446; vindictive fidelity of pigs, 447, 448.
- Christianity*, Edict against, in China, 233.
- Church in Ireland*, the, change of views regarding it, 282—284; as seen by the "Times," 285, 286; its maintenance pleaded for, 287; its recognition of the Royal Supremacy, 289, 290; its loyalty and fidelity, 291; policy of England regarding it, 292; the education question, 293—295; suggestions for the removal of difficulties connected with it, 296; patient and Christian conduct of the Irish clergy, 297; Irish missions, 298, 299; exertions of the Rev. A. R. C. Dallas, 300; mission established on Lough Corrib, 301—303; "early fruits of the Irish missions," 304—308; such efforts redeem the Church from former imputations of indolence, 309; Clyn's Annals of Ireland, edited by Dean Butler, 310; effects of the Scottish invasion, 311; progress of degradation and anarchy, 312; little mitigated by the influence of religion, 313, 314; the Reformation in Ireland, 315; documents showing the difficulties and the way of it, 316, 317; letters of Archbishop Butler and others, 318, 319; showing the consent of the clergy to the Reformation, 320; causes of its comparative failure, 321.
- Collingwood*, Rev. John, his Sermons on "The Church Apostolic, Primitive and Anglican," 339; various views in which "Church principles" are held 340—342; do such conduct to Romanism? 343; they were held by its most powerful opponents, 344; causes of late secessions to Rome, 345—347; pointed out by Mr. Collingwood, 348, 349; reasons of Church-membership, 350; various theories of Church government, 351, 352; that of the Church of England, 353; objections refuted, 354, 355; the supremacy of St. Peter, 356; refuted from Scripture, 357; and from the contradictions of those who have upheld it, 358, 359; the causes and results of the Reformation, 360.
- Convent, Narrative of an Escape from a Portuguese*, 196—198.
- Cultus Anima, or the Arraying of the Soul*, passage from, 184.
- Dallas*, Rev. A. R. C., his missionary-tour in Ireland, 300.
- Dancing and Wrestling*, useful as diversions for the labouring class, under certain restrictions, 368, 369.
- Debary*, Rev. Thomas, his Notes of Residence in the Canary Islands, 411; description of the Bay of Funchal, 412; Santa Cruz, 413; effects of the news of the French Revolution, 414; Cadix and the Royal Family, 415; depressed state of the Romish Church at Teneriffe, 416; hatred of monasteries, 417; infidelity the consequence of superstition, 418; prayers read at a "Novena" of St. Raphael, 419; Mr. Meyrick's account of the state of the Church in Spain, 420; Spanish fasting, 421; the deficiencies of the English and Spanish Churches compared, 422; "revivals" in the Roman Church, 423; prayers used at a "Novena" to the Blessed Virgin, 424, 425; forged miracles, 426; Church funds raised by bull-fights, 427; opposite theories of authority and private judgment, 428, 429; the due medium, 430; change in the position of Romanism throughout Europe, 431; the result of Papal Aggression in England, 432, 433.
- Early English Princesses, Lives of*,—by Mary A. E. Green, 378, 379; Cecilia, daughter of William the Conqueror, 380; her sisters, Matilda, 381; and Adela, 382—385; Matilda, daughter of Henry the First, 386, 387; returns to England, as widowed Empress of Germany, to be her father's heir, 388—391; Mary, daughter of King Stephen, 392; Henry, grandson of Henry II., 393; Eleanor, his second daughter, 394; her sister, Joanna, 395; Isabella, daughter of King John, 396, 397; her sister, Eleanor, 398; marries the Earl of Pembroke, 399; and secondly, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, 400—402; accompanies her husband to Poitou, 403; her friendship with Grostete, Bishop of Lincoln, 404; conduct of her husband towards her brother, the King, 405, 406; the battle of Evesham, 407; death of De Montfort, 408; and cruel conduct of Edward I. towards his daughter, 409, 410.
- Emblems* which accompany Saints, remarks on, 187.

- Inglis*, Bishop, Biographical sketch of, 228.
- Kaffir Chief*, visit of the Bishop of Cape Town to, 224.
- King*, Miss Mary Ada, her lines to her Father on the recovery of a heavy loss, 204.
- Lavengro and George Borrow*, 362, 363; his first friend a wandering Jew, 364; his acquaintance with snakes, 365, 366; a lover of pugilism, 367; which is a useful diversion under the Church system, 368, 369; pugilistic encounter in Ireland, 370, 371; Borrow's love of horses, 372; the death of his father, 373, 374; the contents of the third volume, 375; peripatetic preachers, 376; Borrow a writer "sui generis," 377.
- Meyrick*, Rev. Frederick, his "What is the Working of the Church in Spain?" 420.
- Monro*, Rev. E., his account of the fearful state of religion amongst the working classes, 151—154; recommends personal directions as a remedy, 155.
- Palmer*, Rev. William, his Letters and Controversy with Dr. Wiseman, 437; the non-episcopal character of the Romish Episcopate up to 1850 conceded by Dr. Wiseman, 438; the new hierarchy, 439; its invalidity and nullity, 440, 441.
- Papal Aggression, and its Consequences*, 163; Lord John Russell's Bill, 164; and admirable speech in introducing it, 165, 166; he shows the practice of foreign states, 167; territorial sovereignty assumed in the Papal Bull, 168; not to be admitted in England, 169, 170; the course of conduct which this speech led us to expect from Lord John Russell, 171; miserably disappointed, 172; the supremacy of the crown in great danger, 173; just course to be pursued towards the Church, 174, 175; its preservation from alterations in the late ferment, 176; clergy accused of Romanising have the remedy in their own hands, 177.
- Perils in the English Church at present*, by Archdeacon Harrison, 213.
- Peripatetic Preachers*, whether advisable to evangelize the masses, 376.
- Peter*, St., remarks on his name, and the promises attached to it, 200.
- Religion amongst the Working Classes*, 149, 150; as depicted by Mr. Monro and Mr. Simmons, 151; at a fearfully low ebb, 152—154; personal directions suggested as a remedy, 155; and Church always open, 156; for private prayer, 157, 158; pastoral intercourse, rather as with friends than penitents, 159, 160; the use of Hymns recommended in Church Services, 161, 162.
- Rogers*, Canon, his "Sermon," Roman Catholics hostile to the free use of the Bible; extract on the Mediators of the Church of Rome, 450.
- Romish Church*, the, always taught the doctrine she now does, 217.
- Ruskin's Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 55; the study of architecture fashionable, 56; exclusiveness of ecclesiologists, 57, 58; Mr. Freeman's writings, 59, 60; on architectural progress, 61, 62; Mr. Ruskin views architecture with a painter's eye, 63; the strength of his expressions, 64, 65; his keen perception of beauty, 66, 67; his principle, that we should in all things do our best, 68; and work for posterity, 69, 70; his theory of beauty, 71, 72; of the choice of a style, 73, 74; his condemnation of restorations, 75, 76.
- Scott*, W., his "Lolio and other Poems," 178; poetic genius requires stirring events to sustain it, 179; Mr. Scott's poems full of a restless, ungovernable imagination, 180, 181; extracts from his "Life and Death," 182, 183.
- Shirley*, Mr. Evelyn P., his Researches into the History of the Church in Ireland during the reigns of Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, 315.
- Simmons*, Mr., his sad account of the moral and religious state of the Poor in our towns and cities, 151, 152.
- Southey's Life and Correspondence*, 77; the principles of selection observed, 78, 79; Southey's intended autobiography, 81, 82; his school life, 83, 84; his scheme of Pantisocracy, 85, 86; his conscientiousness, 87, 88; his clandestine marriage, 89—91; his correspondence with Sir Robert Peel about his pension, 92—95; he refuses a seat in Parliament, 96—98; or to write in the Edinburgh Review, 99, 100; his sense of personal responsibility, 101; he foresees the danger of Free trade, 102; his views on the Reform Bill, 103, 104; on Roman Catholic emancipation, 105, 106; his anticipations of external danger to

the Church, 107, 108; and internal, 109; his claim to be heard as a watchman in Israel, 110.

Spiritual Direction, 249; as recommended by Dr. Pusey, 250, 251; his letter to Mr. Upton Richards, 252; Mr. Dodsworth's attack on him, 253; and awkward admission about himself, 254; Dr. Pusey's theory of sacerdotal absolution, 255; which he does not enjoin, but recommends, 256; his interpretation of the term "Penitent," 257; which practically includes all true Christians, 258, 259; confession encouraged in the sisterhoods, 260—262; other changes beside that of being no longer compulsory, 263; Usher's opinion on this point, 264; habitual confession not enjoined by our Church, 265—267; not practised in the Jewish Church, 268; nor mentioned in Holy Scripture, 269; the practice and teaching of the primitive Church, 270, 271; the public absolution generally suffi-

cient, 272; according to Dr. Bisse and Hooker, 273; the inexpediency of making confession the rule of life, 274, 275; not essential to the full development of penitence and humility, 276—278; Dr. Pusey earnestly entreated to reconsider his course in that matter, 279; the effects of recent events on the minds of the English people, 280.

Warter, Rev. John Wood, his "Plain Protestant's Manual," popular discourses on the principal errors of Romanism, 434; the dealings of Rome with Holy Scripture, 435.

Warter, Rev. J. W., his Sermons, 48; of the style and principles of our old English divines, 49; sermon on early piety, 50; on infant baptism, 51, 52; on holy communion, 53; and on the falling from the Lord's Supper, 54.

Williams, Rev. Isaac, extracts from his Poem of "The Seven Days; or, the Old and New Creation," 189, 190.

END OF VOL. XV.

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The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry, no matter how small, should be recorded to ensure the integrity of the financial data. This includes not only sales and purchases but also expenses and income. The text suggests that a consistent and thorough record-keeping system is essential for identifying trends and making informed decisions.

In the second section, the author addresses the challenges of budgeting and financial planning. It notes that many businesses struggle to stay within their budgets due to unforeseen expenses or changes in market conditions. The text provides several strategies to mitigate these risks, such as creating a contingency fund and regularly reviewing the budget to adjust for any deviations.

The third part of the document focuses on the role of technology in modern accounting. It highlights how software solutions can streamline the accounting process, reduce errors, and provide real-time insights into the company's financial health. The text encourages businesses to invest in reliable accounting software and to ensure that their staff is properly trained to use these tools effectively.

Finally, the document concludes with a discussion on the importance of transparency and communication in financial management. It stresses that clear communication with stakeholders, including investors and employees, is crucial for building trust and ensuring the long-term success of the business. The text advises businesses to provide regular financial reports and to be open to feedback and suggestions from all parties involved.