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THE FUTURE:

OR,

The Science of Politics.

BY

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AUTHOR OF "THE SECOND REFORMATION," ETC.

Ye shall know the Truth,
And the Truth shall make you free.
JOHN, viii. 32.

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PREFACE.

THE Art of Politics has its roots in Moral Science or Abstract Truth. Moral Science regulates Belief and Opinion, and these govern Human Action.

The Law which ought to regulate Belief and Opinion is TRUTH; that which ought to govern Actions is WISDOM,—the union of Truth and Liberty. Man is born free to act *as he pleases*, and yet he is responsible for his acts; and wise action comes from Truth

in connection with Freedom. Our Work on the Second Reformation treats of Principles; it therefore answers to the first division. It is a work on moral philosophy.

The present work treats of the result of these Principles on the Future, and is intended to supply the second division.

Politics may be stated thus:

I. Abstract Truth or moral philosophy.—This Science has reference to Belief and Opinion, and the Law which governs it is Truth.

II. Wisdom.—This Art has reference to Human Action, and the Laws which regulate it are Truth and Toleration.

Such is Politics, or the art of governing Human Action. It treats of the actions of Individuals and Governments, and, generally, of the affairs of Life. It embraces all Science that bears on the Conduct.

The material of all Science is Facts — the internal and external Facts of Experience. By this means we are enabled to decipher THE PAST, understand THE PRESENT, and foresee THE FUTURE.

"Knowledge is Power," because it confers power over the Future. It is because Knowledge is only partially developed, that the Future is so little known. The Future is subject to contingencies which cannot be foreseen; but, with that difference, the Future is as legitimate a study as the Past.

For the first time Theology (not Religion) takes its place among the Sciences; and, if the present attempt to trace the outline of a system of Politics carries Science into new and unexplored regions, and contributes to deliver Moral Philosophy from its present state of impotency, such must be ascribed to the incorporation of Theology with other

Science. Unless it can be shown that Theology does not bear on Public Opinion, there was no alternative but to include it. To deprive the scientific inquirer of facts affecting Religious Belief, is to debar him from the study of Human Nature, which of course furnishes the primary data from which Moral Science is derived.

Without Self-knowledge Moral Philosophy is impossible, and Man remains a riddle to himself. The world will no longer tolerate so palpable a limitation of the Rights of Conscience, for to this cause the slow progress of Knowledge and Civilization is owing.

In consequence of the introduction of Theology for the first time, that department of Science occupies a large portion of our space. Many difficulties had to be overcome, which accounts for our lengthened discussion on that important subject.

It does not appear that the Greek and Roman philosophers possessed more of the Knowledge of Wisdom than is to be found in the Books of Job and Proverbs, although they were surrounded by a higher state of civilization. The Greeks unfortunately turned their attention to metaphysics, a much more captivating study, but one by no means favourable to the development of KNOWLEDGE.

With regard to the present state of Politics we should say the preliminary requirements of the Science are in a high state of forwardness. But as every one arbitrarily takes up a creed of his own—and as all cannot be right—it is evident that the Science of Politics is yet in a chaotic state. This CONFUSION must be turned into ORDER, when intelligent men may be expected to think alike, and act from ascertained principles. Such is the destiny of the Science of Politics, and the march of

Intelligence. The means by which this progressive Civilization is to be effected are,

I. Increased Knowledge.

II. Improved Action and improved Legislation consequent on improved Knowledge.

Our two works embrace an unusually large field of inquiry, and we are not without hope that they contain the elements of *the whole Truth.* To give part and withhold part is not Truth, and we have spared no pains to comply with all its requirements.

The Regeneration of the World depends on the acquisition and propagation of correct Knowledge; and if the present work contributes in any degree to that regeneration, our object will be accomplished.

CHELTENHAM,
January, 1852.

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CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

It is strange that in these days of research the doctrines of Religion should be allowed to remain without any serious effort to inquire into their truth, or any endeavour to define their exact import, as if the well-being of the nation did not depend on its Religion. The unsatisfactory results of so called orthodox Christianity are apparent both in the small measure of good it confers, and the constant strife it keeps up; and these are primâ facie evidence that orthodoxy either contains error, or is very imperfectly understood.

Theological works are generally occupied with controversies which never discuss the question as to whether doctrines and practices are true or false. They treat doctrines relative to human standards, and not to abstract Truth as well as Scripture. The Almighty has given to man a Test by which we may know right from wrong, the true from the false; and yet we refuse to use this test, and upbraid those who do.

The misfortune of the World's position is, that the Laity know little or nothing of Theology, and the Clergy as little of Human Nature, arising from the peculiar direction given to their respective studies. To produce a combined knowledge which shall elicit Truth, is most desirable. Notwithstanding the progress made in knowledge and civilization, the attention of the Church is still directed to the Past, and not to the Present and the Future. It is not by looking backward upon an infant world that new light can arise, but by looking on the

present and the future in the light of the past. Instead of poring over musty volumes which have been ransacked a thousand times without yielding profit, let the Church go forth on the world and teach the knowledge of Truth, and protest against sin and untruth in every shape; then Ignorance will yield her sway, and sin and misery will cease to reign.

That errors in Belief should be discovered, is only what was to be expected, for Ignorance and Error precede Knowledge and Truth; but if we look for light by discussing what this man thought and another said and did a thousand years ago, we only deceive ourselves and perpetuate error. If we compare Scripture with Nature, the Truth will soon appear; and Science and Religion will be reconciled. If we read the Bible without reference to Nature, we worship the Word of God to the exclusion of his Works, thereby ignoring and disregarding the major part of the Revelations of the Supreme. This

sin will be entirely removed by the introduction of the test of Truth.

A Treatise on General Science like the present, to be worth anything, must have two requisites. 1. It must be comprehensive, and show the effect of its Doctrines on all the ramifications of Nature; 2. It must be in harmony with itself, and contain no inconsistencies. It will be necessary to bear these self-evident requisites in mind, if an answer be attempted. Unless principles be universally applied, so as to elicit the whole Truth, there can be no answer, for anything short of that is not Truth. If our works contain any untruth, they will admit of being answered; and this is the only manly course open to those whose interests may be supposed to be in danger.

In determining the Doctrines of our Faith, it is necessary to start from a fixed point; for without this the Intellect cannot act. We have opened the Scriptures with the belief that Regeneration is the object of Religion, and we

have interpreted all Scripture with reference to that self-evident object. The facts of Nature and the general scope of Scripture both attest the truth of this the governing principle of Religious Belief. If this preliminary point be granted, disagreements as to details cannot long exist. We call special attention to this point, should an answer be attempted. Let the object we have named be either denied or accepted; and if the object of the writer be to elicit Truth, he cannot refuse to grant us this request. In that case much good may be expected from a reply.

It has been urged, as an objection, that our system is too free; that perfect freedom of Conscience is incompatible with Civil and Religious Government. Our maxim is to leave the Conscience *free*, and at the same time to teach what is *right*. The first is the law of Nature, the last the law of Progress. As no Religion which is not voluntary can produce any effect on the soul, or on the general conduct and happiness of man, there is nothing to be

gained by curbing his liberty. Good cannot come from anything opposed to Nature or to Truth; and none will deny that Liberty is the birthright of every soul. It is not by inverting the order of Nature, or by introducing laws opposed to Nature, but by obeying Nature, and introducing laws by which Nature may be protected from the selfish acts of man, that Good can be produced.

Our system enlarges the sphere of the Conscience beyond what has hitherto been included under that term. Convictions of Truth, as well as those emotions which are known by the terms "a Good Conscience" and its opposite "Remorse," are emotions of Conscience. For obedience to the laws of Truth, Justice, Wisdom, and Expediency, Man is responsible; hence the sphere of the conscience is extended instead of being contracted. Personal Knowledge and Conscience are either identical or correlative. Knowledge, Conscience, Truth, and Intellect

will be found to be different aspects of the same thing.

We have often been taught from the Pulpit *that the effects of Grace are non-miraculous,* and all that we propose is to bring the doctrines of the Protestant Church into conformity with that Great Truth. As "Conversion" determines all the doctrines of Religion, our system *is substantially orthodox,* as that is preached from many Pulpits in and out of the Establishment. The changes proposed arise more from the undefined and undeveloped state of the Protestant creed than from actual error. This being the case, the reader will perceive that we have proposed no new Religion, but a new interpretation of the Scriptures. Our principles are not those of Destruction—but of Reformation (Improvement). If contending against unscriptural Miracles touches the essentials of Christianity, then our proposal is more than a Reformation; but as we do not go beyond that limit, it is evident that "Reformation"

is the proper title of the Work. To say that the change proposed affects the existence of Christianity, or any of the Institutions of the State, is to misstate the fact.

We have said that the principles of the Second Reformation have been obtained by a new Interpretation of the Scriptures, by the use of Knowledge and the faculty of Reason. That we should dare to use Reason in reading the Scriptures seems to be a serious fault; we are said to exalt the Intellect above the Scriptures, and so forth. Let us consult Bishop Butler on the office of Knowledge and Reason, and the fallacy of such an objection will appear.

On Reason, which is called the "candle of the Lord," Butler says:—

"I express myself with caution, lest I should "be mistaken to vilify Reason, which is indeed "the only faculty we have wherewith to judge "concerning anything, even Revelation itself."

The Revelations of the Works of God are of

equal authority with the Word of God. This is granted in the following words:—

"It is to be added, that Light and Know-
" ledge, in what manner soever afforded us, is
" equally from God."

Such is the use made of the Intellect by the author of "The Analogy of Nature and Revelation," and we venture to say there is no conclusion contained in our Works which these principles do not justify.

The Bible is the great bulwark of true Religion and Liberty. Without it the world would still be worshipping dumb Idols; and with all our boasted Knowledge and Liberty, we believe that modern Civilization would resort to Idol worship—under the auspices of Rome—should the Sacred Volume be lost.

If Christians wish to preserve their Bible in these days, when the press teems with sceptical productions, we must boldly open the Books of Nature and Revelation,—not with the view of keeping them asunder,—but with the object

of discovering the means of interpreting and reconciling them. This was evidently the view which filled Bishop Butler's mind, after having spent the greater part of his life in studying the analogy of Nature and Revelation; and when so great an authority in favour of the method we have pursued can be quoted, our conclusions ought to be seriously considered. God's word and works cannot be at variance; hence apparent inconsistencies must be ascribed to our imperfect knowledge of both.

It is only by making use of the test of Facts that an escape from the Idolatrous Doctrine of Transubstantiation is possible. Read the Scriptures without remembering facts, and that debasing Superstition must reign. "This is my "Body" must be taken in a literal sense; and the consecrated wafer must be received as the actual Body of Christ.

Read the Scriptures literally as regards Evil, and Original Sin must likewise continue to stifle inquiry and retard the progress of the World;

but take facts along with us, and both Errors are renounced. If we sin against Scripture in the one case, we do so in the other. The following quotation is our authority for such a course. "Who also hath made us able mi-"nisters of the New Testament; *not of the* "*letter, but of the spirit;* for the letter killeth, "but the spirit giveth life." — 2 Cor. iii. 6. Dr. Clarke, in explaining how many passages of the Scriptures ought to be read figuratively—although at first sight they appear to forbid that interpretation—states, that in the Hebrew, Caldee, and Caldeo-Syriac languages there is no term to express "mean," "signify," "denote." In these circumstances we ought freely to act upon the principle of deciding disputed questions by the test of Facts. No reason can be given why we should not interpret Scripture figuratively as regards Evil as well as regards the Body of Christ; and unless we apply the same rule to all Scripture, we read that Book

without rule, and disregard the first principles of Truth.

We do not question the Miracles of the Bible, nor the possibility of Miracles even in our own day: all that we require is "*evidence*" for such; and with regard to our Lord's divinity, and the truth of Revelation, there is no lack of well authenticated evidence, both as to the Miracles performed, and the divine Truths taught. We see no greater difficulty in accepting the mystery of the Incarnation than any other Miracle of the Scriptures. We should like to know how the Almighty could have spoken to man face to face except by the intervention of a man. It seems like a contradiction to suppose that a Spirit could be visible and yet omnipresent. "No man hath seen God at any time — the only begotten of the Father, he hath declared him."

To suppose that the Almighty had no power to work Miracles, or to perform any act not implying an absolute contradiction, is to deny

to God the prerogative of Creator, Preserver and Governor of the universe. To deny this power is atheism.

Until the Church adopts the Test of Truth as the ultimate appeal in all cases of controversy, it is evident she can have no definite or consistent Rule of Faith. This we shall now demonstrate.

If in one sentence we are told one thing, and in the next something opposite, the inevitable fruits of pulpit ministrations must be Infidelity and Scepticism. It might not be difficult to show that three-fourths of the Scepticism in the World arises from this cause.

We only once listened to a discourse on the Deity,—a subject seldom touched. It will illustrate the tendency of existing Doctrines to teach Infidelity and Scepticism, if we describe it; and it will prove how necessary it is that Knowledge and Reason should be applied without reserve to the interpretation of Revelation. The Preacher began by stating that the doctrine

of General Laws was the high road to atheism. A teacher of Divinity could not be ignorant of the fact that such Laws do exist, so this assertion (unless he intended to deny the fact) means that the Revelations of Nature do not proclaim the existence of God. We shall find, that, instead of the affirmative of that Truth having the effect of producing atheism, its denial has that effect.

The Preacher stated, that there were two errors to be especially guarded against in approaching the sublime subject to which his discourse was devoted. We were, on the one hand, to avoid supposing God to be a person, and, on the other, to be a principle. The Deity was neither of these, but something between the two. The doctrines of the Westminster Confession forced him to avoid either of these conclusions,—an inconsistency which he excused by stating that the Deity was incomprehensible. Here we learn the actual state of Orthodoxy in this great nation—God is

neither a person nor a principle; and, of course, being neither, he is annihilated, for a Spirit devoid of personality is certainly not a God. We grant that the *nature* of God is, and ever will be, incomprehensible—for the finite Intelligence cannot transcend its own nature, and comprehend the infinite Creator; but of course we deny that the *existence* of God is incomprehensible. We maintain that many of the doctrines of the Confession of Faith are inconsistent not only with the perfections of the Deity, but with his existence; and the Sermon quoted confirms this opinion.

We should like to ask the reverend Doctor, if he, or any other man, understands the Westminster Confession or the Thirty-nine Articles. The former is a Book compiled by fallible men like ourselves, and literally filled with inconsistencies; it is therefore a moral impossibility that it can be comprehended. The very existence of the Deity must be held in doubt in order to support a System of Doctrines which has

been rendered well nigh obsolete by the increase of knowledge, and which ere long will be consigned to oblivion. Are we told that the Confession of Faith is the result of the concentrated wisdom of our Episcopal and Presbyterian forefathers? True, but when a Book contains contradictions it condemns itself, whoever its authors may be. The Ecclesiastical Titles Act is likewise the result of the concentrated wisdom of England in the nineteenth century; and, as regards authorship, it is entitled to as much respect as the Work of the Westminster Assembly; and who will undertake to say that the Titles Act is a perfect measure?

Had the learned Professor remembered that there were such things as *Facts*, he could not have commenced with the statement that General Laws destroyed belief in the existence of God; and by taking along with him the facts that these Laws do actually exist, he would have established the Divine existence without any difficulty. Abjure Superstition, and its conse-

quent Scepticism, and it is impossible to avoid assent to the three great poles of Belief, the existence of God, the responsibility of Man, and the immortality of the Soul. It is impossible that the prophecy, that all are to know the Lord, can ever be fulfilled while contradictory Doctrines are maintained, for such are found to obscure both the attributes and the existence of the Almighty.

Mr. Macaulay supposes that the world will never come to think alike on Religion*—we do not think so. He bases his opinion on the experience of the past; but as man is a progressive being, that argument does not necessarily apply to the future. We *know* that a universal principle exists, which has only to be known, to produce a universal harmony as to the principles of belief and action. We do not doubt the difficulties which attend Education, but that the final

* Macaulay's Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes. Perhaps the best digest on the Catholic question in the English language. Longman & Co., price 1s.

triumph of Truth is only a question of time is an unquestionable truth. The supremacy of Truth must be conquered from reluctant nature step by step; but let us only get a satisfactory commencement, and progress will go on with accelerated speed as its perihelion is approached.

The question which the present conflict has to decide is, not merely whether there shall be a Reformation, but whether another Dark Age is before us. We must either conquer Rome or Rome will conquer us—we must either advance or go backward! The shattered condition of the Reformed Churches is owing to disunion; and as union is the certain fruits of Truth, we have only to arm ourselves with the shield of Truth, and our differences shall disappear, and, with a united and faithful testimony, the triumph of Protestantism is at hand.

By a moderate exercise of foresight any one will perceive that the change from an *exclusive* dependence on FAITH to OBEDIENCE TO

THE COMMANDMENTS OF CHRIST—the essence of the proposed Reformation—is sufficient to turn a partially-cultivated waste into a fruitful garden. Let the test of Religion be PRACTICE, and "the wilderness and the solitary places shall flourish and blossom as the rose." When reformed, Religion will be a reality. No Reformation which falls short of the change proposed can effect this, and nothing less can arrest the progress of Rome or rescue the World from the tyranny of Superstition.

'If the Christian will look at the question of Reformation more in the light of duty than of consulting his own feelings and wishes, and if he will estimate its worth more as a great public Good than as a matter of private feeling, we shall thank God, and take courage. There is a great want of moral courage; but we believe that an occasion for its exercise only requires to arise, to call forth the better feelings of our nature. We live in extraordinary times, and if there ever was a time when the cause of civil and religious

liberty demanded the exercise of self-denying patriotism, that time has now come, and to that feeling we make our appeal.

At a critical moment like the present, when the destinies of future generations hang on the issue of PUBLIC OPINION, and when very little may turn the scale for or against LIBERTY, every man owes a duty to the body politic to exercise his judgment, and only "to hold to that which is good;" and we write in the hope that men will at last be aroused to inquire into the state of Religion. We ask the reader to take a large and independent view of the whole question, not in the spirit of a narrow-minded sectarianism, but of Christian patriotism; and if he is not able to agree with all the details of our scheme of Reform, we doubt not he will accept its leading features.

All great Reforms come from a pressure from without, and it only requires that men should know the evil which now threatens the nation, in order to secure a glorious Reformation, se-

cond in point of time, but not in importance, to the Great Reformation of Luther. It will be a boon well worth all it may cost, for we cannot doubt it will deliver Civilization from a precarious and unsatisfactory condition—a condition which arises from the undefined and undeveloped state of PUBLIC OPINION.

The distinguishing feature of our system is the introduction of the Test of Truth. This test is already partially in use by the Protestant Church, and it is only in consequence of such use that the Protestant Church differs from Rome. This we have already pointed out; and it seems as plain, as that two and two make four, that we have only to be consistent and apply the test of Truth universally, in order to place the Protestant Church upon an immovable basis of Peace, Unity and Prosperity.

In interpreting the Scriptures we shall use two tests. The first is the Scriptures, the second is the Test of Truth. The one is the light of Revelation, the other the light of Na-

ture. The Scriptures are the groundwork, the Intellect (Knowledge and Reason) is the faculty by which to test its meaning. We shall not interpret the Scriptures upon the principle that every thing Protestant is good, or that every thing Catholic is bad, but we shall subject all BELIEF to a common standard.

CHAPTER II.

THE REMEDY FOR THE PAPAL-OXFORD AGGRESSION.

The Test of Truth.

The present Interpretation of the Scriptures is defective. We have proposed a new Interpretation, got from a comparison of Revelation with Nature.

Religious inquiry is usually occupied with questions relative to Faith, to the exclusion of Practice; now Truth demands that we should not only compare Scripture with Scripture, but Scripture with Nature. That Scripture should not only explain Practice (Nature), but Practice

explain Scripture. It is to the neglect of the test of facts that Revelation and Nature not only do not agree, but that many of the doctrines of our Faith contradict experience.

The Catholic finds a Test of Faith in a visionary standard which he sets up in the person of "the Church," and to this fiction the Church of Rome owes her unity and strength. Let the Protestant Churches be wise in their generation, and seek a Test that will produce that unity and strength which is now so much wanted; and when we can point to a test which is both true, and the certain means of unity and power, we cannot persuade ourselves that in this—the Church's hour of need—she will recklessly shut her eyes to an escape at once honouring to God and man.

We believe the Protestant Church will ultimately lapse into the Catholic, unless the Papal Aggression ends in a Second Reformation. This may be thought a mere fancy; but we shall now show that it is an opinion supported by so high

a degree of probability as almost to amount to a certainty.

The Scriptures admit of two distinct Interpretations. This fact was proven by our former Work. The one we have called the Supernatural, and the other the Natural Interpretation. The one includes belief in MIRACLES of daily occurrence, the other excludes such Miracles. The first is got by reading the Scriptures *without* reference to the facts of Nature, the last by reading the Scriptures *with* special regard to facts.

To decide the all-important question as to where "*the Truth*" lies, we have interrogated Nature. We have found that all EVIDENCE is on the side of *The Natural Interpretation;* accordingly we are entitled to pronounce that Interpretation THE TRUTH.

NATURE is the subject-matter of Revelation, and we cannot conceive a more certain test by which to determine the correct reading of the Scriptures than an appeal to it.

Let the agreement or disagreement of Nature with Scripture in future determine every disputed question of theology.

Such is the Test of Truth, and such is doubtless the appointed method by which the will of God may be determined in all cases of dispute. St. Paul exhorts the Church "to prove all things;" and, in recommending the Test of Nature as a remedy for religious disunion, we have complied with the injunction of the Apostle.

The test of the Catholic Church is the fallible WILL OF MAN, that of the Protestant shall be the infallible WILL OF GOD. Truth is the WILL of God.

Rome can appeal to the Supernatural Interpretation on behalf of many of her doctrines and practices. This fact accounts for the phenomenon, that a superstitious Church should—notwithstanding her impurity—triumph over a rival confessedly more pure. Rome is more consistent with herself than Protestantism, for

the doctrines and practices of the latter cannot be traced to either interpretation without undergoing considerable change.

The First Reformation was a step in the right direction. That step leaves the Protestant Church in a middle position between Truth and Error, and, being in this anomalous state, she can appeal to no consistent Interpretation for her Doctrines. Unlike the Catholics, she can neither say that she holds MIRACLES nor discards them, for either admission would be fatal; and, as everything must either be a Miracle or not, this difficulty meets the Protestant at every point. Protestantism may therefore be described as having one foot on the rock of Truth and the other on the trackless ocean of Superstition, and to this fact all her troubles may be traced.

When the Protestant discovers this fact he must either retrograde or go forward, for an untenable position is intolerable. He may be supposed to argue thus: To take refuge in

Rome is repugnant to the feelings, but even that is more agreeable than to be trodden down and despised; and to go forward to Truth, and undertake the accomplishment of another Reformation is almost too much for human nature to aspire to. Such may describe the position of the clergy and laity at this extraordinary juncture of the Church's history.

Truth and Error are opposite principles. They cannot dwell together in harmony, for their nature is to repel each other. The nature of things is therefore to settle down into a state either of total Light or of total Darkness; for a half-way position cannot be maintained when the attack comes. We must either vanquish Rome or be vanquished, and the crisis is at hand. Protestantism is not only divided against itself, but it contains much imperfection. It must either move on to "perfection," and accept the Test of Truth, or take refuge in Rome, or in a state of darkness as bad.

In the Providence of God the Protestant

Church is now placed on her trial. If she remain faithful to her Head, she will go forward boldly to Truth; but if slothful, and lays the flattering unction to her soul, "that all things shall yet be well," there can be no reformation and no hope. If the battle be lost, the vanquished will not have it in their power to say "it was the Lord's doing;" for they might have adopted a criterion of Faith, which would have given them the victory, and they refused.

It is proposed to cancel the Right of Private Judgment. This Right has always been considered the brightest gem of the Reformation, and so essential is it to liberty and the maintenance of a pure Faith, that were it lost the Reformation of Luther would be virtually repealed.

To allow any class of men to arrogate to themselves the exclusive right of interpreting the word of God, of forgiving sins, and of opening and shutting heaven and hell to all

believers, there is an end of liberty. No check can be put on the authority of a Priesthood so constituted. When the Right of Private Judgment is annulled, the Clergy may interpret the Bible to suit their own purposes. A people in the possession of the rights of Conscience who would listen to such a proposal are unworthy of liberty. Such is the danger which threatens the liberty of this nation; and, as the Church of England is not only assailed with this demand from without, but from many deluded members within, it is a danger of no ordinary magnitude, and one which may well provoke our exertions to put an end to the Papacy.

Such is the Papal-Oxford Aggression, for which a remedy is so ardently sought by every friend of Civil and Religious Liberty.

If men will not listen to anything but what pleases, they cannot complain if no one will venture to tell them *the whole Truth*, and with a Reformation this argument may be used, if

complaints are made that they have been kept in the dark.

The slow progress of TRUTH does not arise from the difficulty of finding it, nor from want of confidence in its authority when found, but because men dislike to be rebuked by it. This fact is as true of Modern Civilization as it was of the Jewish nation eighteen hundred years ago; and so long as our Saviour's rebuke to the Jews can be applied to the present age, Modern Civilization has little to boast of.

1. "Men have *loved* Darkness rather than light because their Deeds are Evil."—John, iii.

2. "He that *doeth* Truth cometh to the Light."—John, iii.

The first is the rule of the Feelings, the last the rule of the Understanding; the one indicates the source of Sin, the other its cure. On the authority of the Saviour, we say it is incumbent on Man to prefer the rule of the Intellect to the rule of the Feelings, when the former comes into collision with the latter.

Truth is Divine, and when we thus give effect to our Convictions, at the call of Conscience, we obey the Will of God.

Having now defined the Test of Truth, we turn to its effects on the World.

The Fall of the Papacy.

The Church of Rome has never been understood, and when the day arrives when that system of superstition shall be fully known its knell is rung; and we believe it will be by pursuing the line of reasoning on which we have entered that that Mystery will at last be explained.

There is a great principle in the Roman Catholic Faith, if a fiction can be called a principle. Mr. M'Gaven used to say, that every man was born a Roman Catholic, and the longer one studies Human Nature the more clearly does he see that Superstition is natural to man.

I. Superstition.—The principle of Rome is the authority of the Priesthood over the Intellect

or Conscience of the People—this is *disobedience* to the Laws of Nature and Revelation, and therefore erroneous and non-progressive.

II. THE TRUTH.—The principle of Protestantism is the authority of the Intellect over the Feelings—such is *obedience* to the Laws of Nature and Revelation. Hence it is true and progressive.

III. SCEPTICISM.—To complete the circle of BELIEF, we must define the Religion of Reason, if such can be called Religion. The Rationalist faith is more negative than positive; his Religion and Philosophy may be comprehended in one word, DOUBT. Ask him if so and so be true; he will reply, it may be so, but he does not *know* it. Of Positive Knowledge he has none; hence, his is not the Religion of Intellect—which comprehends both Knowledge and Reason—but of Reason alone.

The inevitable result of an exclusive reliance on Reason is Scepticism. Without Knowledge and Conscience, on which Reason is to act, the

Rationalist soon reasons away his Reason; he pursues an endless circle, and ends where he began, in DOUBT. It is strange that it does not occur to such that they may lose as much by UNBELIEF as by OVER-BELIEF.

It may be asked if there cannot be a Rationalism which accepts of both Knowledge and Reason; we do not think there can. Religion comes from the feelings in connection with Reason; now so long as the Rationalist refuses to reason from the feelings as well as from other facts, we do not see how he can have any Religious Knowledge. Such is our reason for defining Rationalism to be the Religion of Reason, and not of the Intellect.

Since the Rationalist not only ignores Knowledge but the Feelings, his must be regarded as the most imperfect of all forms of Religion.

But while we denounce Rationalism, it must not be forgotten that the state of Religion, both in Catholic and Protestant countries, has mainly led to this. When we find Religion universally

professed, and all but universally set aside in practice—for that which cannot be understood cannot be practised—men are driven to Scepticism; and if we desire to save this country from that deluge of Scepticism which has taken possession of Germany and France, we must begin with reforming our faith, when the Church, instead of driving men away, will draw them to her. Scepticism arises from a mutilation of Nature: hence it is unnatural, and it cannot long survive if the cause is withdrawn. It is not without a reason that man will submit to the self-degrading belief that he knows nothing,—that Conscience is a deception. That cause is doubtless the contradictory state of Religious Doctrines; and if the Second Reformation removes this Evil, the school of David Hume will speedily die away.

Such are the three great categories of Belief: the first, is the Religion of the Feelings; the second, of the Intellect and the Feelings; and the third, the Religion of Reason. Than these

three phases of Belief there can be no other, and in one or other of these all Religions and Creeds must be placed.

The Spiritualist virtually sets aside the Scriptures, and in this he agrees with the Rationalist, but there the resemblance ends; but that coincidence does not make a Spiritualist a Rationalist, as some have supposed.

The Catholic, Tractarian, Spiritualist and Socialist all prefer the Feelings to the Intellect; These systems may all be traced to the same principle: we accordingly place them in the first category, although in the development of the feelings they all differ. This combination may excite surprise; but if these systems either amalgamate or act in harmony with each other, it will only be what we expect.

When we compare the Protestant with the Catholic Faith on the one hand and with the Rationalist on the other, the superiority of the Protestant Religion must be acknowledged. It alone embraces all the functions of Nature,

while its opponents are so defective that the one ignores Knowledge and Reason, and the other Knowledge and the Feelings.

The Protestant says to the Catholic, accept the Intellect and join us, or reform your own Church. To the Rationalist he says, submit to Knowledge and respect the Feelings of Nature, and no longer deny yourselves the blessings of Religion.

We shall now confine our attention to Catholicism and Protestantism.

The Creed of our opponents is indulgence of the Feelings, and denial of the Intellect, two principles alike suited to a primitive state of society, and very grateful to the natural man; hence the success of Rome in all ages and nations. The religion of the Protestant is an inward warfare—SELF-DENIAL—a Religion which can only flourish in an advanced state of civilization.

On the side of Rome is *uncultivated* NATURE—a Religion which is pleasant, and one

which unites men under a common head, but along with this advantage, the Catholics have to contend with moral and physical Evil. This state of suffering will force the Catholics to throw off the yoke sooner or later.

On the part of the Protestants there is Truth and the physical and moral Good which attends that principle. This Heavenly guide will maintain harmony in the Protestant camp, to the extent of the obedience rendered to its dictates. To be successful, our warfare must ever be aggressive, for obedience to Truth implies exertion. The moment our educational efforts are slackened, Nature steps in and a revival of superstition is the consequence. When the labour of the moral husbandman ceases, Nature resumes its original state. It is only by a sustained crusade against Ignorance that the Protestant Religion can be maintained. The Protestant has Original Nature against him and Good with him; the Catholic Original Nature with him, and Evil against him.

These opposite Principles are the forces which are to contest the battle of the Second Reformation, and the issue of the conflict will depend very much on the spirit in which the Church of England meets the case. On her rests an overwhelming responsibility; for the course she takes in dealing with the Oxford and Papal Aggression questions will probably decide the fate of all the Churches of the Reformation.

With this definition of the two Churches there remains no longer any difficulty in dealing with the Papal question, or of estimating the future destinies of the two Churches; for if we have ascertained the respective causes of the contending Churches, it ought not to be difficult to define and apply the remedy.

The Protestant must encourage KNOWLEDGE and LIBERTY. He must submit to the authority of the Intellect, and deny the Feelings where they come into collision with that faculty. This conduct will consolidate and advance civi-

lization, and place Protestantism on a secure basis. So much so, that ere very long SELF-DENIAL will give place to that perfect balance of the Intellect and the Feelings—THE SUPREMACY OF THE CONSCIENCE—which is the intention of the Creator and the goal to which all things tend.

This progressive state of the world will speedily affect the Catholic Church. The reforming spirit of the age will force the Catholics, like the Protestants, to demand a Reformation of their Churches—a demand which can only be refused at the risk of the Catholic laity joining the Protestants. Behold the signal for the grand union of the Christian Church, when there shall no longer be Protestant or Catholic, but when the name of "CHRISTIAN" will embrace the civilized world and unite all Churches in one universal Faith. Then the Bishop of Rome will confine himself to his own diocese, and there is an end of the Papacy. Then the other Bishops and Clergy of the Catholic

Church throughout the world will regain their liberty. Such is the glorious destiny which the Protestants have in their power to realize.

Let it not be thought we are painting the future in the language of the enthusiast. Not many years shall pass before the Work commenced by Luther three hundred years ago shall be completed by the universal adoption of the principles of the Protestant Church, if the Protestants themselves are true to their own principles, and accept THE TEST OF TRUTH. Let private feelings give way before the august majesty of Truth, and in thus obeying the God of Truth our courage shall be rewarded by the glory of delivering a world from Error, Oppression, and Suffering; and we shall receive the reward of a good conscience, which the world can neither give nor take away.

It must not be supposed that this great work can be achieved without adequate means being set agoing and sustained.

We must never forget that, powerful as our Engine—THE INTELLECT—is, that the Feelings are also powerful, and have always been dominant since the world began. The object of the Protestant is to overthrow this rule, and substitute the supremacy of the Conscience—a glorious work, worthy of many centuries to complete.

The means of Reformation are:—1st. A Reformed and Extended Church; 2nd. National Education; 3rd. The material interests of the Nation placed upon a secure basis of truth and equity; (These Reforms have been fully explained by our chapter on Civilization;) and 4th. A central Representative Body to watch over and direct the energies of the entire Church throughout the world.

The object of the Second Reformation is not only the Reformation of the Protestant and Catholic Churches, but the conversion of the Heathen and Mahometan. To accomplish this great work and mission, a seminary for the

instruction of Missionaries in every language under heaven is required, and such must be established in London or elsewhere. This College of all Nations will form a nucleus and medium by which every section of the Protestant Church will be corresponded with, and the respective wants of every Church and Nation known. A meeting of delegates from all nations must be called for the consideration of such a plan of operations, and we recommend the suggestion to the serious consideration of the friends of the Protestant Church, and of the great cause of Civil and Religious Liberty.

Catholicism rests on opinion. Let Truth penetrate the mass of fictions which compose that system, and its errors and usurped power will vanish. Truth shall at last prevail, not only in the Catholic Church, but over error in every Church and Nation.

CHAPTER III.

HUMAN BELIEF

SUBJECTED TO THE TEST OF SCRIPTURE AND THE TEST OF EXPERIENCE.

We now approach a very important and difficult part of our subject, but as all parties are agreed that Scripture and Nature cannot disagree, it is not a hopeless task. We know that the remedy for Religious controversy exists, and that its discovery will be made by some one.

Man is possessed of two independent sources of information, viz. Scripture and Nature. To

arrive at the Truth, in the case of disputed questions, it is necessary that both sources be used. We must either take Nature for the groundwork of Religious Belief, and make Scripture the test of its revelations, or make Scripture the basis and Nature the test. Believing as we do in Revelation, we adopt the latter course.

A thing cannot be and not be at the same time; for instance, it is impossible that the wind could blow east and west in the same space and at the same moment. With this self-evident maxim before us, we maintain that a special Providence cannot be supposed to co-exist with a general Providence. Such a combination is either a physical impossibility, or one that would be self-destructive. We know the existence of a general Providence; but as there is an entire absence of evidence for a single special act of Providence since the days of the Apostles, we know nothing of a special Providence.

Bishop Butler grants that the natural government of the World is carried on by general laws, as the following extracts show.

"The Natural Government of the world is carried on by General Laws. For this there may be wise and good reasons; the wisest and best, for aught we know to the contrary. * * * We find that interpositions (Miracles) would produce evil, and prevent good; and, for aught we know, they would produce greater evil than they would prevent, and prevent greater good than they would produce."

In addition to this *visible* system of Providence, the Bishop supposes there is an *invisible* Providence, which may likewise be general. This view is explained as follows:—

"The credibility that the Christian dispensation may have been, all along, carried on by General Laws, no less than the course of Nature, may require to be more distinctly made out. Consider, then, upon what ground it is we say, that the whole common course of nature is car-

ried on according to General fore-ordained laws. We know, indeed, several of the general laws of matter; and a great part of the natural behaviour of living agents is reducible to general laws. But we know, in a manner, nothing, by what laws storms and tempests, earthquakes, famine, pestilence, become the instruments of destruction to mankind. And the laws, by which persons born into the world at such a time and place, are of such capacities, geniuses, and tempers; the laws by which thoughts come into our mind, in a multitude of cases, and by which innumerable things happen, of the greatest influence upon the affairs and state of the world—these laws are so wholly unknown to us, that we call the events, which come to pass by them, accidental; though all reasonable men know certainly, that there cannot, in reality, be any such thing as chance; *and conclude, that the things which have this appearance are the result of General laws, and may be reduced into them.* It is then but an exceeding

little way, and in but a very few respects, that we can trace up the natural course of things before us to general laws. And it is only from analogy that we conclude the whole of it to be capable of being reduced into them, only from our seeing that part is so. It is from our finding, that the course of nature, in some respects and so far, goes on by general laws, that we conclude this of the rest. Now, *if the revealed dispensations of Providence, and miraculous interpositions, be by general laws*, as well as God's ordinary government in the course of nature, made known by reason and experience, there is no more reason to expect, that every exigence, as it arises, should be provided for by these general laws or miraculous interpositions, than that every exigence in nature should, by the general laws of nature: yet there might be wise and good reasons, that miraculous interposition should be by general laws, and that these laws should not be broken in upon, or deviated from, by other miracles.

Upon the whole, then, the appearance of deficiencies and irregularities in nature, is owing to its being a scheme but in part made known, and of such a certain particular kind in other respects. *Now we see no more reason why the frame and course of nature should be such a scheme, than why Christianity should.*" We make no apology for the length of a quotation so rich in the materials of thought as the one now given.

Instead of saying that Divine Providence is probably general, Reason calls on us to take that for granted. Interpositions would do more harm than good; and a double system, carried on upon opposite principles (if different they must be opposite), would be destructive of each other, and, therefore, incompatible. What is usually called Special Acts of Providence are doubtless nothing more than the results of the General Acts; for in every case, where these results can be traced, their causes are general, and not particular. No one doubts that a

general system of Providence is the ordinary course of the Divine Procedure. That being the case, special acts of Providence must form the exceptions; and we maintain that *Evidence* is required to constitute an exception. This is the only safe course of Belief; and as the view man takes of the acts of God is the foundation of Human Belief, it is of vital importance that the principle acted on be sound, and such as Nature will not disown.

It is a most dangerous doctrine to assume that there are two systems of Providence, and in the absence of Evidence it is quite unwarranted. This is the doctrine that the Roman Catholics use in support of their Miracles;* and we need scarcely say that if the principle be granted, they (the Catholics) have as much rea-

* "This comes of it,—that there are two systems going on in the world, one of Nature, and one above Nature; and two Histories, one of common Events, and one of Miracles; and each system and each history has its own order."—*Newman's Lectures*, 293.

son to believe their miracles as the Protestant has for his. There is no doubt that Miracles have ceased since the days of the Apostles, and that all the acts of God, whether manifesting themselves in outward things, or in the mind of man, have either General effects, or are the results of General Laws, and form one perfect system of Providence, by which the Supreme preserves and governs Man.

It is impossible to check the spread of superstition so long as a double system of Providence is held, for that is a principle which admits of any possible absurdity, and if Romish errors are ever to be put down we must commence with fixing what our own belief in Providence is; and with the opinion of Butler, that both systems are probably general, one would suppose there exists no difficulty in granting the conclusion to which we have come.

Belief in a general Providence determines the origin of all events. It says, that although the institution of Grace, like the creation of

the World, is supernatural, yet its effects in Man are natural, and non-miraculous. Were the acts of God particular and not general, there could be no Foreknowledge and no Wisdom and Prudence; and to indulge in any other belief is to destroy FORESIGHT and KNOWLEDGE in proportion to our belief in special Providences.

The great cause of Evil has generally been ascribed to Original Sin. We hold that its true cause is Ignorance, or want of Knowledge.

We cannot practise RIGHT CONDUCT without Knowledge, except by instinct and chance; hence true practice is contingent on Knowledge. *The* WANT OF KNOWLEDGE *is therefore the primary cause of Evil.* This axiom is undeniable.

There are two subordinate causes of Evil, which we shall call secondary; the first is, WANT OF OPPORTUNITIES: for practice must from this cause, as well as from ignorance, ever

fall short of Knowledge. The other secondary cause is SIN.

When we possess the requisite knowledge, and *will* not follow its dictates, then it is not Ignorance, but the *Will*, which is at fault. Knowledge and Practice not only affect the acts of Man, but they increase and renew the Will. It is Practice *alone* that makes and fashions the Will—an evil Practice will make a perverse Will, and vice versâ. "They that do the Truth, come to the light."—John, iii.

Than these three causes of Evil, viz. Ignorance, Want of Opportunity, and Sin, we know of no other. And if the advocates of Original Sin fail to point out any other cause of Evil, we shall claim an award in favour of "the Second Reformation."

We do not question the existence of Sin, nor do we suppose that sin will ever entirely cease; but this we do assert, that when Knowledge is increased, and the mists of Superstition and Scepticism are removed from the minds of men,

Evil will cease in proportion to the increase of knowledge.

The Almighty has attached Reward to *right conduct*, and Punishment to *wrong conduct*, viz. Happiness and Unhappiness. When Education is advanced and Truth generally known, all will see it their interest to obey its principles, because they will observe such to be the constitution of things. In consequence of the Laws of Nature it is the interest of every man to practise that which is good—"Honesty is the best policy." It is because Happiness is connected with Justice and Truth, and the opposite with Injustice and Error, that we look forward to improved Practice in proportion to the improvement of Knowledge. It is thus manifest that Knowledge is the primary requisite to secure a greatly improved state of society, and one in which Unhappiness will form the exception, and not the rule, as at present.

Our Saviour found the world filled with wickedness, in consequence of the unrestrained

indulgence of the passions and feelings; and, by preaching Righteousness, he published that everlasting Gospel, which is destined to fill the whole Earth, and deliver mankind from bondage, according to his promise, "Ye shall know the Truth, and the Truth shall make you free" —free from the dominion of the Passions and Feelings, and free from Oppression and all the Evils arising from Ignorance.

The purpose of the Supreme is to create a race of Intelligent Beings. To effect this purpose, external Nature, in all its variety of adaptations, is created. When this nursery of souls is prepared, Man, the object of creation, is brought forth.

Upwards of six thousand years have rolled on since man was planted on the earth; and although he has made great progress, there remains much to be done—evil still exists in excess. Man must commence his career from a state of abject ignorance; for his Creator could not give him knowledge, and yet order that his

soul should be developed from this life. The Soul is developed from Experience; therefore Knowledge—the result of Experience—could not be given by God. This is the reason why Man is born in Ignorance, and why the race must begin with the uncivilized state. Man is here to gather in the experiences of Nature, and transmit them to immortality. Nothing is created in vain, and nothing lost.

God cannot create contrary to his own nature, or perform any act that implies an absolute contradiction—he could not grant to man original knowledge, and at the same time ordain that nature was to be the means of giving the necessary knowledge. To give knowledge would be to defeat the object of nature; hence all the evils which come from ignorance are unavoidable. Evils act as stimulants to man to exert himself for their removal. Unhappiness in all its forms is necessary for the development of the soul; but it is not suffering, but relief from suffering, that is good. It is certain

that nature is perfect, or it would long since have gone out of order and ceased to exist. It was not created in a cultivated state, but "in a state of nature" that it was made over to man. Nature was perfect as a scheme to progress and develope itself through the independent agency of man. As a means to a definite end, creation is absolutely faultless.

The mission of man is to produce Good, or reduce Evil. The laws of nature are the laws of progress; and such are the capabilities of man, that it is impossible to set any limits to the conquests which shall yet crown his efforts. The evil of original nature is the want of control over the feelings—this evil decreases as the restraining power of intellect is evolved. We therefore infer that the limit of perfection on the earth will be reached when a perfect harmony exists within the soul. The facility given to education by the invention of printing ought to hasten this consummation; and we believe that all that is wanting to put civili-

zation in a healthy state for progress is a reformation in public opinion.

Man cannot obey what he does not know; he has therefore to grope his way in the dark; he has to emerge step by step from ignorance, error and superstition, to truth. His past history is thus a tissue of disappointments; and on looking back on the history of the world, we must acknowledge that ignorance, and not the will—which depends on Knowledge and Practice—has been the great cause of the slow progress of man. For these reasons we conclude that the origin of evil cannot be ascribed either to God or man.

To ask why Ignorance exists, is to ask why nature exists, for the existence of the one has been shown to involve the other. If any one will inform us why God could not create intelligent beings without the creation of nature, then we shall answer the question as to the existence of evil. Until then, we must remain satisfied with knowing that *a thing cannot be and not*

be at the same time; for to this cause have we traced evil, and beyond this point man cannot go.

Conversion.

To satisfy the reader that Grace—the Divine means of Conversion—is nothing more than Divine Truth or Knowledge, and that its effects operate inwardly without any miraculous or supernatural agency, we adduce the following passages in proof.

"The seed is the Word of God."—Luke, viii. "Who shall ascend into Heaven," i. e., to bring Christ down from above, "or who shall descend into the deep," i. e., to bring Christ again from the dead. But what saith it, "The Word is nigh thee even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that is the Word of Faith which we preach."—Rom. x. 7 and 8. "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God."—v. 17.

These passages show that a miraculous con-

version is anti-scriptural, and that the Grace of God is the Word of God.

"This is the condemnation, that light has come into the world, and men have loved darkness rather than light."—John, iii. 18. "If I had not come and spoken unto them they had not had Sin, but now they have no cloak" (or excuse) "for their Sin." If I had not done among them the Works which none other Man did, they had not had Sin."—John, xv. 22 and 24. From these extracts we learn that Ignorance is the cause of Evil, and the Will (arising from evil Practice) the cause of Sin—Responsibility is here limited to Knowledge.

There is no word more apt to be misunderstood than that of "Spirit;" and unless we study the Bible with due regard to truth and consistency, there is no escape from error. "Spirit" sometimes means a Personal Spirit, and sometimes Character, Reason, and such like; and as the Bible has hitherto been left to be construed according to any view that happened to

strike the mind of the casual reader, we need not wonder that no two men agree on Religion.

It is especially necessary to have a new translation of the Scriptures, wherein "Spirit" where it means character may be distinguished from "Spirit" where it means a personal spirit; for, until this be done, there can be no end of controversy on the subject of conversion.

The Spirit of God is in those who obey the Divine Will; but where there is no obedience there can be no Divine Spirit, whatever the professions or belief of men may be.

As a second cause God is responsible for no act of man. St. Paul had a clear conception of the double work involved in the process of Conversion when he wrote these lines: "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God that worketh in you."—Phil. ii. 12. Conversion is impossible without God's work, and it is equally impossible without man's, unless by a Miracle.

If Miraculous Conversions were to be ex-

pected, the invitations of Christ would be mockery and his mission vain. If salvation came from special gifts of spiritual inspiration, God would be a respecter of persons, a lover of some and hater of others.

Conversion is either natural or supernatural. If Christians choose the former creed they agree to the Second Reformation, and if they take the latter, they break down the great difference in principle from the Roman Faith. If any one is inclined to question our views of Conversion, we must reply, by asking the objector to state whether Conversion is a Miracle or not. If Miracles be granted no line can be drawn between truth and error, for there is as much proof for one Miracle as another; and Truth, the Divine part of Nature, is forever foreclosed and ignored. The evil of the undefined state of Protestant Doctrines is now universally acknowledged. There is, happily, too much light now to allow this "half-way" state of the Protestant Church to stand much longer, for again

we repeat that we must either advance boldly, and entrench ourselves in Truth, or take refuge in Rome.

The object of religion.

"To love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and soul is the first and great commandment, and the second is—To love thy neighbour as thyself; on these two commandments hang all the Law and the Prophets."—Matt. xxii. 37. These words of our Saviour intimate what true Religion is—they convey as precise a definition of "Religion," "Righteousness," or "Right Conduct," as language can give.

"If I had Faith to remove mountains, and had not Charity (Love), my Religion is vain."—Cor. 13.

Love to God and love to man, stimulated and controlled by the Word of God, and by Knowledge and Reason, produces the renewed Soul. The emotion of love is the material of Religion, and perfect love to God and man is

perfect Religion. From LOVE—the creation of God, and OBEDIENCE—the work of man, all Religion must come. The word of God produces the motive; hence Grace is the cause of obedience.

That Grace may operate Man must feel his constant dependance on the love and mercy of God,—attributes abundantly set forth in the person and work of Christ. "We all, as in a glass, beholding the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image."

BELIEF or Faith is Truth received and dwelling in the Soul. It is this Spirit of Grace and Truth which affects the conduct and renews the will. Belief is necessary to Practice, but Belief is not the object, but the means. It is a very common mistake, in subtile questions like the present, to mistake the Cause for the Effect; and if we suppose Belief to be the object of Religion, or the sole ground of justification, we commit that error. This will explain those passages of Scripture which appear at first

sight to read as if Faith were the sinner's religion and justification.

Religion must be a thing to direct the CONDUCT, or it is not Christianity. To suppose that the object of Religion is to exalt God is to annul the object of the Saviour, which was to do good to man. The motive of God in the gift of Christ is his own glory. His object is the Regeneration of man. The object of man is self-improvement, so that he may glorify his Maker, and save his own soul.

It is only by obeying the Commandments of Christ—to act in life from the motive of love and justice—that we can glorify God. Mere profession is nothing: "Not every one that saith Lord, Lord, but he that doeth the will of his Father, is accepted of him."

Let the gospel scheme of Redemption be *understood*, the conversion and civilization of the world will go on satisfactorily. So little are we in the habit of using the Understanding that we do not recollect ever having heard the word

"*understood*" used in connection with Religion except once. It is as necessary to understand as to believe.

Before we can *understand* Religion, or turn it to profit, we must ascertain its object. Religion must have a definite object, or it cannot be put in practice. The object of Religion must either have reference to God or Man, for if it has a definite object it cannot comprehend both. Religion cannot be a reality to man in this life unless its object has reference to his Conduct.

Does faith in the assertion, that Man has fallen and that Christ has atoned for that fall, regenerate? It does not. The Heart remains as corrupt as ever. All admit this fact; but it is excused, and brought forward as a triumphant proof that original corruption is true, and admits of no actual cure. The reason why man does not improve is, that the object of Religion is placed on BELIEF to the exclusion of Obedience; for unless the Laws of God are

obeyed it is certain there can be no improvement and no regeneration.

Belief *alone* produces no inward change, but when Belief and Practice go together a change ensues. If this fact be never lost sight of, it will guide the reader in safety through all the intricacies of this much vexed but little understood question.

In treating of Human Nature in our former Work, it was discovered that a Good Experience, or Regeneration, was the object of life. It was proved that man is susceptible of actual Regeneration. This result is a proof of the truth of Scripture, and the advantage to be derived from comparing Scripture with Nature. The object of Life and of Religion must be substantially one, and when we name REGENERATION as the object of Religion we state a truth to which all will assent.

The object of Life and of Religion is to improve Original Nature, or to renew the Natural Man. Born the slave of impulse, man is raised

above the natural state by the practice of Religion. As the natural herb is to the cultivated plant, so is the natural man to the renewed man.

Regeneration—the object of Religion—is a fixed point. Place Justification where you will, the object named remains the same; for unless the object of Religion be changed from Man to God, (which deprives Religion of a practical object,) Regeneration is the object. We therefore approach the difficult subject of "Faith and Works" from a definite point, and one which must determine the whole question.

John the Baptist preached Repentance, and not Faith in imputed Righteousness. Our Saviour followed, and his preaching corresponded with John's in every respect. Had Christ come for the purpose of furnishing in his own person an ideal transference of righteousness, he would certainly have said so; but on an examination of the four gospels it will be found that Christ is not only silent on the subject, but, on the

contrary, he insists on repentance and personal righteousness as the only gate of heaven. He speaks of his death as necessary for the Redemption of the world; but that he taught the people that they were to trust in his righteousness, and not on their own obedience to his Commandments, is directly opposed to the fact.

We should like to know what was the meaning of calls to repentance and reformation if Man had no power to repent and reform. Who was so highly honoured with the revelations of Christ as the apostle John; and as his Gospel is the last written of all the books of the Bible it would certainly have contained the doctrine of Imputed Righteousness if that had been intended as the object of Faith. Christ's Death and Resurrection were necessary for the salvation of the World, but that does not necessarily involve so contradictory a doctrine as imputed Righteousness.

We shall now be asked, if we can account for certain passages in the Epistles which coun-

tenance the doctrine of imputed Righteousness. Granting, as we do, the inspiration of the Scriptures, we cannot undertake this; at all events, not from the existing translation. But this we do say, that the difficulties attending the interpretation of the Scriptures vanish into nothing by rejecting imputed Righteousness, compared with adherence to that doctrine.

The zeal of the early Reformers, to deliver their countrymen from the yoke of the Papacy, led them into various errors, and none more injurious than that of retaining BELIEF as the sole ground of justification. To get rid of Devotional works of merit, such as Penance, Confession, Gifts to the Church, and the Forgiveness of Sins, granted by the Priests in exchange for these Works, they exalted Faith so far beyond its proper office as virtually to ignore the practice of RIGHT CONDUCT—thus the cure was worse than the disease; an error which has stopped the progress of the Re-

formation, and which will be its final ruin if not speedily corrected.

Such is our view of justification. It is the only one which harmonizes with Nature or Scripture. "Ye see then, how a man is justified by Works, and not by Faith only."—James, iii. 24. "Be not deceived, God is not mocked, for whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap."—Gal. vi. 7. "Until the Law, Sin was in the world, but when there is no law, Sin is not imputed."—Rom. v. 13.

We are aware that these quotations are not alone conclusive, because there are others which would countenance the opposite theory. In this dilemma what are we to do but interrogate Nature for a solution? And when we apply that test the whole difficulty vanishes, and we agree with St. Peter, that "to fear God and work Righteousness" is the whole Duty and Religion of Man.—Acts, x. 34.

Not to detain the reader with any further proofs, we may state generally that there is no

principle or conclusion of "The Second Reformation" which may not be substantiated by an array of Scripture surpassing any Evidence that can be found for the Orthodox Creed; and if this statement be doubted, let us have a system, upon the orthodox or any other theory, that we may subject it to a fair and impartial comparison with our own.

THE JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.

The Schism in the Church of England arises from a difference of opinion on the office of the Clergy. The high church party claim the concession of a special divine authority to the Priesthood, involving the exclusive right of interpreting the Oracles of God, and the unchurching of all churches, who do not claim a similar origin. The Evangelical party see in this demand the essence of Romanism and the cancelment of the right of Private Judgment. This claim is of course a betrayal of the principles of the Church of England and of the

Protestant cause. It is an attempt to rear up a Hierarchy and Church on the model of Rome and of the Priesthood and Ceremonial of the Mosaic Dispensation.

The notion of a Priesthood is either borrowed from the Jewish worship, or arises from the error of confounding the two systems. The Jews had a hereditary Priesthood, a Daily Sacrifice —the burning of Incense, and so forth—and so have the Catholics. If the Jewish Religion is to be the model of the Christian Church, we must pronounce in favour of the Catholic form of worship. But as we cannot read the New Testament without perceiving that Christ came to put an end to the Jewish Church by substituting the Christian religion, it follows, that attempts to bring the Christian Church under the bondage of rites and ceremonies, after the Jewish fashion, are anti-Christian. Such attempts must be denounced as St. Peter did of old under similar circumstances. "Why tempt ye God to put a yoke on the neck of the

Disciples, which neither our Fathers nor we are able to bear?"—Acts, xv. 10.

The indiscriminate reading of the Old Testament in our Churches has tended to keep up a veneration for the Jewish Worship which was never intended, and dangerous to Christianity. The two Dispensations are as opposite in their characters as possible. The Jewish Religion says, Go through certain prescribed acts of Worship and your forgiveness is wrought out. This answers to the Works of Merit of the Catholic. The Christian Faith says, God is a Spirit, and they who worship God must worship him in Spirit and in Truth; i. e., not in outward acts of worship, but in the love and practice of true Religion. Not merely in Jerusalem, or in consecrated places, but everywhere, are the true worshippers to worship the Father.

The Jewish Religion has accomplished the purpose for which it was instituted—now let it pass away; why should they who inherit the promises burden themselves with a system

which is not only forbidden, but offers no advantages. The Reformation of Luther delivered the Christian Church from part of these burdens. The daily sacrifice of an Atonement was taken away, but Imputed Sin and Imputed Righteousness were left, which we maintain were as clearly borrowed from the Jewish Religion as the Mass—and it is certain that if Christ abolished the one, he also delivered Man from the burden of the other.

"For if that first covenant had been faultless, then should no place been sought for the second. This is the covenant I will make with Israel; I will put my laws into their minds, and write them in their hearts, and they shall not teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord, *for all shall know me, from the least to the greatest.* In that he saith 'a new covenant,' he hath made the first old. Now that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away."—Heb. viii.

If we desire to see a Reformation, and the

speedy fulfilment of prophecy, we must begin by clearing our minds from the error of mixing up the Jewish with the Christian Church. The fact that the Jewish Sabbath (our Saturday) has never been kept by the Christians, ought of itself to show that there is no practical connexion between the Church of the Jews and the Church of the Christians.

CHAPTER IV.

WEALTH.

Wealth is the surplus between income and expenditure. It is the savings of Individuals. Its production depends on two things, viz. Income and Expenditure.

The art of expending Income being less understood than that of producing it, we propose to direct attention to "Expenditure."

Wealth expended on living is Unproductive; that laid out on works—where a return is expected—is Productive. We shall begin with

Unproductive Expenditure.

Not only are expensive habits ruinous to the

Individual indulging in them, but the Nation loses by extravagance. Unless expenditure is kept under Income, Wealth cannot be increased, and the public good is certainly not consulted by expensive living. The necessary expenses of Life is a constant drag on the increase of Wealth. *To live* is the object of Wealth, yet the necessity of labour cannot be overcome but by the creation of a surplus. Now as the diminution of Labour ought to be the aim of Civilization,—that higher pursuits may be substituted,—it is most desirable that expensive habits should be avoided both by the rich and the poor.

It is generally supposed that the expensive habits of the rich do good by the employment afforded. If general good be meant, we dissent in toto to such a doctrine. If wealth is not spent in luxuries, it will find its way to productive employment, which will be a national gain, and special instances of loss will merely be temporary, as operatives thrown out

of employment one day will soon find employment in more useful departments of industry.

Productive Expenditure.

Many believe that expenditure on productive Works, such as Railways, Cotton Mills, &c., cannot be injurious to the national interests.

After the experience of 1847, it will not be difficult to expose this fallacy.

If a Manufacturer overbuilds himself, he is ruined, although his Works would have been profitable if he could have spared the means. He has not only gone beyond his own means, but beyond what his credit warranted, and although he struggles on for a few years, yet the expense he is put to in borrowing money on disadvantageous terms sweeps away the profits, and when the first panic comes round his failure is announced. This is probably the cause of nine-tenths of the failures of Manufacturers. Never was there a greater fallacy than to suppose that speculation may not be

disastrous, although it is such as ought to yield a fair return for the capital laid out.

The same may be said of the Nation. If the aggregate of Individuals (the Nation) over-build themselves, as they did in 1847, general distress and bankruptcy must ensue.

It may be laid down as a fixed principle, that although an individual may go beyond his capital by borrowing from his neighbour within certain limits, yet a Nation cannot spend more than its annual savings on Property without producing Evil. If the annual savings of the Nation be Sixty Millions, that sum ought to cover the national expenditure on *fixed Property* both public and private.

In 1845 to 1848 we expended a sum equal to our savings on Railways alone, and as the usual Works of the Nation went on at the same time, Great Britain—in those disastrous years —went beyond her means to at least double the legitimate amount.

We will be asked if the money paid out by

the Banker one month did not return the next. We answer it did not. The calls were permanently abstracted from the available Capital of the Nation and sunk. We will next be asked if by "sunk" we mean "lost." As regards the present generation, the capital is lost. After suffering unparalleled distress, consequent on excessive Railway expenditure, it is poor consolation to be told that our children will reap the benefit of our ruin.

By the expenditure of 1846, 1847 and 1848, one hundred and fifty Millions more than usual were taken from the employers and consumed by the employed. The workmen employed on Railways expended treble what they formerly had done. This new demand increased our imports, and created a deficiency of Capital. Bankers were unable to afford their customers the usual accommodation; Bankruptcy ensued, and workmen were thrown out of employment.

To this Evil was added a succession of deficient harvests, which still further swelled the

deficiency of food, which had to be made good by importation. From these two causes, 1st, *over* expenditure on fixed Property; and 2nd, bad harvests, do we owe a season of Bankruptcy and Distress unparalleled in the history of trade.

It was vainly supposed that the calls would come back. The coin was certainly not sunk in the embankments, but the food which the coin purchased was consumed. If we only leave out of view "the medium of exchange," there is no difficulty in perceiving how the hundred and fifty Millions expended have been permanently taken from the available Capital of the Nation.

The World had found out a new method of getting rich, and laughed at the remonstrances of the Economists. Science was right, but the Nation was much too self-willed to listen to her warning voice. Parliament might have checked the Evil by refusing to grant Railway Acts, but it either had no faith in Science, or had

not the moral courage to put a negative on the National Will.

It is certain that we cannot convert more of our floating Capital into fixed Capital than our annual savings will warrant without suffering loss, and no future promise of return can palliate such a mistake.

Credit.

It is as natural that one man should lend his savings to another, as impart his knowledge to another. This granted, it may be asked how far Modern Civilization is right in enforcing the rights of Creditors over their Debtors by penal Laws.

Legal recovery for debts is doubtless an evil —probably a necessary evil—which has led to incalculable evil and misery. When law comes in, honour goes out; and when we can leave Nature at perfect freedom in respect to buying and selling, great good may be expected.

We do not see how Commerce could be

carried on without some legal means of recovery for debts, but the power of the creditor over the debtor might be relaxed with great benefit to society. Future Legislation should be so directed that the Law of Debtor and Creditor may be modified as far as circumstances will allow. In respect of small sums, we think the time has come when an experiment ought to be tried, and until this is done, man's respect for honesty will not have been put to the test.

If Legislation is an Evil, that Evil will decrease with the advance of Civilization, and the future history of Legislation ought to be that of repeal more than enactment. The object of Legislation is not how many restrictions can be borne by the People, but how few will suffice for the ends of Government. Perfection is simple. To simplify the Laws and abolish unnecessary Laws ought to be the aim; and both these maxims might be applied to our commercial Code with great effect.

Bank notes, Bills and Mortgages are all

means by which lending and borrowing are facilitated. By Bank notes the Public lend to the Banks, and by Bills the Banks lend to the Public, and so on.

We are now prepared to say what Capital or Wealth is. Capital is anything that possesses an exchangeable value, such as Lands, Houses, Ships, Factories, Goods, Coin, &c. Bank notes and other securities are Debts. These are not capital, but only the evidence of Capital lent. To the holder these securities represent part of his property. In treating of Wealth it is important that Debts should not be mixed up with Capital. It will simplify the science very much if nothing but actual property was counted on the one hand, and nothing but debts on the other.

The debts of a Nation doubtless bear some proportion to its capital. If the Bank notes, Bills, Mortgages, and other debts, both public and private, be added together, the sum would

probably be equal to what may be fairly called "the floating capital of the Nation."

It is usual to divide Capital into two parts. This is to a great extent arbitrary, as the only difference between floating and fixed capital is in degree. There is no real distinction between the two kinds of Capital. The necessaries of Life constitute the chief item of floating Capital; and it is only because goods are more easily converted into money than heritable Property that there is any distinction between the two descriptions of Capital.

To show that Currency and Wealth are two distinct things, we need only mention that the Coin in circulation does not exceed fifty millions, whereas the floating Capital alone will be ten times that amount. A small quantity of coin in proportion to the business transacted is only required, and if we would keep the medium of exchange out of view when we become political economists, we would find no difficulty in dealing with questions relating to Wealth.

Coin.

What is a pound?

To this question we cannot answer it is twenty shillings, for that would lead us to the question, what is a shilling, and so on.

In reply to the question, we say that a pound is a measure of value arbitrarily chosen, but universally agreed on. By this measure the relative value of every article of commerce is ascertained. The present value of a pound is the weight of gold contained in a sovereign at £3 : 17*s.* 10½*d.* an ounce.

This "measure" being arbitrarily chosen, it may be altered at pleasure, without affecting the real value of commodities—the value of which is not arbitrary. To change the established measure for ascertaining values is undesirable, as it would be a long time before the Public could learn to convert values by a new measure.

Currency is the coinage of a Nation. It either consists, or ought to consist, of coins equal

to the value of the metal of which they are composed.

The measure of value of Great Britain is the weight of gold contained in a sovereign at £3 : 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce. If the price of gold falls under that price, and the weight of the coin remains unaltered, a change in the measure of value is the result.

Having stated the principle upon which "currency" rests, we proceed to examine those circumstances which will speedily call for consideration and legislation.

The annual produce of gold has been trebled since the discovery of the mines of California and Australia; and this liberal supply may be expected to be maintained, if not increased. It is no longer a question whether the price of gold will be reduced, but what the contemplated reduction may be.

The Bank of England will soon find itself in the position that she must demand release from the obligation laid upon her to purchase

gold at a fixed price. When this may occur, it is difficult to foresee, but it cannot be far distant. When the Bank is set at liberty, the price of gold will of course go on receding until it finds its level, like any other article of commerce.

What ultimately regulates the price of any article is the cost of production. In the case of mines, the plentifulness or scarcity of profitable fields affects the price; but with the single exception of gold, no important metal has long maintained the position of being a monopoly. Gold has at last ceased to be such.

Gold-fields seem to be inexhaustible, and in future the cost of production will be the chief regulator of its price. Taking this for granted, a great reduction in the price of gold may be expected in the course of the next few years. That gold will fall to one-half its present value there is no doubt; but if it falls much below that point, the production would probably fall off, and the price recover.

No alteration in the price of gold can affect the real value of Property or Commodities, but if we wish to retain our present *measure of value* (a pound) unaltered, legislation will be necessary.

If gold is allowed to fall in price, public and private creditors would suffer injustice. Debts contracted when the sovereign was worth one pound sterling would—in the event of Gold falling to 40*s.* an ounce—be payable with sovereigns worth only half a pound.

There is a simple method by which this evil may be avoided without loss or inconvenience. Let the weight of Gold and Silver coins be subject to increase or decrease in weight according to the selling price of gold and silver. Let *the present weight of the sovereign* and *the present price of gold* remain the standard, and all changes of weight calculated therefrom.

Suppose a fall of ten per cent. in the price of gold, all the government would have to do would be to call in the sovereigns and re-issue

them of a weight ten per cent. greater, and so on with every important change. This would always keep the sovereign at the same value (a pound), and even the apparent price of Property and goods would be insensible to any change in the value of the precious metals.

The value of Silver depends mainly on the cost of production; for this reason it is unlikely that any change in the value of Gold can seriously affect it. If it were desirable to maintain the old system of a fixed value of the precious metals, the standard might be transferred from Gold to Silver. This, however, is very undesirable. Money panics have ever exhibited great embarrassment to the strong as well as the weak, and while this anomaly continues, it is primâ facie evidence that something is wrong.

Whether it be true or not that money panics are brought on by the arbitrary acts of the Bank, in connection with the maintenance of a forced value of gold, it would be a pity—when

a change is imperative, at any rate—if we did not take the opportunity of exchanging a doubtful system for one which is safe, because it is natural.

Under the system suggested, neither trade nor property could be affected by the rise or fall of Gold, whereas under the present system trade is ever exposed to sudden panics from any slight derangement of the foreign exchanges.

Such is all that seems necessary for the present work on the important subject of Wealth, and the result is,

1. That the Wealth of the Nation depends on Prudence as well as Diligence; that if men go on spending to the utmost of their means, there can be no relief from Labour and Commercial Distress; that it is a fallacy to suppose that expensive habits produce aught but evil.

2. That money spent on fixed Property is actually sunk. When this expenditure exceeds

the savings it is productive of Commercial distress. Individuals may go beyond their savings or means by borrrowing within legitimate limits, but a nation cannot without producing Evil.

3. That the legalized price of Gold ought immediately to be abolished, and an act substituted by which the Government would be authorized to vary the weight of the several coins of the realm, so as to counteract any rise or fall of the price of the precious metals.

CHAPTER V.

LEGISLATION.

I. Universal Free Trade.

It is obvious, that so long as Custom and Excise Duties are levied, perfect Free Trade is impossible. To set Trade completely free, from the shackles of tariffs we must resort to Direct Taxation. When this grand Reform is accomplished, there will be a unity of interests affecting the producer and consumer, and between the agriculturalist, the manufacturer and the merchant. National interests will no longer be divided against themselves,

and the industry and prosperity of all will increase the national wealth.

Some will reply, that a perfect Free Trade, and the absence of clashing interests, would do very well if other Nations would follow the example. We grant that the question of Free Trade, like all great questions, cannot be discussed without reference to other nations—for a nation is only a member of the community of nations—it will, therefore, be necessary to examine this objection.

If an individual produces more wealth than he spends, he enriches the nation, and if a nation produces more than it spends, that enriches the world; and if Free Trade be good for one country, it must be good for the world at large. We do not doubt that the benefit would be greater if all nations acted upon right principles as well as ourselves; but because others will not do right, that is no reason why England should not. In the case of Free Trade, it will be shown that universal Free Trade

is England's best policy, although no other nation followed.

The more corn or anything else we produce from our own soil the better. If Free Trade affects the quantity produced, it will be to increase it. The effect of Foreign competition is either to increase Production, or to annihilate it. The soil and climate of England—for raising crops—will challenge comparison with any other country in the world. This being the case, it is evident that native agriculture can never cease. The effect of Free Trade must be to stimulate the produce. If a farm does not pay at free-trade prices, exertions must be used to make the farm produce more. Increased supplies from our own soil is the natural result of Free Trade.

As regards Wages, we have nothing to fear, for such are as low in England as in most countries, especially if we recollect the amount of work given.

"Protection" taxes the Consumer for the

benefit of the Producer. To keep up the price of Provisions limits the sale of manufactures, and the employment of labour,—Trade languishes,—Wealth does not increase, and Property falls in value.

The adoption of perfect Free Trade by England would do some good to the foreigner at first; but very soon it will place England in the proud position of having no rival. If England adopts universal Free Trade, and the other nations do not follow, she will become the cheapest country in the world, and the only one where Manufactures can be produced *for export!*

This result, however, is neither what we expect nor desire. A few more years' experience of a triumphant Free Trade will convince all nations of the folly of "Protection," and the result will be that a perfect Free Trade in England will produce the same all over the world.

Protection is unnatural,—it is an arbitrary

interference with the Laws of Nature, and being such we have only to set Nature free from the trammels of Tariffs to deliver the world from the pecuniary loss which arises from Protection, and the mass of suffering consequent on that loss.

In America wages are high, owing to the inexhaustible supply of unappropriated lands. While land can be got for nothing—yielding a fair return for labour—the labour market cannot be overstocked, and good wages are maintained. For this reason, we are of opinion that Manufactures cannot flourish in America without a high tariff to protect them.

Congress will ere long be compelled to declare definitely for or against Free Trade. To reduce wages is neither desirable nor possible so long as unappropriated lands remain; but let not the Americans imagine that their only resource is to maintain or increase their Tariff. To this doctrine we demur.

America may be obliged to cease to manu-

facture. An infant Nation, possessing a soil only partially settled, has not arrived at the point when it can divert its attention from Agriculture—its legitimate pursuit—to Manufactures. If America decides for Protection, she may cover the country with Factories, and shut out the imports of England. By gaining trade in the one way, she will lose it in another; but if that were all, the gain in the one case might possibly balance the loss on the other.

The Protection policy taxes the American Public to an extent which cannot fail to retard the progress of the nation. Native Manufactures, produced by the employment of workmen at double the wages paid in England, will keep the price of clothing, machinery and implements at a much higher price than they would otherwise be. If the savings of any nation are absorbed by high prices paid for the necessaries of life, the accumulation of wealth is impossible; and every one knows that the disadvantage

America labours under is the want of accumulated Capital.

If America decides for Free Trade, her prosperity ought to exceed that of any other nation. In the receipt of high wages, the people will be supplied with manufactures and all the necessaries of life nearly as cheaply as in England: hence the increase of wealth must go on in America in a double ratio compared with any nation in Europe. Let America allow Trade to take its natural course and Agricultural pursuits will realize every reasonable expectation. By sending us Corn and taking our Manufactures in return, the Americans will consult their own interests, whereas by Protection they will increase their own burdens while they deprive us of their trade.

Such is the state of the Free Trade question —a subject which has long occupied the attention of our Legislature. The initiative must have been taken somewhere, and the honour of being the first nation to adopt Free Trade

principles belongs to England, and furnishes by far the brightest page of British history.

It is generally supposed that the great debt of England presents a barrier to Perfect Free Trade; but since the experiment of the present Income Tax that idea is fast dying away. We have only to extend the present Income Tax to about three times its present amount, and make no exemptions, and the annual sum necessary for defraying the interest of the debt and the national expenditure is produced. It is a mistake to suppose that men would grudge a direct tax. They would soon discover that they had less to pay *directly*, than they now pay *indirectly*, and, besides the direct saving, there are few who would not derive an indirect benefit arising from the increase of trade consequent on the change.

The Landlords and Farmers ought especially to advocate such a settlement. Direct Taxation will free them from the prohibition of growing Tobacco, — from the Malt and other taxes

which bear heavily on the land, and from the Assessed Taxes.

Complete Free Trade will extinguish Poor Laws. By maintaining class interests, the Landlords are paying in the shape of Poor Rates the penalty of class legislation. By abolishing these interests, the landed interest will be released from the burden of rates which are severely felt at all times; and which would involve that interest in universal ruin, whenever a great calamity befel the Nation. The Land is the ultimate resort in case of need, and as FAVORITISM must produce Evil, such must fall somewhere, and ultimately that must be made good by the holders of Land. If the Landlords understand their own interests, they will demand a change of Taxation and universal Free Trade. It is their right, and they have only to make their wishes known, to carry a Reform which will settle the question and place all the interests of the nation upon a permanent basis.

II. Electoral Reform.

We now approach a subject—less important than the one we have left—but one which occupies more of the attention of the nation than any other question. Man is naturally prone to attend to things which affect his feelings more than his interest. It is thus alone that we can account for the fact, that the attention of the nation has been diverted from many practical Reforms—to a Reform which after all may disappoint its advocates.

Universal Suffrage.

This demand is just, and we believe the time has arrived when it may be granted with safety and benefit to the Constitution. One man has as much right to vote for a Representative as another. Arbitrarily to exclude any class is a mark of reproach; hence the feeling which the working classes have ever evinced on this question. We do not expect much good from

the extension of the Franchise in the shape of better legislation; but as it will reconcile the industrious classes to the aristocracy, the concession of universal suffrage may be looked forward to as a great National Reform. For ourselves, we should have as much confidence in the fidelity and judgment of a House elected by the middle classes as in one where the popular element preponderated. .

We do not believe that Universal Suffrage will make much change in the present House of Commons. If it changes fifty seats, it is the utmost we expect. It will have this effect, however, that the popular Will will bear more directly on its Members; and if fears are entertained that popular opinions without, will have too great a sway within the House, the Government must look to the education of the People —the great bulwark and safety of the State.

Electoral Reform is looked forward to as the cure for every evil which attaches to Government. Class Interests are to vanish before

Universal Suffrage, the Ballot, and Electoral Districts.

We shall by and bye call attention to the remedy for Class Interests, meantime we shall show that Electoral Reform is not that remedy.

It is chiefly improved Public Opinion which carries Reforms, and if so, improved Legislation does not depend on Electoral Reform. We believe Mr. Cobden would have carried his Corn Bill with nearly as much ease before, as after the Electoral Reform of 1832.

If the National Will was more likely to be correct than that of the Aristocratic and Middle Classes, and if the representatives of the people were less exposed to the temptations of self-interested motives than men of independent fortune, then we should expect nothing but good from Electoral Reform; but as we have serious doubts on these points, we cannot look to Electoral Reform as an infallible remedy for Class Interests. The Popular Will is often arbitrary, and always liable to error. For this

reason, it is essential to the maintenance of Liberty that the House of Commons should not be a mere echo of the Popular Will. Parliament must possess an independent Will, and when it sees right to put a negative on the National Will it ought to exercise a power which is the only check to a danger which is inseparable from popular Governments.

While we would freely grant to every man the right of voting for a member of parliament, we would only do so upon condition that the House of Commons is not made a mere Meeting of Delegates, but a body possessing an independent voice. This principle conceded, we apprehend no danger, but much good, from Universal Suffrage.

The Ballot.

The scenes of debauchery and immorality which periodically degrade the Nation is a dreadful evil. The bad habits acquired at a single Election are enough to ruin a whole

lifetime of previous morality. Elections are a necessary evil, and all that can be done is to make them as harmless as possible.

While the number of Electors is limited, the Ballot appears to be the only cure for bribery; but when voting is universal, we scarcely think the security of the Ballot would be required. We do not expect that bribery and unfair influence will entirely cease in any case; but with Universal Suffrage we question if the evil will be such as to call for secret voting,—which is not desirable, if it can be avoided. It is supposed that stringent Bribery Acts is the only way to put down Bribery; but if Nature be studied, such an opinion may be questioned. We would have legal penalties attached to Bribery relaxed rather than increased. Public Opinion is a much more effectual protector of the elector, and this check will come more and more into play as the legal protection is withdrawn. All men naturally feel a horror of fraud and bribery, and the fact of unfair means being used has

only to be known, to raise a storm of indignation against the party using such. In this way the practice of bribery and unfair proceedings at elections would probably decrease. If not, we should prefer resorting to the Ballot as a remedy to a more stringent Bribery Act.

In America they have Universal Suffrage in connection with the ballot and a bribery act. If Universal Suffrage was tried in England without these adjuncts, we cannot doubt the experiment would be successful.

The Duration of Parliaments.

It is dangerous to place the opinions of Members too much in the power of their constituents, which would be the case if the duration of Parliaments was too much restricted. With Triennial Parliaments a representative would not be a free agent, he would always have to look to the next Election. If the People remember that they are fallible as well as others, and how often the Popular Will has

been wrong, they will concede this point. What is the British Constitution but a system of checks; and the check on the popular voice by the Septennial Act is one of the most efficient. If the Aristocracy concede the Suffrage, the People must concede the seven years Parliament, and upon this basis a final settlement of the question may be expected.

Electoral Districts.

We are favourable to a revision of the Schedule of the Reform Bill, so as to improve the distribution of Members; but we deprecate the proposal of mapping out the country into departments, as in France.

Centralization in all its forms is objectionable. Let us reform, but not destroy, the Constitution. The interests which surround town and country politics must not be swallowed up in the vortex of a single Assembly. We must cherish and respect our independent Municipal Institutions as well as our inde-

pendent House of Commons. There is no necessity to allot Members by square and rule; and even if that was the case, we should like to know where such a rule is to be found. If it was attempted to make Population the criterion, the result would excite such a storm of opposition whenever its effects were known, as to defeat the proposal. The importance of Scotland demands that she should have thirty or forty more Members,—which would fall to be taken from England. But this claim—nothing more than justice—cannot be maintained, if "Population" is to be the sole criterion.

The distribution of Members must be to a great extent arbitrary. While Population ought to be the chief element, the interests to be represented must likewise be considered.

III. Church Affairs.

Toleration.

This is a principle more admired in theory than acted on in practice. Toleration is another word for Justice and Liberty, and on it progress in civilization depends.

To maintain Toleration is to refuse to persecute. We must lay it down as an unalterable maxim, not to do evil that good may come.

Parliament will be asked to consent to two measures, which will test its principles on this point. The Catholics will solicit the repeal of the Titles Act, and the Protestants the repeal of the Endowment of the College of Maynooth. With regard to the Titles Act, it is certain that if Territorial Titles had been assumed by Protestants, no Bill would have been called for. It is therefore owing to the fact that Catholics—acting upon orders from Rome—have taken that step, that the Titles Bill owes its existence. In these circumstances

we must consider the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill to some extent an Act of Intolerance; but for the Papal Bull it would have been entirely such.

The Pope and Cardinals have assailed the rights of the Nation by their Papal rescript But provocation is not an excuse for a wrong act, and if the Pope went wrong, that is no reason that an enlightened Nation like England should follow a bad example. The Papal Aggression on the rights of the Crown calls for a Protest—it may be of War—and the former would be effected by a declaratory Act.

The Titles Bill supplies the Catholics with an excellent pretext for agitating the Nation against the Government. By the Catholic demand for its repeal, the Protestants are unfortunately placed in the position that they cannot say their opponents are wrong. The result will soon show that an error has been committed, and we should say that the sooner the Titles Bill is exchanged for a Declaratory Act the better.

To act upon the Law, by prosecuting the contumacious Bishops, would only make the case worse, and if this be so, we cannot see what good retaining the Bill can do, but to place a weapon in the hands of the Catholics to our own confusion.

With respect to the Maynooth Grant, we must say the attempt to repeal it is ill-judged. The endowment of that College is as much a part of the law of the land as anything else, and to disturb that endowment *without a sufficient reason* must be regarded as an act of intolerance. Its repeal would do the Protestant cause more harm than good, and by irritating one section of the Nation against another, the national interests would be sacrificed. We doubt not Parliament will look upon the proposal in this light.

Ecclesiastical Revenues.

Church Reform—which has been more fully explained in our former work,—must be planned, not upon the principle of giving as

little as possible, but of making the Church Establishment as perfect as possible. Some think that, improve her as we may, the fate of the Establishment is sealed. This we do not think. One thing is certain, that her future stability and prosperity depend on the adoption of a large and comprehensive measure of reform.

The present emergency supplies a favourable opportunity for a radical Reform; but if a Reform of *patch-work* be substituted, the hopes of the enemies of the Church will be realized.

We are of opinion that the Revenues of the Church ought to be transferred to the State, or to a Central Fund, and that the Clergy should in future be paid directly from the Exchequer, or from such Fund. We would have each living valued, and a definite amount assigned to each Incumbency. The object of this Reform is to remove questions as to "vested rights" and disputes between the Clergyman and

his flock as to Tythes and Church Rates. This reform may be thought an unnecessary change, yet how any adequate Church Reform could be effected without it we cannot imagine. Many livings must be raised or reduced, and this could not be satisfactorily done except through some new medium.

The position of the payers of the Revenues has been much altered by the Corn Law Abolition Act. This supplies another reason why the Clergy should cease to receive Tythes. But the great advantage of this Reform is that the Clergyman could never be involved in disputes with his flock, and when we remember the battle which the Establishment has to encounter, it will be found that too much has not been demanded.

Class Interests.

The People have as much right to vote for a Clergyman as for a Member of Parliament, and this right must be conceded. We look for

a great increase of Pastoral superintendence from this reform, and a consequent increase of Godliness among the People. To say that the change is undesirable—because the People will often differ in their choice—is an objection which applies to all popular elections. If the objection be valid, the People may be deprived of their right to elect members of parliament and of town councils. Objections of this description may always be traced to interested motives, but no intelligent man will be misled by such.

We have heard a great deal about Class Legislation, but it occurs to us that the mystery calls for further explanation before it is fully understood.

The Law gives to the aristocracy a right to appoint the Pastors of the Churches. This is a notable instance of class legislation. The Law of Primogeniture—by which landed Property stands upon a different basis from other Property as regards succession, is another in-

stance of class privileges; the Law of Entail another.

Class Legislation is an anomaly not easily accounted for in a free country like Britain. This we shall now explain.

A tacit compact must be conceived as having subsisted between the aristocracy and the church. The aristocracy supports the Church Establishment on condition that they appoint the clergy, and of course the clergy support the aristocracy. Such is the only way in which we can account for the fact that—in these days of freedom and reform—such class privileges should exist.

This compact is happily virtually at an end. When the abolition of the Corn Laws took place it was avowedly broken. That Act may be regarded as the commencement of the Second Reformation. All things since that great Reform have tended to the reduction of class privileges. After that great event, the admirers of the close system will find it useless

to contend against the consequences of that act. The Aristocracy has now nothing to gain by making sacrifices for the clergy, and the clergy have no inducement to support the old system, and they no longer consult the wishes of the aristocracy. Such are the evidences of the coming Reformation, and such the natural consequences of the Reforms of 1842 and 1846.

On the question of Church Patronage, the final battle of Class Privileges will be fought. Unfair privileges cannot be granted to any individual or class without damaging the interests of other individuals and classes. Were it not for this imperative law of Nature, there could be no objection to any amount of class legislation. The evils entailed on society by class privileges are too numerous to be named. 1. Its direct effect is to fill the offices of the Church and State with men without reference to their fitness, hence a prolific cause of inefficient public service. 2. The indirect effect is, that every question of reform is judged, not on its own

merits, but with reference to its bearing on what is called the Constitution of Society—but what is really *the compact between the Church and the Aristocracy*. To the latter of these causes we attribute the unsatisfactory and non-progressive state of Public Opinion. We have already noticed the impossible condition under which Moral Philosophy labours by separating Theology from other Science. By this separation knowledge and civilization are effectually stereotyped. We have now arrived at that point when we may expect to trace the reason of this extraordinary state of "*Knowledge*."

Science cannot advance while it is deprived of primary facts on which the Intellect may act, and we shall now show that the existence of class interests is the reason why Theology and Science are kept apart. Truth and Justice are omnipotent when darkness is withdrawn, and when the Intellect of the people is developed by the knowledge of true religion

Class Privileges cannot stand a day. The privileged classes have a direct interest in keeping Science and Theology apart, for so long as they are separate the Truth cannot be discovered, and this fact explains the anomaly that a separation—involving a serious infringement of the rights of the Conscience—should have been so long tolerated.

Let class interests cease, neither the Church nor the State will have any inducement to shun the Truth, and Science and Religion will no longer be called antagonists. The public good will then be the object of all good men. Patriotism will supplant Selfishness. It will then be as natural for men in power to seek the public good as it once was to consult the interests of classes.

Government in this country, prior to the adoption of Free Trade and direct Taxation, had well nigh extinguished patriotism—the prelude to the fall of any nation. The adoption of Free Trade has happily restored the days of

patriotism, and when that which still remains of the old system is erased from the Statute Book—by reformation of Public Opinion, and by the consequent abolition of Class Interests, patriotism will become universal, and usher in a millennial age.

Class interests will soon be numbered among the things of the past, when it will be found that we have not unduly magnified the Evil. How can the Established Church be either popular or useful while its Clergy are placed over the People without their consent? That the People should have submitted to such an enormity so long only shows their power of endurance under suffering and injustice. To obtain the faithful discharge of parochial duties, it is necessary that the People should have some controul. The ordination of the Bishop or Presbytery on the one hand, and the call of the People on the other, are the proper checks on the election of Pastors. The former prevents the People from electing an improper

Person, and the latter secures to the People the election of a suitable Pastor.

Rome is making rapid progress among the lower orders, owing to the great mass of the People being left like Sheep without a Shepherd; and the only way to cure this Evil, and supply the spiritual wants of the People in an adequate manner, is the abolition of private Patronage.

We shall be told that the good which "Class legislation" gives overbalances all the evils unavoidably mixed up with it. This is possible, and it is for the advocates of class privileges to state what this mysterious good is.

The good said to come from the aristocratic principle of government is, that without it government would be impossible. It is easy to make assertions of this kind, but when reasons are appealed to, their arguments are found to be hollow.

Many are misled by the cry "*The Constitution is in danger.*" But when such false

alarms are examined, their origin may be traced to interested parties. When the 10*l.* franchise was granted, the end of the Constitution was come; and when the Burgh Corporations were opened up, and the election placed in the hands of the people, all hope was gone. Nothing could be more encouraging than the result of these Reforms; and to them and the abolition of the Corn Laws we owe the Chartist failure of the 10th of April, 1848.

Once more we shall hear the cry—"The Constitution is in danger"—"The Church is in danger;" and again it will be found, that instead of the Reforms which elicit such fears destroying the Constitution, they will save it. It is not less certain that Truth will excite opposition, than that the results will be crowned with success!

With private interests to maintain, partisans may well fear the additional influence which Universal Suffrage will give to the popular voice. But if it be resolved to grant the just

demands of the nation, nothing is to be feared from the enfranchisement of the People.

Disaffection arises mainly from the abuse of power, of which class legislation is the type; and unless it can be shown that the past history of legislation has been free from this stain, it is a fallacy to suppose that the insubordination of the masses will continue. Let the sufferings of the People be relieved to the full extent which impartial laws would give, and the People will have nothing to complain of, and Disaffection will give place to Peace and Contentment.

Character and wealth will ever command respect, and we doubt not the aristocracy will continue to be the party in whom power will chiefly be entrusted; and if universal suffrage does not make any appreciable change in the present House of Commons, this opinion will be confirmed.

If we desire to grant peace and contentment to the people and reduce the standing army,

we will make the necessary concessions to the People. We have heard it stated by men who ought to know better, that without an undue influence given to the aristocracy, the Crown would be in danger, and England must be turned into an encampment of troops; but when the question is looked into, the reverse is the fact. To grant universal suffrage, and for ever abjure class legislation, will be to deliver the country from Disaffection, when the army may be reduced with perfect safety. There is no conclusion in this work on which we can speak more confidently than the one to which we have now come.

We have now passed in review the leading questions of interest, and shall conclude with a remark or two on Legislation in general.

Legislation is a necessary evil. The order of Nature being from Error to Truth, legislation will be reduced as Civilization advances. The Law which governs Right Legislation is obedience to the Divine Laws. No Law which in-

terferes with the Laws of Nature can either be just, true or expedient.

The office of Human Legislation is *to protect* not *to repeal* the Laws of God. Ignorance and selfishness require to be guarded against by legislation so long as Civilization remains undeveloped, and such is the office of the State.

The wellbeing and progress of a nation mainly depends on two things, viz. Public opinion and Legislation. Legislation cannot be reformed without a reformation in Public Opinion, nor can Public Opinion entirely throw off its shackles so long as Class Legislation remains. These two facts show the intimate relation which Opinion holds to Politics. The one cannot make much progress without the other, for they never cease to act and react on each other.

Pressure from without acts on Government, concessions are made, and Public Opinion is relieved of its bondage to the extent of the relief given.

On the other hand, Government cannot legislate before the age, i. e. they cannot carry unpopular measures however good.

Government has not only to contend with Class Interests provisionally granted, but with ignorance and prejudices among the people —often the effect of such interests. These results show that Reformation is necessarily a work of time—for not only is improved Public Opinion, but improved Legislation necessary.

CHAPTER VI.

CIVILIZATION—THE PAST.

I. Ancient Civilization.

Civilization commenced in Egypt about two thousand years before the Christian era. From thence it spread to Greece and Rome, and obtained its height at the Christian era, or in the reign of Cæsar Augustus. Liberty, Literature, and the Fine Arts, flourished up to this point and then declined.

Although the history of ancient Civilization abounds with instances of Patriotism, which

would grace any age, yet if we compare even the Augustine age with modern times, its inferiority must be acknowledged. No parallel can be drawn between the Civilization of the first and nineteenth centuries.

With the single exception of Russia, serfdom is now extinct, but the liberty of the Romans, even in its best days, amounted to this—that themselves free, they took care to allow no other nation to be free. Everything gave way to the art of War and Oppression.

Public faith and private morality were in their infancy in ancient times, compared with modern. Superstition was greater in ancient times in proportion as Science was deficient. It is true that a large portion of Europe still worships Idols as devotedly as in ancient times, but this stain cannot be endured much longer.

Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, and the Drama, attained a height in ancient times which has never been surpassed. This

apparent anomaly is explained, if we remember that the *picturesque* belongs exclusively to uncultivated Nature. Cultivation obliterates the pencilings of Nature. Instinct gives way to Intelligence, and the face of external Nature is changed by the hand of Man.

These facts indicate that the progress of "the Fine Arts" is the opposite of Civilization. A certain degree of Civilization seems necessary to evolve the perfection of Natural Art, but when that stage is passed, what we have called "Human Art" takes the place of Natural Art. History confirms this theory.

When Science was unknown, the Fine Arts attained (in Greece) a perfection never since reached. At the dawn of modern Civilization, —with Science in a similar state,—the Fine Arts again reach a high degree of perfection, almost equal to Greek art, and superior to the highest efforts of modern genius.

If the World is to go on to the perfection of Civilization, we may expect the "Art of

Nature" to be absorbed in "Human Art." The two arts are different, and in leaving primitive Nature, we must look forward to a new development of Art. Intelligence absorbs Instinct, on which natural Art chiefly depends. The Fine Arts will have a resurrection, but if we continue to worship the Past—despise the Present, and neglect the cultivation of the Future—too much the character of the age—the progress of Civilization will be retarded.

Such was ancient Civilization, which rose only to fall. Its rise was rapid and glorious, but far too artificial and partial to last.

Augustus Cæsar stole the liberties of Rome, and by a mild Government, which he called Liberty, he reconciled a people—long accustomed to Freedom—to the yoke of Despotism.

From this change may be dated the decline of Ancient Civilization. The progress of the World was indefinitely thrown back, and so low was the degradation which Civilization reached, that at one time the only Literature

which was either read or taught was the Lives of the Saints and Martyrs!

The necessities of surrounding Barbarism was the immediate cause of the fall of the Roman Empire, now enfeebled by four centuries of Despotic Rule.

An increasing Population could no longer subsist as Shepherds and Hunters. The German races invaded the Eastern and Western Empires at all points, and in subjecting Civilization to an untimely trial—before it had time to consolidate and extend its basis—its cities were sacked and the precious plant well nigh destroyed. We might notice many subordinate causes for the fall of the Roman Empire and the decline of Civilization, but we know of none which may not be resolved into the two we have named, viz. the loss of Liberty in the reign of the Cæsars and the necessities of the surrounding World.

II. Middle-Age Civilization.

The fusion of the Germans with the Romans was not without its fruits, although the product was inferior to Ancient Civilization. Middle-age Civilization may be described as that state of society called the Feudal System—a half state between Barbarism and Civilization.

The result was less brilliant, but much more widely diffused than Ancient Civilization, for now all Europe was partially civilized. The aspect of *the Middle Ages*—that dreary winter of Civilization—was Devotion to what was ignorantly supposed to be Religion.

When the order of progressive Civilizatiou has been once ascertained, and Religion defined, the history of Christianity may be indicated without difficulty.

Ignorance, Superstition and Evil precede Knowledge, Truth and Good.

The precepts of Christ being free from error, they can only be agreeable to the feelings in

an advanced state of Civilization. The lower the moral condition of a Nation, the greater offence will Truth give. If we apply this principle to the past history and future prospects of Christianity, we shall find it supported by facts.

The Jewish nation—to which the revelation of the Truth was first made—never stood high in civilization, and at the period of our Lord's advent the state of the Jews was very low. Probably not higher than the present state of the inhabitants of Syria, and not differing in its main characteristics. Then, as now, Judea was a conquered country in the hands of a people of another religion; then, as now, the people were split into various sects, indicating a taste for religious contemplation, while avarice marked their general conduct.

Suddenly the Truth is announced, and, as might have been expected, a storm of indignation is excited which could not be appeased without the death of the offender.

Christianity was greatly in advance of the age in which it was first promulgated, accordingly it was rejected. A great moral and religious Revolution was despised and its author crucified, because, as our Lord said, the Truth rebuked their evil deeds. Such is the history of the rise of Christianity.

If we now pass over five centuries, we shall find this despised Religion of Christ universal!

To account for so complete a Revolution in public opinion one of two things must have happened. Either civilization must in the interim have made great advances—so that man no longer disliked the Truth—or Christianity had been so mixed up with error as to be brought down to the taste of man. The latter process is, unfortunately, the history of early Christianity.

The beautiful and simple doctrines of Christ —as set forth in the New Testament—are now scarcely discernible in the Belief and Practice of the Catholic Church. Simplicity has been

exchanged for MYSTERY, a practical and true Religion is converted into a complex system of Doctrines and Religious Services by which men may escape PRACTICE, and yet persuade themselves that they are religious.

Nothing but this change could in those days have made Christianity popular. Truth, when combined with Doctrines which necessarily exclude Practice, can offend no man. It was in consequence of the substitution of FAITH for Obedience that the cross ceased to be offensive. The despised Religion of Christ is so changed and corrupted by the Catholics of that period as to become popular in connection with a low state of morals and civilization.

When we look to these facts, it does appear that Christianity would never have become universal without first passing through the phases of Superstition, and this is one of the few consolations which the dismal history of these times affords. Such was the state of Christianity in the fifth century, and if we now

pass over the ten centuries usually called the Dark or Middle Ages—in which the Papal System was fully matured—it will bring us to that period when the downward course of Civilization was to receive a check by the first Reformation.

Often had attempts been made to reform the errors and abuses of Religion during the long night of the Dark Ages, but these strivings of the Intellect to recover its liberty were suppressed by the imprisonment or martyrdom of the reformers.

The memory of Wickliffe is particularly interesting at the present time from having been a professor of Theology at Oxford. In that very University where in our day is witnessed the anomaly of an influential party in the Church desiring Reform, and at the same time demanding Class privileges to the Clergy more dangerous than the abuses from which relief is sought.

III. Modern Civilization.

Modern Civilization is founded on that of the Middle Ages, and in respect that its basis is greatly more extended than the Civilization of Greece and Rome, modern civilization is less artificial and more likely to be permanent.

Revived Civilization was first visible in the fifteenth century. It took its rise in Italy, on the very soil where ancient civilization had so long flourished. All is now activity. Ancient manuscripts are ransacked and translated into the modern Languages; and Knowledge and Learning — the result of many centuries of Civilization — so long lost, is restored to an astonished World.

Want and Desire generally produce the means of supplying their demands, and it so happened that the resurrection of Ancient Literature had not long been in progress when the invention of Printing was discovered.

America is discovered, and the Geography of the Earth completed.

The Reformation follows, and delivers the fairest portion of Europe from the tyranny of Superstition. Such were the glorious events which ushered in Modern Civilization. Alas! they promised more than they gave.

The First Reformation.

The first Reformer which arose after the revival of Literature defied the sword of persecution, and succeeded in effecting a glorious Reformation. When we remember that the Church of Rome was now fully developed, that it was universal, that Kings and Emperors had been completely subdued by it, we may estimate the difficulty which Luther had to contend with.

But the power of the Hierarchy was not the greatest difficulty, the prejudices of the People, —ever the case with Reformations,—had to be combated. The People had been accustomed to rely on the efficacy of the personal presence of Christ in the Eucharist. That was Luther's greatest difficulty, and if he did not fully re-

form that corruption, perhaps he went as far as the then state of Civilization permitted.

Luther found no difficulty in persuading the People that the sale of Indulgences was an abuse, but when he demanded that they should part with their Idols, we may conceive the opposition he would receive. Luther must either have braved this opposition or abandoned his Reformation, and to his eternal honour be it said, he possessed the honesty and courage to remain faithful. So great was the difficulty of obtaining the People's consent to the Reformation, that unless the Reformers had received the support of some of the German Princes—who were tired of the tyranny of Rome — the People would have rejected all the overtures of the Reformer. Luther called on the People to examine the Bible and judge of the truth of the new Doctrines for themselves; and by this means he at last persuaded the People to part with their Idols in exchange for Liberty of Conscience.

The Reformers themselves were not free from the prejudices of the age, and so universal was the prejudice in favour of a religion of Belief, it does not appear that it occurred to any one to doubt that doctrine.

The Reformation granted the Right of Private Judgment, and abolished the Idolatry of the Mass. These Reforms conferred a degree of liberty of Conscience unknown to any previous period, and to them the subsequent progress in Civilization is mainly owing.

We now turn to the dark side of the picture. The Reformers, instead of boldly renouncing the error of trusting in BELIEF and not in PRACTICE—which we have seen arose at a very early period—contented themselves with pronouncing against certain Works of Devotion. BELIEF was retained as the sole ground of Salvation, although Personal Righteousness was evidently the intention of the Saviour, and the only FAITH consistent with common sense and the improvement of mankind. The error

of making *Belief* everything, and the *Practice of Religion* nothing, was fatal to success.

Such was the Reformation; it was a step in the right direction, but were we to say that it went more than half way from Catholicism to the unadulterated Truth of Christianity we would do violence to our own convictions.

We now pass to the results of the Reformation, embracing a period of three centuries. The Reformation accomplished, it might have been expected that Christianity would have gone on improving until it reached its original purity; especially when the world was divided into two hostile Churches, ready to expose each other's defects. But such alas is not the history of the Reformation.

Religion has made no progress since the advent of the Reformation. Its doctrines and its errors were unfortunately so fixed that they have defied every effort at improvement since. The Protestant Creed has long been known to contain error, but that an imperfect system might

be kept together, all Churches have tacitly agreed to leave the principles of the Reformation untouched, and even unquestioned. Such a course could alone be justified on the supposition that the Reformers were specially inspired for their work; but as that is not maintained, it may well cause surprise that their work should be held so perfect and so sacred as to admit of no improvement. Constant strife might have taught the Protestant world that the *expulsion*, and not the *retention* of Error was the only cure for controversy and disunion.

The history of the World since the Reformation exactly corresponds with the change in Belief then effected. The Reformation accomplished a vast improvement on Belief, but much was left unreformed. The creeds of the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches present a sad mixture of light and darkness, and of the elements of good and evil.

Knowledge and Civilization have made enormous strides since the Reformation; but with

all this advancement, there is a want of reality, of unity, and of consolidation. KNOWLEDGE remains undefined and incomplete, and its further progress impossible without another Reformation. Peace and prosperity may be said to have blessed many lands since the Reformation, yet with much good, strife and war have been mingled. These results—mixed as they are with GOOD and EVIL—are precisely what was to be expected from an imperfect Reformation.

The evil of half measures was never more conspicuous than in the history of the Reformation. The Reformation divided Christendom into two hostile parties, without offering any reasonable hope of union; it exposed the errors of the Church, without offering the means of healing them. Further, the contradictory creed of the Reformation caused the Protestants to split in two hostile sects—the Lutheran and Calvinist. The endless dissensions arising from Religious Controversy issued in the re-

vival of Catholicism, and the desolation of Europe by War. With Protestantism divided against itself, the Church of Rome speedily reconquered a large portion of its dominions. Austria at one time was three-fourths Protestant; now three-fourths of its inhabitants are Catholics. In France and other countries a similar re-action took place. We are particular in marking these sad effects of half measures, that a similar error may be avoided in any future Reformation.

After a struggle of three hundred years, the World seems as far from Peace and Happiness as ever. So keenly is this felt, that men are apt to ask whether Civilization, such as it is, or "the good old times," (middle-age civilization) is best.

The World yearns after something which Civilization and Religion have failed to give: and when the history of modern times is studied, we cannot be surprised that this feeling of discontent should be universal. Everywhere

men begin to ask if Luther's Reformation was necessarily final, or may they look for another!

The necessities of an increasing Population have outgrown the spirit of its governments, and these natural means of Reformation are the immediate causes of the present crisis.

If Governments persist in refusing the just demand of the People, and if the People are unable to conquer their own liberty, either by a Moral or a Civil Revolution, the World must retrace its steps. Once more we must expect to see Despotism both civil and religious as triumphant as it was in the ninth century under the universal empire of Charlemagne and the Papacy.

In that sad event the Augustine Age of Modern Civilization has come, and the result of the Revolution or Reformation through which the World is now passing, will determine the question whether the present Crisis is to be followed by a perfected Civilization, or by a series of ages in which Darkness and Depo-

pulation shall mark the future history of an unhappy World.

The World calls for a Second Reformation, of which the Revolutions of 1848 are the expression. With the Free Press of England to disseminate the principles of a salutary Reformation, there is hope that the convulsions now agitating the world may be calmed down and directed to the great work of a general Reformation.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PRESENT STATE OF EUROPE.

The prevalence of good or evil depends on the state of Knowledge and Belief. And if a remedy for War and Revolution be desired, we must strike at the root of the evil by correcting the errors of Public Belief. A Reformation in Religious Belief and in Public Opinion is ultimately the only cure for the disasters which have overtaken the world.

Superstition and Error are at present taught by public institutions. Let this source of Evil

be corrected and the usurpation of the despot will cease. Correct Knowledge is the only permanent bulwark of liberty. Although Europe was reformed civilly, yet if Public Opinion remains debased by superstition and error, Liberty cannot be permanent. It is therefore more by the spread of Knowledge, than by the use of arms, that permanent and complete emancipation can be effected.

Our friends on the Continent are aware that the whole policy of the Roman Hierarchy has ever been opposed to liberty, and that it is mainly to that power that the despotic Powers have been enabled to keep the people down. Civil slavery is hard to bear; but the slavery of the Conscience is worse. Because moral slavery is less felt, it is not on that account less destructive of peace and prosperity.

In these circumstances we call on the friends of Liberty not to confine their efforts to the destruction of Civil Despotism, but at the same time to destroy Spiritual Despotism. The one

cannot be removed without at the same time conquering the other. We are too apt to think that Public Opinion is nothing, and that Bayonets are everything. Public Opinion influences and ultimately rules the exercise of the civil power. Knowledge leads to the union of the people in behalf of their natural Rights. The advocates of Despotism know this, nor are they slow to suppress the liberty of the Press, and load the churches with images that Superstition may maintain its hold over the conscience.

Superstition and Oppression must stand or fall together.

Our Catholic Brethren must demand an immediate reformation of their Church, if they wish to be free-men. The Clergy must demand the abolition of the unnatural, immoral, and unscriptural law of celibacy. Let obedience to Truth be preferred to mere worship and devotion,—which are not Christianity. Evil and Sin come from Ignorance and preferring

the Religion of the Feelings to the Religion of the Understanding. The Religion of mere Feeling debases the Intellect; it fosters Ignorance, and retards the progress of civilization and liberty. The system in which Men are educated often holds them in bondage against their will, and the influence of habit and feeling often triumphs over their better reason; but if the Catholics will be guided by the Truth as it is in Jesus, it shall make them free.

The Catholic Church has gone through many changes—at times she has reformed herself and risen from the lowest depths of degradation, at other times the tendency has been downwards. At present a favourable opportunity occurs for a great Reformation in the Catholic Church, which shall astound the World. Let the Clergy and Laity vie with each other in the holy work of Reformation, and the result will be universal good and harmony. Why should there be Protestants and Catholics; do not both serve one Master? Let both

be reformed. Let Protestants and Catholics forget the errors of the past, and in meeting on the neutral ground of Truth both will make concessions, not to Man but to God.

The images which disfigure the Churches and roadsides must be torn down. If the Bible—which denounces Image Worship—be freely circulated among the people—the worship of the host, or any other than God, will cease. Carry back the thoughts to ancient Greece and Rome. See the altars raised to Gods represented by images of wood and stone, and you—like St. Paul—will be moved to see the ignorance of that superstitious age. Then look at the Ignorance of the nineteenth century manifested in dumb idols everywhere meeting the eye. These Images you are told to adore as representations of Gods and Saints. This was precisely the doctrine of Paganism; and while a People is devoted to Idols there can be no freedom.

In nothing does England show her superiority over the Continent more than in the absence of images: from Penzance to John O'Groats no Image offends the piety of the traveller. Even in Mahometan countries no such Ignorance disgraces their religion. It is painful to dwell on the weak points of humanity; and we hope we have said enough to call the attention of Catholics to the great subject of Church Reform.

To the Protestants we say, re-echo the call of England for a reformation of Religion. Know that your disunion is the strength of Rome: adopt then a test of Truth, and be united. Remove from your several creeds obsolete doctrines, which have no other effect than to keep Protestants apart from each other, while they strengthen the reign of superstition and scepticism. England calls upon you to join her in a united effort to reform all Churches, and put an end to the reign of Ignorance, Error and Suffering.

To the friends of liberty at home and abroad we say, no longer confine your attention to civil revolutions, but go to the root of the evil, and, while you do not neglect the physical defences of society, remember that, unless public opinion is improved and maintained in a healthy state, it will defeat the best plans of Reform that can be formed.

We now turn to the civil and financial affairs of Europe, and if we examine the position and prospects of France and Germany the general state of Europe will be indicated. With this object in view we shall commence with

France.

The power which the French Nation has placed in the hands of Prince Louis Napoleon is that of a Dictator. He has been empowered to dictate a Constitution to France. This power is unconditional, but not irresponsible. The Elected must give an account of his stewardship to the Electors; and, we may add,

if Napoleon legislates contrary to the will of France, his reign will be short. While Universal Suffrage is maintained, the Government is to some extent Free, for the President and the House of Representatives are elected by the People. If the President legislates so as give an independent voice to the Legislative Assembly, he will do great service to France; but if his "Constitution" is that of a despotic ruler, it will not be permanent.

The New Constitution has appeared, and we need not say how deeply its contents have affected us. We had hoped for something better, and with every desire to excuse the late proceedings of the President on the plea of necessity, there is no longer any doubt that Napoleon's policy is favourable to despotism. The Constitution bears all the marks of a despotic power, and we trust France will soon awake from its apathy and abolish a form of Government which can only be classed with that of Russia and Austria.

The Distribution of the Soil has much to do with the welfare of a Nation. A grievous error has been committed here both in France and England.

The French Law is the opposite of the English. The law of France puts nothing in the power of the possessor except liberty of sale during lifetime. At the death of a proprietor the Law steps in and divides all equally among his children.

The Error in England in maintaining the Laws of Entail and Primogeniture has cost her much, but that of France is probably no less injurious to the general interests of a Nation. If France would alter her Law of succession, so as to give Landlords the freedom of willing away their Property to whom they please, and England change her Law so that the Eldest Son would carry no advantage over the other members of the family, the extremes of a redundant Proprietary in France

and a deficient one in England would be avoided.

The position of a landlord makes him jealous of change; and when this position is coupled with ignorance—generally the case with peasant-proprietors — a salutary Conservatism is apt to run into SELFISHNESS (Ultra-Toryism). This evil is especially to be dreaded after repeated attempts to reform the constitution in favour of liberty have failed, and the burdens of a suffering Proprietory and Peasantry have from that cause been increased.

We need scarcely say that SELFISHNESS is preferring the good of ourselves when that is opposed to the Public Good. It is the opposite of Patriotism.

The repeated failures of Republics offer strong temptations to the landlords of France to become traitors to the cause of Liberty; and if that class — in number five millions—

takes such a step, the prospects of the world are dark.

This danger—of the National Will becoming traitorous to its own liberty—has been completely overcome in England—not by the maintenance of the Laws of Entail and Primogeniture—but by the triumph of Free-trade principles.

England was saved by the efforts of a single patriot. And in pronouncing the name of Sir Robert Peel we speak to the heart of every friend of humanity. By the imposition of an Income Tax and the abolition of the Tax on Corn and other necessaries of life, the privileges of the rich were broken down and the burden of taxation spread more equally. In short, Sir Robert Peel's measures took from the rich and gave to the poor.

The influence of Rome will be used to stop a similar movement in France, and until some improvement can be made in public opinion on religious as well as political questions, it is

to be feared that success in the cause of liberty and justice must be partial and insecure.

England and France stand at the head of the Civilized World, and the only fear that they—the natural guardians of Liberty—should allow the decay of Civilization, is that they are divided on the subject of Religion. If France and England had both been reformed, there would have been no danger; but so long as hostile Faiths govern the two Nations, there can be no permanent union, and when divided their power is neutralized.

Another Reformation is the only remedy for this evil. The spirit of that movement is not that of party, but of principle. No man is asked to change his Church or his Religion. The Protestant is not asked to become a Catholic, nor the Catholic a Protestant, but both are called upon to examine their Faith, and conform their Belief to the principles of Truth. If the liberal Press of England and France advocate this remedy for English and French

disunion, a permanent basis of union will be found.

If Napoleon's Government harmonizes with the Despotic Governments of Europe, a new feature in Modern Civilization is evolved, for who ever heard of thirty millions of Despots? This is taking the worst possible view of the case; but looking to the state of Public Opinion in France, we cannot say that such a blow is impossible. Although unheard of in modern times, such a result is not unknown to Ancient History. The annihilation of Liberty in the reign of Augustus was of that description; and if we look to the sad results of that usurpation, it is not unreasonable to fear that the despotism of France may bring on retrogression in Civilization throughout the world.

The present crisis may well make the faith of the stoutest heart tremble, but amidst all the gloom we have hope.

We trust Napoleon will yet prefer the good of the world to the gratification of private ambition, whenever these two principles come into collision. He can introduce changes which shall improve the state of the nation, and a beneficial change in public opinion will follow.

Such is the position of France at this important epoch of her history; and, in now considering her future policy, we shall first state the causes of her present prostrate condition.

The peculiar evils of France are those connected with INDUSTRY and FINANCE. The expensive and prolonged reign of Louis the Fourteenth involved the nation in difficulties from which she never escaped. Her pecuniary embarrassments gave occasion to the breaking out of the first Revolution; and the "do-nothing" government of Louis Phillipe prepared the way for the present crisis.

The whole Financial and Industrial affairs of France call for revision.

The first Napoleon immortalized his name by abolishing the old laws of France and substituting the famous "Code Napoleon" in their stead. If his Nephew follows so noble an example, by taking a similar step in regard to Taxation,— this alone would reconcile Europe to the temporary cessation of Liberty in France; and unless Napoleon can gain the good opinion of the World by conferring an extraordinary boon, such as Universal Free Trade, his name must go down to posterity without a single redeeming quality.

The taxes are at present levied *directly* on Trades, and indirectly on the necessaries and luxuries of life and on Imports, for the double purpose of Protection and Revenue.

An Income and Property Tax is the natural cure for all the disorders which afflict unhappy France. Her present system has not only brought her to the brink of ruin, but, if the evil is not immediately corrected, there is imminent danger that France will be tempted, in a fit

of despair, to sell her liberty—it may be the liberty of Europe—for a bit of Bread.

An Income Tax of ten per cent. would enable the President to abolish all other Taxes. This high rate of Income Tax would admit of reduction when the evil effects of the Protective system were removed. As the income of the nation increased by means of Free Trade, the Revenue would be spread over a large amount. In this way a considerable reduction of Income Tax might be calculated on after a few years. The People would not object to pay ten per cent., and although that would be insufficient at first, very soon the Revenue from that source would equal the expenditure.

To effect so great a financial Revolution, the Government must provide itself with an adequate loan to cover any deficiency that may naturally be expected to accompany so vast a change in the first instance. A loan of ten or twenty millions for such a purpose would

not only be obtained without difficulty, but it would have the effect of raising the value of all Public Securities. Capitalists would freely lend their money for carrying out a financial arrangement which any man of common penetration would see to be one of large promise.

If the President has the Good of France at heart, he will effect a comprehensive change of Taxation. Its success would be such as to raise France to a pitch of greatness unknown in the history of Nations.

The Taxes on Foreign Cottons, Woollens and Linens enhance the price of these articles so much that these necessaries of Life are sold to the French public at one-third higher prices than there is any occasion for. The Tax on Foreign Iron is 150 per cent. This enormous Tax is maintained for the benefit of a handful of manufacturers. The cost of implements, machinery, and many articles of Household furniture is *trebled*, and the Public of France is taxed to that amount.

The suffering arising from these causes is incalculable. Suppose the direct loss to be only twenty millions sterling annually, we may form some idea of its effect. Were the People allowed to retain these twenty millions, that large sum would be laid out on productive works, and the industry of the Nation would receive immediate relief.

Free trade would double the trade of France. The cost of living would be lessened. The burdens of Landlord, Trader, Artizan and Peasant relieved. France is saved, and inducements to political apostacy removed.

No Nation has shown such aversion to free trade as France, although none stand in such need of its blessings.

There is an impression abroad that France and Germany are in advance of England in Civilization. Never was there a greater mistake. The superiority of France and Germany is in Learning, not in Knowledge and Intelligence. Knowledge comes from Experience,

which Learning may interpret, but cannot give. That England occupies the first rank in the family of Nations, the fact that she alone acts upon the self-denying principle of Free Trade is an unquestionable proof.

Universal Free Trade is destined more than any thing else to deliver the World from every form of Despotism, and when a new impulse is given to the Free Trade movement by its final triumph in England, we cannot doubt that Free Trade will soon become general over the whole World. It is the pioneer of Moral Reformation.

Germany.

These observations on Free Trade and Taxation in France will apply generally to other Nations, and in now proceeding to notice the affairs of Germany, it will be sufficient if we confine our attention to the relations of Germany with other States and of European Politics in general.

Had the late rising in Hungary and Italy

been successful, Europe would now have been enjoying relief from the iron rule of Russia and Austria. The first act in that noble struggle has ended in failure, and Liberty is gone. The burdens of the People have been doubled since 1848, and the yoke of slavery is more hopelessly galling than ever. The state of France is deplorable, but Germany, Italy and Hungary are even worse.

The Kings of Germany have thrown off the mask, and their late despotic acts have hastened the crisis. They have resolved to trust their fate to the power of the sword, regardless of the rights of the People. That the Diet of the German States should dare to sit in Frankfort with closed doors, and deliberately rob the People of their rights, is so intolerable, that the Sovereigns have united all Germany against themselves as one man. If the Diet would only take a dispassionate view of the matter—such as was represented to them by the King of Wurtemburg—war might yet be averted.

Germany has resolved that the present state of things shall *not* continue. It is no longer a question of what is best to be done. If the People differ on questions of policy, they are at last united in this, *that they shall not remain Slaves.*

Our continental neighbours have discovered that the world was not made for kings,—that a king is such only for the sake of the people. To hold that a king is more than the chief magistrate of the state is the way to encourage the abuse of power, of which insubordination is the consequence. All Error must produce Evil, and such is the Evil which flows from the doctrine of "Divine Right." When we look to the abuses of regal Governments of Europe, we cannot wonder that opinions favourable to Republicanism have gained ground.

A considerable section of the Liberal Party have committed a great error in advocating the Republican form of Government in the present state of Civilization. Such is evidently

a Government only suitable to a much higher state of Civilization than Europe can expect to reach for generations to come. Evil arising from abused power does not prove any system wrong; and when we see the working of a Limited Monarchy—such as that of England compared with Republics—it ought to teach the World that the reformation, and not the destruction of kingdoms, ought to be the aim of Europe.

The English Constitution owes its stability and efficiency to two principles. These are—

1st. The Executive is responsible to Parliament for the exercise of the Royal Prerogative.

2nd. The annual consent of the House of Commons is required before the national Purse can be touched.

These have been found effectual checks on the abuse of Power, and it is highly probable that no human institution can offer greater security. One thing is certain; they offer greater

checks to private ambition than the most perfect Republican Constitution we ever heard of.

Such is the British Constitution,—a scheme which is the result of experience, and which has triumphed over every difficulty.

If similar checks were adopted by the nations now struggling for Liberty, there would be no occasion for new schemes, which usually defeat the object for which they were intended. Let Ministers of the Crown be responsible to Parliament, and let the supplies be voted by the Commons annually, and the effect will be that the Crown will not invade the rights of the People, nor the People seek to trench on the prerogative of the Crown.

A Republic succeeds in America, but a new state of society organized from the first upon a new system forms no criterion for an old World. Republics have been repeatedly tried as substitutes for the kingly rule in Europe, and in every case they have been miserable failures; and if the impending strife is to end in

liberty, we must begin by dismissing from our minds all idea of engrafting Republicanism on nations accustomed to Royalty.

Without a King, private ambition has been found to overrule Patriotism. We have had a notable example of this in the late abortive experiment of a Republic in France. Instead of the Members of Assembly devoting themselves to beneficial Reforms, their attention was turned to private disputes and private interests. When a man cannot rise by legitimate means, he pulls down his neighbour, regardless of the evil effects of his malignity. In this way the welfare of France has been sacrificed on the altar of private interest.

A Nation which elects its King is a close approximation to a Republic. Poland is almost the only Kingdom blotted out of the map of Nations. Unlike the other Nations, she persisted in electing her King, which gave rise to private ambition, and caused her fall.

This result goes far to show that Republics are not calculated to thrive on European soil.

The only check on private ambition is the Crown; and until SELFISHNESS be subdued by an improved state of civilization, destruction may be expected to follow the Republican form of Government. Such is the office of the Crown; and in pleading the cause of Royalty, we do so because it is the cause of Liberty.

The aim of Russia and Rome—the two great Powers on the side of despotism—is Universal Empire, and such is obviously incompatible with LIBERTY. The division of supreme power by the numerous independent states of Europe is the only guarantee against the abuse of power, and the more that independence is limited by the preponderating influence of Russia and Rome, the greater is the decline of liberty.

The passes of the Balkins are in the hands of the Russians; Austria is little better than a dependency of Russia; and Rome—the organized

engine for controlling the rights of Conscience—supports the usurpation of both. Lord John Russell speaks of a conspiracy against European Liberty; and when we look at the attitude of Russia controlling every court in continental Europe, and at Rome putting forth her arts for the suppression of the liberty of Conscience even in England and America, it is evident that the powers of despotism are mustering their forces upon a gigantic scale for the final struggle. It is sufficient to name these facts to show how near the accomplishment of a Universal Empire may be.

The state of the contending parties is now very different from that of 1848. With a comparatively small military force to contend with, the People have been everywhere beaten; and how they are to succeed now, with the odds doubled against them, is a problem well worthy of consideration.

That portion of the Revolution which belongs to the past presents a series of unsuccessful

attempts by the People to resist the military. Looking to the unsuccessful issue of these struggles, we apprehend the conflict must no longer be the People against the Military, but of troops with troops, if a different result is to be expected.

Soldiers are men, and when they have the opportunity they will follow their convictions, and take the side of Liberty and Justice. It is only on the field of battle that they can change masters; and when this opportunity is afforded to the troops of Germany and Italy, we may look for a favourable change. To afford this opportunity—in the event of War—must be the aim of the friends of Liberty.

Every true Englishman must feel for the suffering of our brethren on the Continent. Our sympathies and advice shall cheer them on in the holy cause of liberty. We shall take the initiative in a great moral Revolution,—no less necessary than a civil Revolution.

And in proclaiming the advent of a second Reformation—the great want of the present age—the grand obstacle to Liberty will be removed—the Papal system, which unites and maintains European despotism, is abolished.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE GENERAL REVOLUTION.

Although the European Revolution,—which lasted from 1789 to 1815,—conferred undeniable benefits, its history is so stained with error and bloodshed, that the blood runs cold to contemplate another. We believe such another Revolution has again visited the World.

That convulsion of the Human Mind through which the World is now passing presents all the phenomena of a general Revolution even more deeply rooted and more widely spread than any

of its predecessors. Compare the state of Europe, when Napoleon's Revolution broke out, with its present state, and the serious nature of the present crisis will be apparent. In the case of Napoleon's war, many of the Nations were engaged in warfare against their will, but now every nation in Europe has taken the initiative in the Revolution. The impending War will accordingly find the population of every country prepared to take a side, and—with passions excited by past discomfiture—the struggle must be dreadful.

If at the outbreak of the Revolution of 1789 a definite and proper object had been given to the movement by the spread of correct information, the result would have been very different. It, like the present Revolution, might have taken the direction of a Reformation, and, instead of desolating Europe, it would have delivered it from oppression. It is well to discuss at this early period the extent of the impending changes, for to be forewarned is to

be forearmed. We shall begin the inquiry by stating the leading features and probable result of a general war, and conclude by showing how that evil may be prevented, and universal Peace restored.

If Italy, Poland and Hungary were erected into independent kingdoms, the German difficulty would be easily settled; for until there be some solution of that problem there can be no Peace.

A Confederation of independent States must ever be an empty name, and prolific of more evil than good; we should therefore say, that all ideas of reviving the German Confederation in any possible shape should be given up. The past history of the German confederation amply confirms this conclusion. It has kept Europe in almost constant strife for many centuries, and until it be abolished there can be no guarantee of Peace.

That the German race should govern the Italians in their own country, and against their

will, is intolerable and unjust. The first thing to be done is to drive the Germans out of Italy. The two races have been at war for fourteen hundred years, and nothing but separation can give Peace to either.

Merely to proclaim the independence of Italy, and not put her in a position to govern herself, would be cruel. To allow her to be broken up into petty states, as in the sixteenth century, is not to be tolerated. That would be ruinous to her peace, and Europe would be constantly disturbed by her dissensions. In these circumstances we know of no other remedy than to erect the entire Peninsula into a United Kingdom, and select one of her Sovereigns for her King. The King of Sardinia appears to have the best claim to this; and if the votes of the Italian States were favourable, there can be no objections to such a choice. Italy would become a powerful nation; from the Alps to Palermo, and from Genoa to Venice, she would be united. Blessed

in her climate and in her race, modern Italy would soon arise from her ashes, and rival the glory of her ancestors,—not in the art of war and oppression, but of peace.

The demand of Hungary is to have a King of her own. She, like Italy, will not have the Germans to reign over her. The justice of this demand is undeniable, and the peace of Europe demands its concession. To release the independent Provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia from the influence of the Russian and Turkish powers is very desirable, and it would serve the cause of Liberty if these provinces could be united with Hungary.

The ancient Kingdom of Poland must likewise be delivered from the rule of the Stranger, and erected into a hereditary Kingdom.

The settlement of the German Question in the present position of Europe is obviously impossible. The People desire Union—a demand which the Kings cannot grant consistently with the maintenance of their own

Power. But when the non-German States have been taken from Germany by the establishment of Italy, Poland and Hungary as independent States, the major difficulty to a united Germany will be obviated.

All the States of Germany must either be thrown into one, or Prussia and Austria must be united, and the minor States remain as they are. Either of these alternatives would effect the end desired. The latter, we think, the preferable one, because excessive centralization is ever to be avoided.

The drawback to German Union will be ended when the rivalship between Austria and Prussia ceases by the union of these States. In that case the Minor States would have no more influence than Belgium or Holland, nor could their independence disturb the peace and unity of the future Kingdom of Germany.

Supposing it be resolved to adopt such a course, the question arises how Austria and Prussia are to be united, and who is to be the

King of regenerated Germany? It would be for the Germans themselves to decide the question. The King of Prussia being more popular with the Germans than the Emperor, the election would probably be favourable to the House of Brandenburg. With such a result—when the peace of Europe depended on the House of Hapsburg renouncing its claim to the crown of Austria—we cannot doubt the Emperor would listen to any reasonable proposal. The People of Hungary would probably invite the Ex-Emperor to become their actual King and Governor; but if this could not be, then Italy might be given to the Emperor and Hungary to the King of Sardinia.

Europe has been accustomed to rely on a balance of power based on treaties. If such a balance ever existed, that is now gone; and it is high time that something more stable were looked to as the basis of Peace. When the Congress of Nations met at Vienna to settle the affairs of Europe in 1815, Germany

had made no demand for Union, neither were Hungary and Lombardy clamorous for independence; but when the next settlement of Nations takes place, those demands must be met, and nothing but an uncompromising demand for justice between Nation and Nation, on the part of the Liberal powers, can give peace to Europe.

Care must be taken to prevent anything approaching to a Universal Empire, either Moral or Civil; and after the lesson England lately received from Rome, our Government would be inexcusable if it did not insist on the claim of the Bishop of Rome to jurisdiction beyond his own Diocese being formally renounced.

Not to disturb the general peace, England must in the meantime be satisfied with a protest against the late Aggression; but in the event of War, the honour and independence of England demand that the Papal Bull of 1850 be recalled; and any future aggression on England, or on any of the powers of Europe,

be recognized as a violation of the Articles of Peace, and opposed to the Law of Nations.

The great desideratum of Diplomacy is a definite aim, based on the recognition of great principles. We do not say that any government could pledge itself to any particular course of action, but the general policy of government ought to admit of no change.

War.

We shall now trace the probable course of Events, should an appeal to arms be inevitable.

As it is impossible to say what side France may take, we must contemplate the struggle, first, with France against, and second, with France for us. On the one side we shall place the Nations devoted to Liberty, both civil and religious; on the other, the Nations accustomed to despotic rule and the tyranny of superstition. With the exception of France—which holds a doubtful position—any other arrangement of contending Nations would be unna-

tural, and therefore not likely to be permanent.

I. Prussia, Britain and America against France, Russia, Austria and Rome.

Prussia and her continental Allies would conduct the campaigns of the Rhine, where the disaffected population of Germany would join the standard of Liberty.

America and England would throw troops and military stores into Italy and Hungary, to enable the Italians, Hungarians and Poles to rise "en masse." And the Anglo-American Fleet would sweep the seas.

A European War, under these auspices, would be dreadful. But so long as the Church of Rome governs the policy of France, we fear the arms of that People will be turned against Liberty. The more we look into the subject the more clearly does it appear, that the only way to avert war, and in particular war with France, is the immediate adoption of a moral revolution by England.

II. France, Prussia, England and America against Russia and Austria.

If the French take the side of Liberty, it will probably be in consequence of the rise of a second Napoleon opposed to the interests of Rome and of despotism. Let us examine such a result.

A military dictatorship is at all times a desperate remedy; but after the usual means of Revolution have been exhausted, there may be no alternative. The rule of a popular dictator is certainly better than anarchy on the one hand, and avowed despotism on the other. A dictator can maintain his power only by popularity, and to be popular he must relieve the burdens of the People. Such is the guarantee against the abuse of dictatorial power, and we believe it is one practically greater than generally supposed. A dictatorship repeatedly saved the existence of the Roman Republic in cases not less desperate than that which has now overtaken Europe, and in every case the remedy was successful.

The cause of European Liberty is not entirely desperate, but its state is such that any day a second Napoleon may arise, and we doubt not the appearance of a military Dictator pledged to the annihilation of European Despotism, Injustice, and Oppression, would generally be popular.

The field has only to be taken by the legions of France or Prussia—devoted to the cause of universal liberty and justice—to insure success. No power could offer any resistance to such a movement but Russia; and when that Power saw the Italian and German troops taking the side of Liberty, she would retire to her *Steppes*. If France decides in favour of Liberty, the war of European freedom may safely be confided to her care; for with the assistance of the disaffected Populace she would speedily overrun all Europe, and give Peace to the World.

Such are the prospects of Europe in the event of War. With France on the side of Liberty the struggle will be short, and the

triumph of RIGHT over MIGHT complete; but with France among the despotic powers, the struggle will be tedious and the result probably undecisive.

As was the case with the former Revolution, England will be slow to involve itself in War; but as we cannot conceive a European War without being ourselves drawn into the vortex, we must not flatter ourselves that we can long maintain a position of neutrality. The Treaty of Vienna will eventually be broken, and when we shall see the abettors of despotism using the opportunity of riveting the chains of Europe to the utmost, it would be suicidal madness to remain idle spectators.

We fear that, sooner or later, we shall be obliged to declare war against Russia and Austria, for the policy of these powers is directly opposed to our interests. In that event, we trust both France and America will join us, and with that coalition the emancipation of Europe will not be doubtful.

Peace.

It is easy to get into war, but who can say when or where it may end? If France was either neutral or hostile, the contending Parties would be so equally balanced, that after a ten years' fight, the cause of Liberty might be as hopeless as ever.

In these circumstances we would strongly recommend our friends on the Continent to propose a compromise. The interests of the People and that of their sovereigns are ultimately one. If both Parties would consent to the necessary concessions, the causes of War and Revolutions would cease.

Compromise implies that each party shall give up part of what they respectively imagine their Rights; and upon that principle we shall indicate what appears to us might be made the basis of a settlement.

I. Universal Free Trade and Direct Taxation.—This concession would give immediate

and universal relief to the People. The Direct Tax would in no case exceed eight per cent., and very soon half that amount would suffice.

II. A General Disarmament.—The Army to be reduced to one-half its present number, and after ten years a further disarmament to be effected to the extent of one-half more.

The reduction of the Army is a guarantee that feelings hostile to the public interests have ceased to animate the Government, and without the saving thereby effected, the Income Tax would be oppressively high. Free Trade must, for these reasons, be coupled with a reduction of the Army, if any compromise is proposed. Of course no Government will grant these comprehensive Reforms, unless prepared to trust something to the good sense of the People, and, on the other hand, no People will agree to such a compromise, unless it has some faith in the good intentions of its Government.

As has been the case in England, Free Trade would be followed by good effects on both

People and Government. The Freedom of the Press, Religious Toleration, and a Constitutional form of Government would follow as natural consequences. But so long as mutual mistrust remains, there can be no compromise, and war is inevitable.

Generally speaking, nothing is to be gained by War, the destruction of Life and Property being the only result. If some one acquainted with statistics would take the trouble of estimating the loss of capital consequent on a ten years' European War, in the present state of the World, it would open the eyes of all parties to the Evil. And if the statist would give an estimate of the pecuniary gain that would arise from the adoption of Free Trade and Retrenchment, the difference in favour of Peace would be truly astounding.

The monied interest ought especially to advocate the universal adoption of Free Trade and Disarmament as the only remedy for the Revolution now about to desolate Europe.

A representation coming from that influential class, backed by a universal expression of Public Opinion, would command the earnest attention of every Cabinet in Europe. The interest of stockholders and loan contractors, more than any other class, is involved in the question at issue, and we know of none who could take the initiative with a better prospect of success. With a European War, one-half of the government debts of Europe would be repudiated, and the other half almost valueless.

History presents no precedent by which to estimate the effect of a general War in the present advanced state of Civilization, and the excited state of the Public Mind all over the Continent. That it will be more bloody and dreadful than any previous War we cannot doubt, especially if France either wavers in her policy or takes a position hostile to Liberty.

To the People we say, sacrifice your feelings if personal liberty and relief from oppressive burdens be granted. Peace and Pro-

sperity is what you want, and if universal Free Trade be granted, and the Army reduced, you will not only reap substantial benefits, but possess a guarantee for their continuance.

To those in power we say, place yourselves in the position of the People, and you would be as impatient of bondage as they. Already the People are taxed to the utmost bounds of endurance; and unless you put an end to Revolution, by granting the necessary concessions, industrial decay will soon involve both Government and People in inextricable ruin.

Even with no War, desolation awaits the Nations of the Continent if the present system continues. Armies and Taxation cannot go on increasing without producing a wilderness. It is by concession alone that the tumults of the People can be stopt. And if freedom from oppressive Taxation, and a reduction of the Army would reconcile an exasperated People, a more satisfactory way of restoring Peace and Prosperity could not be desired.

We are not of the opinion that this desirable result can best be effected by negociating with other Powers; let each Nation judge for itself, and if one Nation takes the initiative in Free Trade and Disarmament, its example will soon be followed. If either France or Germany would take the step indicated, other Nations would be glad to follow an example which was obviously the interest of all.

England desires Universal Peace. The moral of her late Exhibition of the industrial Products of all Nations was "*A fair field and no favour;*" and with this noble maxim —the basis of Justice and Peace—so emphatically and opportunely expressed, the sincerity of England in advocating the cause of Justice and Peace to all the nations of the earth is manifest.

England undoubtedly possesses the Key of Universal Peace. By reforming her BELIEF, and abolishing her Tariffs, she will produce

an effect on the World which ought to remove difficulties in the way of Peace.

If the Press of England be unanimous in advocating a General Reformation, there will be no War! The Revolution becomes a Reformation!

CHAPTER IX.

CIVILIZATION—THE FUTURE.

That our meaning may be as clear as possible, we shall present the reader with the result of the present Work in a definite form.

For this purpose we shall suppose thirty years to have passed, and that all the Reforms proposed have been faithfully followed out and in full operation. Under the impression that we are living in the year 1882, we shall give a description of the then existing World.

The reign of *Selfishness* and *Oppression* is ended, that of JUSTICE and BENEVOLENCE has come. After a thirty years' conflict, TRUTH

and TOLERATION have prevailed over ERROR and DESPOTISM.

The Socialist Doctrine of Justice being subordinate to Benevolence is extinct.

Profound Peace reigns. The Government and boundaries of Nations have been finally fixed upon the principles of Justice. The causes of War and Revolution removed, their recurrence is impossible. The World has at last discovered, that men were not made for fighting or disputing about Political and Religious Creeds. No standing armies exist.

Different Governments and Churches exist. Some Nations are Monarchial, others Republican, but all are free — even Russia itself has now a Constitutional Government. Some Churches are Episcopal, ruled by Bishops; others are Presbyterian or Congregational; but on Belief there is perfect unity.

The Mahometan and Pagan Religions stand out, but these are fast yielding to the influence of united Christendom.

The aim of the World was once to heap up riches and to tyrannize over each other, or to spend life in Devotion and Worship, falsely called Religion. The aim of all is now to be religious. Practice and not Profession has become the test of Religion, and in "doing the Truth" men love Truth and hate Error.

The means of Religion had been mistaken for its object (self Reformation). Instead of doing good, a fruitless profession fostered superstition and oppression, and persecuted the Truth. The means of Grace are now used as such; the Churches are filled, and Ignorance, Irreligion, Vice and Wretchedness everywhere hide their faces. The commandments of Christ, to follow Truth and to love God and our neighbour, in all we do and think, are universally acknowledged and acted on.

Man can no longer rise by oppressing his neighbour. The abolition of Class privileges, and the removal of Ignorance, render this impracticable; his attention is therefore turned

to the art of peace. As an individual, he educates himself, and rises to independence by industry; as a member of society his acts secure the good of all.

There is now no inducement to shun the Truth oneself, or to mystify it so that others may not find it. No writer or publisher is any longer afraid to publish the Truth. Until now no press in Europe was ever free. The British press was free from government controul, but so long as respectable booksellers refused to publish works—for no other reason than that they discuss the Truth of established opinions and practices, — the English Press could not be said to be free, and until the Reformation had put down all opposition, the British press gave an uncertain sound.

Until now the invention of Printing had produced no permanent fruit. The Press and the Pulpit have been the means by which the Second Reformation has been effected. While these means have given the World a glorious

Reformation, the Reformation has given a free Pulpit and Press.

Knowledge or Science is now triumphant. Philosophy is absorbed in science, and forgotten. Man is at last invested with complete dominion over Nature. The principles of Moral Science are universally submitted to. They admit of no more doubt than any fact of Mathematics or Chemistry. Science is not perfect, but it has attained that state of perfection that its principles admit of universal application without fear of contradiction, and as far as the wants of Man are concerned, Knowledge is complete.

The Sceptic and Idolator are extinct.

The aim of the World is no longer the pursuit of Power, but Righteousness. Desire for the adulation of others is supplanted by a desire to satisfy the Conscience; actual worth takes the place of hypocritical worth.

Righteousness is the fountain of Happiness. Pleasure is not Happiness. When innocent, it

passes away with its cause, and has little or no influence over Happiness. When vicious it is followed by remorse. All men may be happy; for although the character of Happiness depends on talents, opportunities and acquirements, all who follow the dictates of the conscience are happy. From the beggar to the King on the Throne all good men have now one aim in Life, that of pleasing their own consciences.

The supremacy of Conscience is complete.

This Divine Aim causes all Men to prefer the dictates of the Understanding to those of the Feelings, and our inward CONVICTIONS are felt to be the Voice of Conscience. Right is preferred to Wrong, and Truth to Error. To act otherwise, is to deviate from the acknowledged aim of Life. This error, formerly the rule of Life, is now the exception.

TRADE is universally FREE.

Instead of falling with the cost of living, Wages have risen. The increased facility given

to trade by the absence of Tariffs, and the increase of Capital, owing to the progress of science and the maintenance of peace throughout the world, have contributed to raise the value of Labour.

The dominion of the Conscience has had a marked influence on this change. The World has discovered that Wealth is not the object of Life, and money is saved. The effect of this change is, that the hours of Labour are contracted, and manual labour ceases at earlier periods of Life. This desirable result has kept the labour and goods market from being overstocked, and room is made for the employment of an increasing population.

At length excessive COMPETITION has been checked, and the remedy for that evil found.

Half the earnings of the World used to be spent in dissipation, and in keeping up standing armies and other useless appendages of Government. This waste has been greatly reduced, and the saving adds to the comforts and independence of all.

The abolition of class legislation has not abolished "Classes," nor equalized Wealth. These inequalities remain. Stripped of unjust privileges, the benefit of a mixed state of Society is acknowledged. The *low* have been raised, and the *high* possess nothing more than their right. Their lands, property and character are their own. The man of talents and enterprise, —it may be of fortune,—rises to be a ruler or a teacher. Master, Servant and Lord have their respective duties to perform, and these gradations of rank are great incentives to diligence. Nothing now prevents the peasant rising to the rank of the lord.

Adventures in Trade were formerly as likely to be followed by loss as by profit. This evil is now removed; diligence and prudence seldom fail to be rewarded by success. Prosperity gladdens the hearth of all. This change in the commercial world is so satisfactory, that men are beginning to ask if there are any limits to the decrease of labour. That labour will con-

tinue to decrease with the increase of knowledge, there is no doubt; and it is difficult to assign any limit to its reduction.

Everywhere Art supplants Instinct. It is rapidly becoming universal. The actions of men are governed by the knowledge they have acquired of the Arts of Life, and actions are no longer left to chances or whim. The Laws of Nature are known and obeyed. Original Nature, both external and internal, gives place to cultivated Nature. Such is the object of creation, and the results we have named indicate much progress in fulfilling the intention of the Creator.

The Consciousness of having done the Will of God imparts an abiding Happiness which surpasseth Knowledge. Possessing this knowledge, Man is prepared for exchanging a life of probation for a superior state. We see the use of our past life. It has made us what we are—an Intelligence; and we know that He who so

wisely planned all nature to produce this precious fruit will not suffer the product to be lost.

If nature exhibited no proof of power as wonderful as preserving a spirit from death, we might fear the possibility of annihilation; but as creation abounds with such wonders, it is not the power but the will which is feared. The fear of God remains, but perfect Religion casteth out fear.

It is more than probable that we could not become an immortal Intelligence without first being a mortal, and mortality involves the dissolution of the Body. To be perfected in Heaven, it is necessary that all pass through death.

The language of Scripture respecting the future is necessarily of a highly figurative character. The sacred writers could not otherwise have made their meaning understood, especially to the world in a primitive state of Civilization. The language of Heaven would

have conveyed no meaning without the use of figures belonging to terrestrial affairs.

"The Judgment Day" is taken from a Court of Justice. "Fire" paints the agony of the Conscience. "Satan" is an apt personification of the subtlety and malignity of the unrenewed spirit.

If we read the Scriptures literally, as regards a Judgment Day, that involves belief in an intermediate state. There is no reason to fear that such awaits us. We believe that the moment we pass out of this World we awake in eternal Life.

If our Life here determines our state in the next—of which there is no doubt—then Heaven and Hell may be described as one World, in which every shade of condition marks the state of its inhabitants. Superior privileges will be the reward of the righteous, and inferior privileges the punishment of the wicked.

We believe that Angels exist, and that Satan is a fallen angel; but men have ceased to be-

lieve that a Personal Spirit entered into our first Parents, and polluted the Work of God, an interpretation which impeaches either the omnipotence or the perfection of the Almighty.

Regarding the future life we can say little. That it will not be a state of Idleness there is no doubt, for the only preparation which this World gives would in that case be useless. A new language,—the language of Heaven,—must be learned, and the history of all worlds will furnish the materials of an endless Life of activity and joy.

Such is an attempt to describe a regenerated World. Are we asked if the present generation is likely to witness its glory, we answer, that will depend on the verdict which England shall pass on the Civil and Religious questions which now agitate the Public Mind, and we trust we have done our part in supplying *the materials of thought* by which every Man may form his own opinion.

CHAPTER X.

THE SCHISM — REFORMATION UNAVOIDABLE.

The Oxford aggressive party use this language to their Evangelical brethren :—

"That shams rot like cankers, and abound in the Church of England, is the source of present troubles, and the object of mutual dissensions.

"These, and such as these, what are they but blots and scandals and shams,—shams eating away the life of the Church, and paralysing her vigour, making us a spectacle of pity to God and to angels,—a spectacle of derision to men,—an incubus dragging us down to the

dust, rendering exertion powerless and aspiration well nigh vain,—shaming decency and destroying truth,—and in many breasts, alas! quenching faith! Gradually acquiring, however, the habit of probing into the depths of our system, we are getting weary of unreality. *We are pronouncing against all compromisers to ward off the evil day.*"—*Ecclesiastic.* July, 1851.

These few lines speak volumes. The spirit displayed shows that there exists a serious if not an irreparable breach between the two great parties into which the Church is split.

The Oxford demand is nothing else than that the Clergy should be exalted into a separate race of men, and allowed to exercise an assumed supernatural sovereignty over the Intellect of the Nation. This demand cannot be granted by the People without giving up their own liberty of Conscience; and if, in making this demand, the Oxford Party think they can carry the People with them, they will be sadly mistaken.

The People will discover that *the right of private judgment* (which the Reformation conferred) is to be taken away; and this only requires to be known, to open the eyes of the People to their danger.

If the Church wishes to retain the confidence of the Nation, she must come boldly forward in this the Nation's hour of peril, and pronounce against *priestly exaltation* and *anti-toleration;* for the present danger cannot be averted by a half-and-half protest against these innovations? Unless a decided stand be authoritatively made, the fate of the Church is sealed.

The question at issue resolves itself into this, —Is the supernatural authority claimed by the Oxford Party true or false? If it be true, it should be granted; if false, the legislative power of the Church ought instantly to be put forth to suppress the heresy.

The Church is all but rent asunder. Already two Churches seem to struggle in the womb of the future. The one demands that Toleration

be renounced, and looks abroad which way to turn. Unless the claim to apostolic privileges be given up, this section must either erect a new Church with a Hierarchy of its own, or submit to the degradation of going over to Rome. It is impossible to say what number of the clergy may be tainted with *anti-toleration principles*, but we are afraid they amount to one-fifth of the entire Church—although the Archbishop of Canterbury, in his letter to Mr. Gauthorne, supposes the Church to be much more sound.

To both Parties we make an appeal. To the Evangelical Party we say, be consistent, and act upon your belief, "that the effects of Grace are non-miraculous," and fear not to concede any prudent and well-considered scheme of Reform. Be candid, and either admit the claim of the Oxford party, or give up all claim to a supernaturally endowed Priesthood, for one or other of these alternatives is necessarily true. To the Oxford Party we say, go on with your

demand for Reform, to the utmost limit consistent with the principles of your Church and of Truth. The laity, like yourselves, are weary of "*unreality*," and will heartily join you in your endeavours to make Religion a real thing.

To be the heralds of a new Reformation, and once more to spread the glad tidings of "PEACE ON EARTH AND GOOD-WILL TO MEN," is an honour reserved for the few. If influence were the object, we would point to the coming Reformation as the road to it; but a far higher principle must animate the Clergy, if, in the present emergency, Good is to come out of Evil. Let the spirit of party be exchanged for a spirit of conciliation,—let all parties meet on the principle of making concessions to Truth, then Truth will have her perfect work, and a divine harmony will restore the Church to her proper station and influence in the Nation, and the threatened Disruption will end in peace and prosperity.

The Westminster Assembly must once more be convened, after a recess of two centuries; and its duties will be of similar kind to that of the first. It will have to revise the work of the first Assembly, and produce a "Confession" in keeping with the advanced state of Knowledge to which the world has happily reached—an Assembly, which may definitely settle the Articles of Faith for many generations to come.

A northern journal offers the following advice:—"The only chance, therefore, of foreclosing either of these gloomy issues, (viz. remaining unreformed, or cancelling Toleration,) to all that this country has done on behalf of the cause of civil and religious liberty, would be *a brave resolve on the part of the Church to purify her Faith; reconstruct the edifice of her Governmental System*; *and conform her Practice to the advance achieved by the age in Knowledge.* Upon that sole condition can she combine the principles, dear to England, of independent action and generous toleration, and

under their united influence pursue triumphantly the noble career which it is the mission of Protestantism to run, and make head against all priestly and political aggression, external or internal."

Such we hope will immediately become the desire of the Church herself, and the united demand of the Nation. Before further Reformation is rejected, the Church would do well to remember the shortsighted policy of Tarquin when he refused to purchase the Books of the Sybil. Not less just is the demand for a Reformation in the Church than was the demand of Mr. Cobden; and we firmly believe that the final success of the Second Reformation is no less certain, than was the late Commercial Reform when the aristocracy indignantly refused the liberal terms of Lord John Russell.

If the Church refuse the excellent advice given grave results must ensue. The Church will speedily go to pieces of her own accord, and that bond which at present unites society

will be lost. England will then have to run her course under very different circumstances, for this bond once broken cannot be restored. The Church will be abandoned by the People, and the Nation will lose the benefits of her Church.

If, on the other hand, the Church yields to the call for Reform, she will make a nobler sacrifice to the God of Truth than the world ever saw. It will be a spectacle to arrest the attention of thoughtless man, when a Clergy proves itself worthy of its high office as the appointed Ministers of God, and the Guardians of the Religion of the Nation,—we say when the Church assumes this attitude, the Nation will welcome her to a position and an influence to which she is a stranger. Let her follow the advice given, and she shall have three-fourths of the people with her; if she refuse, error and disunion must cure themselves by the natural process of decay. Abuse will cure itself in the long run, but such cures are ever attended

with destructive effects, and it is in order to avoid destruction and revolution that we have ventured to propose an adequate measure of Reform.

The sacrifices which Truth demands are never palatable; and although the proposed Reformation may be startling at first, yet a little thought will convince any reasonable man that nothing but great sacrifices somewhere can put the Church right. And when the Clergy look to the other alternative,—that of renouncing Toleration,—they will find the sacrifices there demanded are much greater.

But internal anarchy is not the only element which is sapping the foundations of Protestantism. Rome is likewise active.

The Roman Catholic Clergy are zealous and enthusiastic, and with no opponents at all to compare with them in zeal, they are making sad havoc in our towns and villages. Unless there is a change for the better soon, Rome and Oxford must enrol the aristocracy within

their pale, and, what is no less discouraging, they will take the lower orders likewise. They have only to follow up what they have so successfully begun to bring about this issue. It has been proved that this must take place unless a purer faith be immediately adopted by the Protestants. Behold in prospect the first act in the drama.

The last hope of Protestantism is in the middle classes, and in them we have every confidence; but when a section of a nation is hemmed in on all sides—as the middle classes will be—they must give way. They will contend to the last, fighting gloriously under a deceitful banner—that of *justification by faith alone.* How long the siege may hold out no man can say, but that Protestantism, both in England and on the Continent, is doomed to fall, unless completely reformed, there is no longer any reason to doubt.

Lord Aberdeen, in speaking of the Papal Aggression, said, *that every one was agreed that*

something ought to be done, but he omitted to say what that "something" was. The power of the Church of Rome in this country does not come from Parliament, but from Opinion; hence, as Parliament has no jurisdiction over the cause of the Papal Aggression (or Roman propagandism), no act of Parliament can check its progress. It is by acting on OPINION alone that the triumph of Rome can be stopped; and in these circumstances we expect we have supplied what was wanting in his Lordship's speech, in instituting an inquiry into the elements of Opinion, and in advocating the Second Reformation, which is the result of that inquiry.

It is to the adoption of a consistent protest against Superstition, and unfurling a better standard, that the Protestant Faith can be expected to stand, and at last put down opposition. Instead of one class of Miracles let her protest against all unscriptural Miracles; and instead of *justification by faith alone*, let the

banner of the Reformed Protestant Church be *justification by faith in the Love of God and in the obedience of Man.*

A large proportion of men have no Creed, and those who have cannot define a single doctrine of the creed they profess to hold. The practice of Christianity is as defective as its creed. Great lamentations are made over the want of fruits; but as men cannot practise what they do not know or cannot comprehend, we must define the doctrines of our Faith before we can expect a satisfactory result. The primitive and unintelligible state of our creed is sufficient to account for its want of success. The object of Religion is unknown; hence we need not wonder that such a state of religion produces little fruit.

Such is the deplorable state of Religion; and the reason we desire a Reformation is simply to make an almost barren tree bear fruit, and because it is the only cure for the Papal Aggression, the schism in the Church of England, and

the dissensions among Protestants generally. Vast as these objects are, no one can doubt that they, in common with all evils, admit of a cure more or less perfect. The Church is the only means of delivering the world from the fetters of ignorance, irreligion, and misery. It is only by her that the cheering prophecies of the Bible can be fulfilled; and we have shown that this cannot come to pass without a Reformation of our Creed. Reformation must be the prayer of every good man; and if that which we have proposed cannot be gainsaid, it ought to be accepted. The times are extremely favourable to the present movement, for every one is impressed with the conviction that a Reform of some kind is wanted.

Such is the present state of the Papal Aggression question in England, and the times are surely sufficiently critical to justify us in bringing forward an impartial and comprehensive inquiry into the whole question. There is no hope but in Reform, and if the Clergy will only

turn their attention to the subject they will discover that if there is a hope, that hope is Reform. The Church of England has put off Reformation so long that she must now make up her mind to lose a portion of her Clergy; but serious and alarming as this prospect is, it is surely better to come to a Reformation at once than to put off the day of reckoning until the entire Church is sunk in Superstition. There is encouragement in the fact that few of the laity are likely to follow the schismatics, if the cure is not delayed. Let a Reformation be pursued with a steady and well-defined purpose, and all will yet be well; otherwise woe to British Liberty and Toleration.

CHAPTER XI.

CONCLUSION.

The Priesthood.

Feeling. What is the Catholic Church?

Intellect. A Catholic can have no Faith independent of "The Holy Catholic Church"—a fiction which comes in the place of God, and occupies the place of Evidence.

With this fiction the Catholic needs no evidence for Scripture, Traditions, or any thing that the Clergy or Church says or does. Shake a Catholic's faith in this Idol, he has nothing left. His belief in Scripture and

Tradition vanishes with his Faith in a miraculously supported Priesthood.

Feel. Explain the Theory of "THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH."

Intel. The theory of a Supernaturally supported Priesthood is—that Christ would not have undertaken the Salvation of the World, and only appeared on the earth for a short period, and to a limited portion of mankind. It is therefore taken for granted that Christ has provided for the wants of his Church in all ages and nations by means of a standing Priesthood or Church, and that the Roman Catholic Church *alone* is that Church.

Such is the utmost that can be said in support of the Doctrine. It will be perceived, that, although the reasoning is exceedingly plausible, it is reasoning upon a pure assumption, as no evidence of any kind is offered.

This Doctrine constitutes the Priest a kind of mediator between God and man. To him alone are committed the oracles of God. The

word of God must be exclusively interpreted by the " Church."

To the Clergy this fiction offers Power and Influence over the People. To the People it brings down an offended God to treat with them for the remission of Sin, through the mediation of the Priest. Christ is made to authorize the forgiveness or retention of Sin by the priest. By compliance with the demands of the priest, any Catholic can assure himself of Heaven. Belief in the fiction of " the Holy Catholic Church" is pleasing to human nature. It is a delusion destructive of the highest interests of Man.

Feel. State your authority for calling the theory a fiction.

Intel. It is impossible to disprove a negative; but so long as the Catholic and Oxford Party refuse to condescend on evidence, the doctrine of " a Holy Catholic Church" is a nullity.

Feel. The Catholics appeal to Scripture and Tradition.

Intel. If they did, the Papal claim could easily be disproved. The Papal Church claims the right arbitrarily to interpret the Scripture on its own authority, thereby showing that the Church of Rome claims to be a co-ordinate if not a superior authority to Scripture, Tradition or Experience.

Feel. The Church of Rome exists, and appeals to that Fact.

Intel. I deny sovereign authority to any Church whatever; for instance, I deny an exclusive right to any Church to determine the Will of God, or any right to forgive or retain Sin.

Christianity in the early centuries of the Church took the form of Catholicism, which has been shown to be a corruption of pure Doctrine, on the model of the Jewish Church. If any Church could claim a delegated authority from the Deity, the Protestant Church—which is partially reformed Catholicism—has a better claim than the Church of Rome.

Feel. The Catholic Church is older than the Protestant.

Intel. That Catholic Church sprung out of a low state of civilization, and confessedly less pure than the Reformed Churches. If age was a credential of a Divine Mission, the religions of Brahma and Buddha might claim the sovereignty of Christendom, as they are older than the Church of Rome.

As the controversy now stands, the Catholics rest their authority on no evidence whatever; and being in that position, the Protestants are entitled to call the Doctrine on which the authority of the Papal Church rests—a Fiction and a Superstition.

Feel. The Catholic Church appeals to our Lord's words to St. Peter—"On this rock will I build my Church, &c."

Intel. If the Catholic Church derives her authority from Scripture, she must submit to Scripture; and that condition is incompatible with the claim set up by the Church of Rome!

Our Lord gave no power to St. Peter to institute an endless succession of Bishops and Clergy, and it is certain the Apostle never exercised such a power. The Doctrine of perpetual Apostolic Ordination either involves a miracle performed on those receiving Ordination, or it means nothing; and no man can listen to that doctrine without believing in miracles. Miracles for which no evidence, either from scripture or fact, can be adduced.

Feel. I do not see how the Church of England can consistently protest against the Catholic Church, so long as the doctrine of "The Holy Catholic Church" is one of the articles of her own creed.

Intel. She cannot. While the Protestants hold that doctrine, they must expect defeat. With that doctrine the Church of England is neither Catholic nor Protestant. The Papal Aggression will inevitably drive the Church of England to Rome, or to a new Reformation; for there is no middle course between Truth and Error.

Feel. While I deny the claim of the Catholic and Oxford Clergy to Apostolic power, I am not prepared to go the length of saying that the Clergy are nothing more than Instructors, to whom the cure of souls is committed.

Intel. It is easier to deny than to prove; since you object to my opinion, perhaps you will state yours. If a Clergyman is not specially and supernaturally endowed for his office, you will find it impossible to make him more than a man.

Feel. There is no middle course between your doctrine and Oxford or Rome. The existing Schism will force the Church to speak out and state what her Belief really is. I agree with you that the claim of Rome is a fiction; but I do not like the alternative of a Reformation.

Intel. There are many Churches of the Reformation which hold no such fiction, and their Clergy are quite as much respected as those who claim Apostolic powers.

Feel. Would it not be dangerous to Religion for the Churches of Rome and England to renounce their claim to Divine right?

Intel. It is certain that Error cannot produce Good; and as the claim set up by Rome and Oxford is erroneous, it will be the salvation of Religion at once to renounce it. The whole scope of the New Testament is opposed to the idea of an exclusive Church.

Feel. Then you think the Clergy of the Christian Church are not Priests in the sense attached to that word in the Old Testament.

Intel. Certainly not. The Old Testament dispensation was a Theocracy, with ordained sacrifices to be offered by priests, who were to stand, as it were, between God and Man, and make atonement for the people. But under the New Dispensation the old Religion is abolished.

Feel. Since the Catholic Faith necessarily excludes the light of evidence and reason,

the Catholics will be the last to join the Reformation.

Intel. I am not certain of that. The major difficulty to the Reformation of the Catholic Church is removed when a true and consistent Faith is proposed for its adoption. A Catholic cannot purify his Faith until he knows something better; and if the new Reformation is more in accordance with his convictions of Truth than his present Faith, an immediate reformation of the Catholic Church may be expected. The Second Reformation will speak as powerfully to the consciences of Catholics as of Protestants.

Feel. Will you now explain the claim of the Oxford Party?

Intel. Both in spirit and in doctrine their claim is identical with that of the Church of Rome.

The Oxford party, like the Catholics, claim supernatural power to the Priesthood. They demand the exclusive right of determining the

will of the Almighty, and of making that will known to the People in the forgiveness or retention of their sins. They, like the Catholics, can have no Faith independently of "*The Holy Catholic Church*," and by means of that superstition they conveniently evade the necessity of evidence for their Belief.

You will perceive, that with the fiction of "the Church" to fall back upon, the Clergy may make their Belief what they please, without fear of contradiction. This fact shows the enormity of the claim, and the danger which now threatens the Nation.

Feel. I quite agree with you, that both Scripture and Experience condemn the claim put forth by the Clergy of Rome and Oxford. It is a claim to Class Privileges of a most subtile and dangerous kind, one which no people can grant without renouncing liberty of Conscience, and laying violent hands on Reason, the noblest gift of God, and the only guardian of liberty. The Right of Private Judgment is the sheet-anchor of Civilization.

Feel. What is Truth?

Intel. Belief, founded on Evidence.

Feel. What is Evidence?

Intel. The light of Nature and Revelation; viz. Scripture and Facts.

Feel. What is Superstition?

Intel. Belief, without Evidence.

Feel. What is Scepticism?

Intel. Unbelief of Truth.

Feel. What do you mean by the supremacy of the Conscience?

Intel. To obey the dictates of Truth in preference to the impulse of Feeling is to be ruled by the Conscience.

Feel. Your principle is good, but you will never get men to practise it; unfortunately Self-denial is unpleasant.

Intel. Reason and Conscience are powerful. Man is so constituted, that if you convince him of a Truth he can only disobey such conviction at the expense of mental suffering.

Self-denial is elevating to the character, and it soon becomes much more pleasant than the gratification of impulse. Knowledge and Practice is all that is wanting to regenerate the World. The Almighty has left nothing unprovided for.

Feel. What is Religion?

Intel. Practice is Religion. Faith is Theology or Belief.

I. The Christian obeys the dictates of his Conscience in preference to the impulse of his Feelings.

II. He prefers the good of others to his own good, when these principles jar. The first principle governs Belief, the last Action.

Self-denial in practice has been entirely overlooked by the Christian Church. This is the cause why all religious and political creeds are so defective and so unsuccessful.

Feel. Will you explain the first-named principle more fully?

Intel. To like and dislike without Reason is

pure Feeling. Impulse or Feeling, minus Reason, is common to the lower animals. It is original nature unenlightened by the intellect. If we believe and act simply because we like to do so, we sin against our better nature, and against the precepts of Christ. The Conscience must be consulted and obeyed.

Feel. If it be wrong to obey the Feelings, when condemned by the understanding, I should like to know how the feelings should have been created with us.

Intel. The susceptibilities and faculties of the Soul form the germ of the Soul, and unless these existed, there could no more be a Soul than the stately oak could grow without an acorn.

Feel. I have always been taught that the Religion of the Heart is everything, and the Understanding nothing, and you now tell me that the religion of the Heart is evil and Sin, unless it be acted on by the understanding! Will you state your authority for this?

Intel. In the third chapter of St. John's Gospel, our Saviour condemns those who LOVE Darkness. This is the gratification of the Feelings and denial of the Understanding. He commends those who DO the Truth, and we cannot *do the Truth* unless we first know the Truth. Such is my authority for saying that the Religion of the Feelings, unenlightened by the understanding, is Irreligion.

Feel. Feeling is powerful to guide action, but Intellect is cold and imbecile. The change you propose would rob Religion of its power.

Intel. Do not misunderstand me. I do not propose to discourage the Religion of the Feelings; on the contrary, I would stimulate such; but what I insist on is, that the Feelings be subjected to the authority of the Conscience.

Feel. I have always admired the third chapter of St. John above all the chapters of the Bible, but your interpretation never occurred to me before. Yours is unquestionably a new interpretation, but like the thousand and one

which have preceded it, I presume you have no proof of its truth which does not apply to others.

Intel. I have. What distinguishes my interpretation from all its predecessors is, that it agrees with the Test of Experience.

Feel. That is new. What is Experience?

Intel. I. Ascertained facts relating to external things. II. Ascertained facts relating to our internal consciousness. From these two sources all knowledge comes. Science is the World's repository of knowledge. Into it discoveries are poured, and from which all conflicting Belief is excluded.

Feel. May not facts deceive?

Intel. A supposed fact contradicting other facts is not a fact. It is therefore a contradiction to suppose that general facts or principles can be fallacious.

Feel. Will you now explain your second principle, that of preferring the good of others to our own when these are contrary?

Intel. To be charitable, and not judge evil of our neighbour's motives *without sufficient reason,* is one aspect of Christian practice. Another is to do nothing to injure our neighbour; both duties flow from Love. Now abideth Faith, Hope, Charity, but the greatest of these is Charity or Love. The 13th chapter of Corinthians, from which these words are taken, gives a perfect description of Christian practice. St. Paul prefers Practice to Faith.

Feel. You take Scripture for the groundwork, and use your Intellect—which you say comes from Knowledge and Reason—to interpret its meaning.

Intel. Precisely.

Feel. Previous attempts to reform Religion either fell into the error of Rationalism, by ignoring the Feelings, or into Spiritualism, by ignoring the Intellect. You seem to have avoided both errors; and if you have succeeded in pulling up the Tares without injuring the Wheat, the great want of the age is supplied.

Intel. You may rely upon it God did not give Experience and Reason for nothing—the neglect of these adjuncts of nature is the cause of the failure of Civilization, and the prevalence of suffering. Not only are Reason and Experience the best gifts of God, but they include all gifts. That they are the intended interpreters of the Scriptures is certain.

Feel. Then to cultivate the understanding, and to love your neighbour, is the whole of religion.

Intel. Certainly not. The first and great commandment is, to love God.

Feel. Will you explain that great duty?

Intel. We love God when we do his commandments. A perception of the love of God to man in the gift of Christ, calls forth the emotion of love to God in return. This supplies a new motive to the practice of Religion.

Feel. Then the religious state of the soul depends on the conduct.

Intel. It does. Without the practice of love

to our neighbour there can be no Religion. In that case it is impossible to love God. St. Paul states, that although our Faith could remove mountains, yet without Love we are nothing.

Feel. I am convinced that Faith without Works is dead, in other words, that Practice and not Faith is Religion. Will you now define Religion?

Intel. Righteousness, or right conduct, is Religion.

Feel. Do you include Religious Services in Right conduct?

Intel. Of course. Public worship is necessary to keep Man in remembrance of his dependence on God for all things, and his obligation to love and serve him in all we do. The Ordinances of Religion are the means of Religion, not Religion itself.

Feel. My Feelings alone rebel against the Reformation. I have all along been taught to rely exclusively on Faith for Righteousness,

and you now tell me I must be righteous myself.

Intel. A Tree is known by its Fruit. "Without holiness no man shall see the Lord." "The pure in heart see God." Unless we have righteousness, it is certain we cannot be Christians. This is common sense, and now that you have granted the authority of Conscience, you must submit to its dictates.

Feel. If I felt I had the power to improve myself, my fear would cease.

Intel. You cannot have this experience until you make a trial. There is no difficulty in giving effect to the dictates of your understanding in preference to your feelings, if you please to do it; neither is there any difficulty in acting so as not to injure your neighbour; and as these two duties embrace the immediate object of Christianity, it is certain that man may be righteous if he pleases. Man is perfectly free to do good or evil.

Feel. I must confess I do not see how we could be responsible, if I had no power to work Righteousness, as well as to work Evil; nor can I understand the use of Christ's preaching, if his hearers had no power to turn from their sins. I have attended Church faithfully during a long lifetime. I have read little else than Religious Books all my days. But although my Conscience has been soothed, I am not a whit better or wiser than when I first imagined myself converted. My inner man has undergone no change, except to be more rebellious than ever. My only resource was to lay the blame of my evil spirit on Satan and my first parents. Now I perceive the mission of Christ was to proclaim the Truth, and warn men to flee from the wrath to come.—I perceive that BELIEF is not Religion. The only way I can account for my error is, that I never before took the trouble to think for myself.

Feel. The proposed Reformation would restore the Catholic Doctrine of Works.

Intel. Certainly not. The doctrine that Practice and not Faith is Religion—the essence of the Second Reformation—never belonged to the Catholic Church. The Catholic doctrine of Works is seeking Salvation from the observance of Human ordinances. That doctrine being destructive of the practice of Christianity it cannot be too strongly condemned.

Feel. What is your objection to the present interpretation of the New Testament? Do not the Clergy stimulate the Feelings, and at the same time cultivate the understanding?

Intel. Religion, as it now stands, is everything and nothing! Man is told that he can do nothing, and yet he must work, or his religion is vain. That he can know nothing and yet ignorance is evil. In teaching opposites, there is no wonder that men are ever

kept learning, and never coming to the knowledge of the Truth—that Conversion is ever talked about, but no one is ever converted. Let the Church be consistent and remove inconsistency from her creed, and there is no difference between my views and Evangelicism.

Feel. You say Christ came to publish the Truth and warn men to flee from coming Wrath. I grant this, but unless Christ's work includes the idea of a sacrifice, it would be impossible to account for his crucifixion.

Intel. That does not follow. That the notion of a sacrifice should have arisen in the Church is very natural, since the Jewish worship abounded with sacrifices; but if such had been the intention of Christ, he would have said so. He says, "I lay down my life for the sheep," but he does not say that He did so as a sacrifice.

Without the Suffering, Death and Resurrection, Christ's words would have convinced no man in a degenerate age, like that in which

our Saviour appeared. To speak of Truth to the crowds that surrounded him, without at the same time working miracles, and especially without a violent Death and a visible Resurrection, would have produced no conversions. Until after the accomplishment of the Resurrection, the number of the disciples was small, but after that event the converted increased to thousands, showing the effect of the miracle of our Saviour's Death and Resurrection to enforce conviction.

Feel. I am not convinced.

Intel. I grant there are several passages in the New Testament which, if read literally, involve the idea of a Sacrifice. But the meaning of these passages cannot be determined without first considering the general scope of Scripture, and above all, the object of Religion. This done, you will find it impossible to read such in the literal sense. The figure of an atoning Sacrifice is doubtless used by the sacred writers to show forth to the Jews the

necessity of Christ's death and sufferings. And when we remember that their minds were wholly engrossed with a Religion of Works—of which an atonement and daily sacrifice were the chief—the mystery is explained.

There is as much authority for interpreting the Scripture figuratively, as regards Evil and Sin, and their cure, as there is regarding "the real presence" in the Sacrament.

Unless "this is my Body" may be rendered figuratively, in obedience to the dictates of the Intellect, there could have been no first Reformation; and unless St. Paul's discourses on the work of Christ can be read without involving the idea of an actual Sacrifice—in the Christian as in the Jewish Church—there can be no second Reformation.

Feel. Will you state the point on which the discussion ought to turn?

Intel. If original sin be true, an atonement is indispensable; but if untrue, that is obviously unnecessary and contradictory. If ori-

ginal sin cannot be maintained, you will agree with me that St. Paul's words, as to sacrifice, must be taken in a figurative sense; and when you have granted this, every difficulty in the New Testament is explained.

Feel. I have been accustomed to expect the Divine forgiveness in consequence of BELIEF *alone.* You expect pardon in consequence of OBEDIENCE to the commandments of Christ to love God and your neighbour, and on the love and mercy of God proclaimed by the Saviour. Suppose I hold both Faiths?

Intel. Faith in Obedience is alone compatible with the express commandments of Christ, and it alone agrees with the testimony of Experience, and leaves Nature unimpaired. I would have no objection to your Belief being superadded to mine, if such would not destroy my BELIEF and produce Scepticism.

Your Belief and mine are opposites; I must either give up mine and take yours, or you must give up yours and take mine. Double

Faith keeps one always in a half state between Belief and Scepticism—neither a happy nor a profitable state, in which to spend a precious lifetime. The conduct governs Happiness, whether we rely on Belief, or on Works. A *double-minded* Man is unstable in all his ways.

Feel. You are going upon the principle that the improvement of Man is the sole object of Christ's coming.

Intel. Certainly.

Feel. Is not God's object double? 1st. to glorify himself; 2nd. to improve Man.

Intel. That cannot be. You confound the motive with the object. The first is the motive of God in the mission of the Saviour; the second the object of that Mission.

Feel. It is more agreeable to rely on Divine righteousness than on a life of Christian Love and self-denial.

Intel. Knowledge has its pleasures as well as ignorance, and habit makes anything plea-

sant. I grant that self-improvement is difficult and disagreeable at first, but when men are convinced it is their interest to improve, they will sacrifice their prejudices.

The change from a reliance on mere Belief to a reliance on Obedience must come sometime, if the World is ever to be delivered from suffering, oppression and wretchedness, and the sooner the Truth be told the better. When we look at the present state of the World it appears as if the time for Reformation had fully come. The Catholics are fast closing in upon the Protestants in every country in Europe, and none more than in England. Ireland is ruled by a foreign Prince—a power which may at any time be used against us. The Reformation not only promises the removal of these evils, but it will certainly unite all Christendom in the ties of brotherhood. To the entire race, as well as to individual men, the Reformation offers peace and prosperity.

Feel. Are you prepared to obviate every possible objection?

Intel. One thing is certain, that no objection can be brought against the new interpretation which does not apply to the old. The test of Experience must decide between the two Interpretations. And Nature must be consulted as well as Scripture. Fortunately, the best Books on orthodox Theology grant the principle that no interpretation can be true which contradicts facts. With that admission my position is impregnable.

Feel. Suppose I tell you the Intellect has nothing to do with Religion. Is not Revelation supernatural, and therefore above Reason?

Intel. One would think you were a Catholic, and while you hold your present opinion it will be difficult to reach you.

Feel. I grant the Intellect has to do with Practice but not with Faith.

Intel. Belief must be founded on something,

or it is mere fancy or caprice. You will grant that the only Belief worthy of the name must be founded on the Scriptures, or on facts.

Feel. I get my Faith from the Scriptures.

Intel. Place the Bible before an irrational animal, it cannot understand a word. It has no faith. It is in consequence of Reason that you have any faith. You must therefore be convinced that Intellect cannot be separated from Faith any more than from Practice.

You can change your Belief when your Reason is convinced, but not otherwise. This is the proof that true Belief depends on Reason and Knowledge.

Feel. Having told me from whence Truth comes, will you explain the origin of Superstition?

Intel. Superstition comes from INSTINCT, in connection with imperfectly understood Experience.

The Reformation.

Feel. Will you state what is intended by the Second Reformation.

Intel. Improved Action consequent on Improved Knowledge, can alone reform and improve the World. By reformation Evil and Sin may be so far reduced as to be confined to exceptional cases.

Feel. Then it is not merely a Reformation in Belief, but a reformation in Action, which you intend.

Intel. Certainly. There can be no improvement in Opinion which does not show itself in Action.

Feel. What is Action?

Intel. There are Actions of thought, word and deed; the term "Conduct" expresses every variety of Human Action.

Feel. Will you point out the particular measures the people should agitate.

Intel. The Reformation ought to commence

with something practical; I will therefore state three demands, which embrace in their discussion all the subjects which call for Reformation.

I. Direct Taxation.—This Reform will enlist in the cause of the Reformation many who would otherwise be indifferent spectators. Universal free trade will complete the downfall of Class interests, and spread the blessings of peace and prosperity far and wide. Its influence will cross the Channel, and prepare other Nations for a general Reformation.

II. Church Patronage.—Reformation is impossible without improved Knowledge, and unless the people have a voice in the election of their teachers, there can be no guarantee for a general and sustained Reformation in Knowledge and Religion. Let Petitions cover the Table of both Houses of Parliament until this just demand be granted.

III. Doctrinal Reform.—Knowledge and Civilization must remain stereotyped until this Reform be granted. The People cannot be expected to suffer privations for the sake of Class privileges and obsolete Doctrines; and the Will of the Nation only requires to be expressed to secure a complete revision of the doctrine of Faith. Let the People petition their respective Churches as well as Parliament to call a second Westminster Assembly to settle the doctrines of the Reformation.

Feel. Your scheme is practicable, and provided the Press be favourable to the movement, the People will not be slow to carry a Reformation on which their future welfare depends. You are aware the Clergy cannot take the initiative in any Reformation. But with a unanimous Press in its favour, they will be as anxious as the People can be to throw off the tyranny of Superstition.

Intel. Reject the Reformation, and the Dark Ages are repeated. Accept it, and Civilization

passes to its final stage. The reign of Truth, Justice and Benevolence begins.

We have now completed a laborious—but, we trust, not an unprofitable—investigation into prevailing OPINIONS and PRACTICES with a view to a General Reformation.

The means by which the present transition state of society may be so improved that future good may come out of present evil have been pointed out. By a general Reformation in the Church and in the State, both at home and abroad, the causes of disaffection will be removed; and instead of a FUTURE of war and retrogression, the world shall enjoy a future of peace and progress.

We have shown that England cannot adopt the principles of the proposed Reformation without producing a similar result on the rest of Europe. To take advantage of the present opportunity to reform what was left unre-

formed by the first Reformation, is the proper duty of England, and the only preventive of War.

If England takes the initiative in the great work of Reformation, the general Revolution through which the World is now passing will be converted into a general Reformation. And in the hope these pages will not be without their use in the present extraordinary crisis of the World's history, we respectfully withdraw.

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