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THE STATUS
OF THE
JEWS IN ENGLAND
—
CHARLES EGAN ESQ.^R



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THE STATUS
OF THE
H. Gable
JEWS IN ENGLAND,

FROM THE TIME OF THE NORMANS,
TO THE REIGN OF HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA,
IMPARTIALLY CONSIDERED:
COMPRISING AUTHENTIC NOTICES,
DEDUCED FROM HISTORICAL AND LEGAL RECORDS;

AND INCLUDING
A SYNOPSIS, WITH COMMENTS, OF THE DEBATES
ON
THE JEWISH DISABILITIES BILL:
BY

CHARLES EGAN, ESQ.

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW,
LATE FELL. COMM. OF TRIN. HALL, CAMB.

"Since the remainder of that mighty nation, which of old were elected a people peculiar, are now by Him that first chose them dispersed over the face of the earth, and are become the most politic of traders now extant, having by their industry cemented themselves into the principal revenues and traffic of the universe; it might not seem improper to examine how their condition stood of old in this nation, and how the laws of this realm stand in reference to that people at this day."—*De Jure Maritimo et Navali*.
"A right toleration ought to be extended unto all, since all equally plead conscience, of which God alone is the judge."—*Arcana Imperii Detecta*, Case LI.

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TO
THE MOST NOBLE
THE MARQUESS OF LANSDOWNE,
LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL,
K.G. D.C.L. F.R.S.

A Statesman who has conferred inestimable benefits on his Country, by the Wisdom of his Counsels, by his eloquent Advocacy of the purest principles of Rational Freedom, and by his liberal Encouragement of Literature and the Arts :

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S KIND PERMISSION,

MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR

SERLES' CHAMBERS,
CAREY STREET,
LINCOLN'S INN.



INTRODUCTION.

COMMENTATORS on the history of the Jews assert, that a portion of the Jewish people had settled in Britain as early as the first century of the Christian era; that an amicable alliance having existed, in the days of Julius Cæsar, between the Hebrews and Romans, "To aid each other in their wars with all their hearts," the Jewish warriors accompanied the great Roman Captain in his invasion of Britain, and settled here under the Roman banner*. And, in support of this allegation, it is further stated that "Augustus Cæsar set free, without any redemption money, every man and woman of the Jewish race in all the countries of his dominion; to the east, as far as beyond the Indian Sea; and to the west, as far as beyond the British territory, which is the country of Angleterre, and which is designated England in the *Lingua Franca*†."

* The treaty between the Romans and Jews was graven in tables of brass, and sent by the former to Jerusalem, as a memorial of peace and confederacy between the two great nations; and it is preserved in the *first book of Maccabees*, chap. viii.

† Rabbi D. Ganz's Chronicle, "The Branch of David." And in this country, says Margoliont, the Jews record the event annually in their calendar in the following words: "*Augustus's Edict in favour of the Jews in England. C.Æ. 15.*"

The venerable Bede (*Eccles. Hist.*), Archbishop Ecbright (*Canonical Exemptiones*), Ingulphus (*Hist. of Croyl.*), and other early writers, are also cited, to prove that Jews were residing in Britain at the time of the Saxon Heptarchy. A talented legal writer, however, has remarked that, "When the Jews first came into this realm is not certainly related by any of the historians of British or Saxon kings' reigns;" and we may add, that other writers have left us too scanty information on the history of this people, for us to ascertain with accuracy the precise period of their original arrival in England; for while Spelman, Coke, and other commentators, maintain that the settlement of the Jews in Britain dates back to Edward the Confessor's time, Prynne and other writers repudiate that conjecture*.

It is remarkable, and not a little discreditable to our early historians, that (with the exception of Thomas De Wyke, Canon of St. Osney, A.D. 1263, who was perhaps the best writer amongst the old chroniclers) our historians, more particularly those of earlier date, have done their best on most occasions to denigrate and calumniate the Jewish character.

Indeed, the most zealous literary efforts appear to have been formerly made, to stigmatise the Hebrews as a class of people quite undeserving the protection

* In a modern publication, "The Laws and Ancient Institutions of England," a law is cited, relative to Jews in Edward the Confessor's time, which seems to support Spelman and Coke's opinion. Johnson, however, classes this ordinance amongst "the supposed laws of Edward." (See *Collect. of Eccles. Laws and Canons*, vol. i, MLXIV.)

of the British Sovereign, unworthy of admission within the pale of the British Constitution, and unworthy even of the liberal or equitable consideration of the British people.

The time, however, has at length arrived, when it becomes of importance to consider, whether or not facts sustain the allegations hitherto so generally promulgated against the Jews? And it is hoped that a perusal of the following remarks will prove, that facts do not so sustain the condemnatory statements heretofore advanced against a people, regarding whom it has most properly been asked, "What Nobility can be greater than theirs?—so many Patriarchs, and Prophets, and Kings, do they number among their forefathers; and so many brave men, and men of divine virtue, whose names are recorded in Heaven*."

* Vide Petrus Cunæus, "*De Republica Hebræorum*," cap. xviii. "It should never be forgotten," says Dr. Adam Clarke, "that the greatest men that ever flourished as kings, judges, magistrates, law-givers, heroes, and poets, were of Jewish extraction; Isaiah was a Jew, so was Paul, and so was Jesus of Nazareth." (*Com. on Isa.* ch. 53.) And another learned English divine, Dr. Launcelot Addison, also observes, "This people, if any under heaven, may boldly glory of their antiquity and nobleness of descent; there being no nation who can prove its pedigree by such clear and authentic heraldry as the Jews; so that all other nations must have recourse to the Jewish records to clear their genealogies and attest their lineage."



THE JEWS IN ENGLAND.

It is proved, both by historical and legal testimony, that at a very early period the Jews in England were deemed worthy of the consideration of the British Sovereign; accredited historians inform us, that William the Conqueror brought the Jews from Roan to England, and that they settled here under the protection and patronage of that king. (*Antoninus' Chron. Holinshed's Hist. Stow's Annals, Leland's Chron. Baker's Chron.*) "Whereupon, in a short space, that people so spread themselves," says Peck, "that, in all the cities and other the best sort of towns in the kingdom, they established their synagogues and openly taught the doctrine of their Rabbins with great exactness." (*Peck's Annals.*) And these statements are also corroborated by legal writers of high authority.

William Rufus, of whom historians state that he possessed a mind superior to the superstition and ignorance of his time, so far countenanced the Jews, as to permit them to hold religious disputations with the clergy concerning the true faith, and encouraged the Israelites to bear themselves manfully throughout the theological contest. (*Malms. Hollinsh. Stow.*)

Henry the Second, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign, authorized the Jews to have a cemetery on the

outside of every city where they dwelt, instead of their former general burial ground, which was near London*. We also find, that in the reign of Richard the First “the rules and customs which prevailed in the Court of Exchequer, during its adjudication on matters concerning the Jewish people, were in conformity with the general customs of the Jews.” (*Mag. Rot. 4. Ric. I.*) And ordinances were also enacted respecting the estates and property of the Jews, directing that all debts owing to them, either on mortgage, or other securities, should be registered.

Notwithstanding the tyrannical exactions and persecutions inflicted on the Jews in the reign of King John, it is nevertheless abundantly manifest that he granted to the Hebrews many highly important privileges; and it is a remarkable fact also, that the earliest privilege conferred on the Jews by King John conveyed a deferential acknowledgment of the Jewish religion. In the first year of that monarch’s reign (A.D. 1199), authority was given to the Jewish people to nominate the Chief Rabbi of England, and the royal confirmation of the appointment is recorded in a charter commencing as follows: “The King to all his faithful, *both to all the Jews and English*, greeting. Be it known that we have granted, and by our present

* It appears, by an ancient inquisition taken *tempo Edw. I.*, that St. John’s Hospital, at Oxford, was built on the site of the original cemetery of the Jews, to whom another piece of land was granted in lieu thereof. (*2 Rot. Inq. com. and vill. Oxon. capt. an. 6 7 Edw. I, in Tur. Lond.*) And on the site of this very hospital was built the present Magdalen College. (*Wood’s Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford.*)

charter confirmed, to Jacob the Jew of London, Presbyter of the Jews, the jurisdiction of all the Jews throughout England." *Joh. 12 die Julii, an. Reg. nostr. primo.**

Again, in another charter, the same monarch afforded an additional proof of the worthiness of the Jews, by granting to their chief Rabbi *a safe conduct through all his dominions, both at home and abroad*; this charter being to the following effect: "John, by the grace of God, &c. To all his faithful subjects to whom these letters shall come, as well beyond as on this side of the sea. You are commanded and enjoined, that through whatever village or place our well-beloved and familiar Jacob, the Presbyter of the Jews, may pass, that you allow him and every thing belonging to him to pass safely and freely, and that you make him comfortable; and that you do not suffer any injury, trouble, or violence, to be offered to him any more than to ourselves; and if any one should presume to injure him in anywise, that you cause redress to be made without delay."

Even in *Magna Charta* we find the Jews included, inasmuch as the same clause of it which secures Dower to widows whose husbands were indebted to Jews, enacts also that, "in like manner, it shall be with other persons than Jews." (*Mag. Chart. xvii. John.*) So that the Jews were in important matters placed on

* In the ancient records the chief Rabbi is styled both *Presbyter und Sacerdos*. Selden (v. 6, p. 1088) and Lord Coke (2 *Inst.* p. 508) style the Jewish Presbyter "High Priest," being of opinion that the authority of his Ecclesiastical office was fully admitted.

a par with the rest of the community by the Great Charter*.

By other charters of King John, it was enacted,—that all Jews might live freely and honorably within the King's dominions, *and hold lands*, and have all their privileges and customs, as they had enjoyed them in the time of Henry the First:—that if a Jew died, his possessions should not be disturbed, provided he left an heir to answer his liabilities;—that if disputes arose between Jews themselves, they should be settled according to their own laws;—that if a Christian should have a plaint against a Jew, it should be tried by jurors of the latter nation;—that it should be lawful for Jews to buy anything offered for sale to them, excepting things belonging to the Church;—that a Jew might lawfully sell a mortgage made to him, after holding it a whole year and a day;—that Jews, wherever located, might remove whither they pleased, with all their goods, that no man should molest or detain them, and that their goods should be as safely protected as those of the Sovereign:—that the Jews should be free of all customs, tolls, and modiations of wines, as are the chattels of the King;—that the Jews should be kept protected and defended by all men, and that any who violated the enactments made on their

* That the Great Charter was confirmed by a Parliament (although the fact escaped the notice of our ancient historians, and has been doubted by some modern writers), is evidenced by the report of a case determined *Easter Term, 5th of Henry the Third, A.D. 1221*, where the Court held that *Magna Charta* was a Statute.

behalf should be subject to the penalty of forfeiture. And it was further provided, that, in cases where litigation arose between a Christian and a Jew, and the plaint was not supported by the testimony of two witnesses, the Jew was allowed to discharge himself, "*on his own oath taken on his book;*"—also, that "if a Jew was summoned on any matter, even appertaining to the Crown, he in like manner should be discharged on his single oath taken on his roll*." And whenever it happened that any persons having dealings with Jews denied their deeds, or any controversy did arise upon which there was any trial, the same was decided by a jury, half of Christians and the other half of six Jews†.

At this early period the Jews were entitled also to rights quite as important, in some cases, as those possessed even at the present day by native-born subjects; for it was ordered, that "if any Christian, indebted to any Jew on mortgage or other security, paid not his money at the day appointed, together with all the interest, the Jew was entitled to sue forth letters of process and obtain judgment, and thereupon extents were sued forth, and *the lands of the debtor were seized, notwithstanding in whose hands soever they came after the security was entered into.*" (*Fine, R.* vi. *Joh. m.* 17, ix *Joh. m.* 5.) And these judgments were assignable to Christians, together with the extents upon them,

* i. e. The Pentateuch.

† Cart. II, Joh 49. Charta Judæ Angl. Charta 2, John 53. confirmatio Judæorum de libert. suis.

and the assignee might vouch over the assignor to warranty in such case*.

In the reign of Henry the Third, the office of Presbyter of all England was granted to Elyas L'Evesque, a Jew of London, in the room of Aaron, with the appointment of a deputy, to act whenever the said Elyas could not attend. (*Cl. 21. H. 3. p. 1. m. 18.*) King Henry also granted the royal licence, or *Congé d'elire*, authorizing the Society of Jews in England to select whom they pleased for Rabbi (1 *Acta Regia*, p. 36); and we likewise find that a grant was passed, temp. Edw. I (*A.D.* 1281), acknowledging that the High Priest or head of the Jews' synagogue in London was confirmed by the King†.

That the Jews of England in ancient times were considered qualified to hold *real estates*, is made quite apparent by Bracton, a writer of the time of Henry the Third, who distinctly states that the Jews are capable of purchasing land; and, in defining to whom a grant may be made, he says, "A grant may be made as well to religious persons as to others to whom one may grant, also to Jews as well as to Christians." (*Lib. II, cap. 5, s. 6.*) And the same writer, treating of warranty, also says, "If any one, either *Christian* or

* "So likewise to the King," says Molloy, "they might assign over debts to pay their taxes."

† It would appear that, in former days, the Jews of England were not less conspicuous for their loyalty than are those of the present day; and it is pleasing also to notice the grateful sense entertained thereof by the Sovereign. Our historians relate that Henry the Third, in return for services rendered to members of his family by two Jew brothers, Cresse and Hagen, discharged them from all taxes for five years. (*Acta Regia*, v. 1, p. 35.)

Jew, be called to warranty who *does not hold land* by which he may be distrained, the Sheriff shall be directed to take his body; because, in that case, land cannot be taken in recompense. (*Lib. v, cap. 6, s. 6.*) Bracton's opinion is corroborated also by various ancient records, distinctly shewing that Jews were allowed to take *real estate*; for in the 35th, Henry the Second (*A.D.* 1189), a *finalis concordia* was acknowledged before John, Bishop of Norwich, and Ranulphus De Glanvil, the King's Chief Justice, and others, in the King's Court, in a real action between William De Curzun, plaintiff, and *Jornet, a Jew of Norwich, terretenant* of a messuage with the appurtenances in Norwich; whereby the said William granted the said messuage with the appurtenances to *said Jornet, the Jew, and his heirs*, for the service of five shillings yearly.

In the 9th of Richard the First, Anno 1199, a similar final concord was acknowledged before Simon De Pattershall and several others of the King's Justices, in a cause between Philip, son of Walter, plaintiff, and *Jacob, a Jew*, son of Samuel, of Northampton, *terretenant* of a messuage with the appurtenances in Northampton; whereby the said Philip granted the said messuage with the appurtenances to hold to the said Jacob and his heirs *in fee and inheritance*, on condition of their paying fourteen-pence annually to the granter and his heirs in full of all services. And in the 10th of King John, another final concord was acknowledged before the same Simon De Pattershall and others of the King's Justices, between Robert, of Norfolk, and

his wife, and *Isaac, the Jew*, concerning a message with the appurtenances in London; whereby the said Robert and his wife conveyed the said tenements to Isaac and his heirs for ever.

In the 55th of Henry the Third, however, a statute was passed, prohibiting Jews from taking "freehold manors, lands, tenements, or rents,—but nevertheless authorizing them to hold houses in cities, boroughs, and towns. And, by a statute of Edward the First, it was further declared that no Jews should have power to alienate *in fee* any houses, rents, or tenements, which they had already, or dispose of them, without the King's consent; but that they might purchase houses and curtilages, and hold the same in chief of the King, and take *lands to farm*, continuing to farm them for fifteen years. (*Statutum de Judaismo.**)

From the facts just adduced, we think it is quite apparent, that in very remote times the Jews in England not only had the benefit of the law conceded to

* In the Parliamentary edition of the Statutes, this Act is classed 3rd, *Edward the First*; but Pryn says that it was enacted in the 4th, *Edward the First*; and Coke considers it to have been a Law of the 18th, *Edward the First*. (Vide *Baring. on the Anc. Stats.*) It may be observed, however, that although this Statute, and also that of Henry the Third, are of a restrictive nature, yet they furnish additional proofs that the Jews early settled in England were considered entitled to higher privileges than other aliens, who were settled in this kingdom even at a much later date; for we find by *Stat. 21, Henry the Eighth*, cap. 16, that "All strangers, not denizens, are prohibited from keeping a house, under certain penalties;" and by the 33rd, *Henry the Eighth*, cap. 16, "All strangers, except denizens, are precluded, under penalties therein specified, from taking a lease of any house." *Alien Acts, temp. Henry the Eighth.*

them in their monetary and commercial affairs, not only had their religious manners and customs recognized, and their priests respected by legal sanction, not only were they permitted to hold and transfer land, but were entitled also to claim trial by jury, and deemed qualified likewise to discharge the important duties of jurors: and it is worthy of especial remark, that these privileges were legally enjoyed by the Jews in times when all the Jews in England were aliens*.

It has been generally and confidently asserted by English writers, that in the reign of Edward the First an Act of Parliament was passed, decreeing the banishment of all Jews from England; but, as no such enactment has been found amongst the statutes of the realm—as no author, treating on the history of the Jews, has even adduced a copy of the alleged enactment—and as both English and Jewish writers have stated very different and conflicting opinions as to the cause of the departure of the Jews from England, we are naturally led to enquire, whether their emigration hence did not arise from causes quite different from those hitherto affirmed. English writers maintain that the grounds on which the Jews were banished

* The learned Selden, who perhaps investigated the history of the Hebrew people more deeply than any other English writer, states that, "By the ancient law of England, the Jews had a right to claim a trial *per medietatem linguæ*." (Vide *Baring, Obs. on the Anc. Stats.* p. 147, and *Dyer*, 144.) The *Statutes*, 27th, *Edward the Third*, c. 8, and 28th, *Edward the Third*, c. 13, moreover accorded that privilege to all aliens; the former of these enacting that, if both parties to the suit are aliens, the whole jury shall be aliens. (See *Woodeson's View of the Laws of England*, Lect. XIV.)

from England were—for defacing or clipping the coin of the realm, for usury, for forgery, and for crucifying Christian infants. (*Stow, Speed, Fox, Baker.*) Jewish writers, however, allege, that the departure of the Hebrew people may be traced to a refusal to change their religion. (*Ben. Virga's Chron. Shaivet. Y. hudah*.*)

In order therefore to arrive, if possible, at some definite conclusion on this matter, we must here examine more minutely the history of the Jews in England, and reluctantly revert to pages of our ancient annals, which, alas! are indelibly stained with evidences of persecutions more unjust, more cruel and sanguinary, than have been recorded in the annals of any other Christian nation under heaven; except perhaps the Spaniards and Portuguese.

With the opinions of those writers, who state that the Jews took their departure from England about the middle of Edward the First's reign, we are for ourselves quite disposed to coincide; but that their departure was rendered compulsory by a statutory enactment, may well be deemed somewhat problematical.

It has been already shewn that the Jews were

* The Jewish historians do not all agree on this point, for Rabbi G'daliah states that, "A.M. 5020, all the Jews in England were gathered together, murdered, and cast into the sea." And the Hebrews of the present day insert in their almanack that "Canute banished the Jews from England, A.D. 901;" but this statement is obviously incorrect, inasmuch as Canute did not arrive in England before the eleventh century. It may be observed, however, that it is not surprising that the Hebrew records, respecting their people who sojourned here in earlier times, should be found inaccurate, when we reflect that many of the accounts of the English Jews must have perished with their possessors, during the numerous persecutions and massacres to which they were subjected in this country.

gifted with more important privileges than any other class of aliens; nevertheless it is fully manifest, also, that they were frequently subjected to the tyrannous exactions of the Norman Kings—frequently subjected to the harsh and brutal conduct of the Norman Barons—and frequently also to the wanton and violent aggressions of that most intolerable of all tyrannies, a ruthless and unrestrained populace.

Our historians relate that King Stephen, in the fifth year of his reign, exacted £2,000 from the Jews of London; that Henry the Second extorted a sum of £60,000 from all the Jews resident in England; and that, in 1210, King John extorted from them 66,000 marks, to obtain which they were imprisoned and subjected to various descriptions of bodily torture,—the majority of them having one eye torn out of the socket. (Vide *The Royal Treasury, or Hist. Acct. of all Taxes from the Conquest*, pp. 39, 83.)

Lord Coke states that the Crown exacted from the Jews, in the short space of seven years—viz. from the 50th of Henry the Third to the 2nd of Edward the First, upwards of £400,000; and Stow informs us that, in the 16th of Edward the First, all the Jews throughout England were on the same night thrown into prison, and only released on paying the King the sum of £12,000*.

* We must, however, in justice to the memory of Edward the First, state that he candidly left on record an acknowledgment that "*Judaism* was and had been *very profitable* to him and to his ancestors." (Vide *Statute de Judæismo*.) And this fact will perhaps account for the disinclination evinced by "*the English Justinian*," and his royal predecessors, to part with such valuable visitors as the Jews.

Sir Walter Scott observes, "Except perhaps the flying fish, there was no race existing on the earth, in the air, or the waters, who were the objects of such an unintermitting, general, and relentless persecution as the Jews. Upon the slightest and most unreasonable pretences, as well as upon accusations the most absurd and groundless, their persons and property were exposed to every turn of popular fury; for Norman, Saxon, Dane, and Briton, contended which should look with the greatest detestation upon a people, *whom it was accounted a point of religion to hate, to revile, to despise, to plunder, and to persecute.* And," adds the great northern Bard, "the Kings of the Norman race, and the nobles who followed their example in all acts of tyranny, maintained against this devoted people a persecution of even a more regular, calculated, and self-interested kind."

"The treatment which the Jews received in this country," says Margoliout, "*was of a nature more disgraceful than that they received in other parts of Europe;* for while elsewhere, as in Spain and Germany, the monarchs generally exerted themselves to repress the hostility of the clergy and people, the English kings, with hardly a single exception, manifested as persecuting a spirit as any of their subjects." These statements, we may observe, are but corroborative of the accounts furnished by our earlier writers. At the coronation of Richard the First, there appears to have been an holocaust of the Hebrews; for it is related that "the populace fell upon the Jews who attended at this coronation, and massacred them without mercy. The

mob sought them out in every quarter of the city, many took refuge in their habitations, and defended themselves with great bravery ; *but the rabble set fire to their houses and burned them to the ground ;*" and "the priests," says Noorthouck, "applauded the pious zeal which destroyed so many enemies to the Christians."

Speed, in his *History of Great Britain*, says that the coronation of Richard the First was most magnificently performed at Westminster Abbey, and that "the points of the oath which the King made to God and the kingdome at the altar, upon the holy Evangelists, were these : That all the daies of his life hee would bear peace, honour, and reverence to God ; and that in the People unto him committed, he would exercise Right, Justice, and Equitie." And the historian adds that this coronation "*was hanseled and auspicated with the blood of many Jewes.*"

The example set by the Londoners in attacking and persecuting the Jews, was subsequently followed by the people of Lynn, Norwich, Northampton, St. Edmonsbury, Stamford, Lincoln, Canterbury, Cambridge, and Oxford. At York, in particular, the Jews were plundered, their houses burned down, and whole families of them murdered ; all classes of the inhabitants of that city, including many of the nobles and principal gentry, associating on the occasion with the soldiery in this onslaught upon the remnant of an unoffending, unarmed, and unprotected people. Neither sex nor condition was spared ; the venerable,

the youthful, even helpless infants, were sacrificed with the same unrelenting savageness.

“ Mothers wild wept o'er each child,
 In mangled state extended ;
 And widows' cries to the midnight skies
 With the maniac's hoarse-laugh blended.
 A loud lament o'er the plains was sent,
 A mingled voice of wailing
 Rang loud and shrill from hill to hill,
 Sore, sad, yet unavailing.”

Our historians further recount, with reference to the sanguinary scenes enacted at York, that, “ No sooner did the populace make an end of slaughtering them, than many gentlemen of the province, who being debtors to the Jews, and took therefore the more active part in the carnage, repaired to the cathedral, where their bonds were deposited, compelled the officer to deliver up these securities, and burned them in the church with great solemnity before the altar*.”

We are informed likewise, that, in the reign of Henry the Third, the Barons entered the City of London, *eager for plunder and athirst for blood*, raised an uproar against the defenceless Jews, burned their synagogue, plundered numbers of their people, killed (as some writers assert) seven hundred of them, and left

* Holinshed, Walt. Hemingford, Gul. Newb. Knyghton, Higden, Tyrrel, and Fabian, all record these sanguinary occurrences; William, of Newberry, speaking of these massacres, says “ *the multitude slain was inestimable*, or not to be numbered.” “ And at that time,” says Fox, “ 1,500 Jews were massacred in York alone;” and the pious Martyrologist adds, “ So that this year, which the Jews took to be their *jubilee*, was to them a year of confusion.” (*Acts and Monuments*, vol. i, p. 305.)

the rest to the tender mercies of the mob, who drove them out of the City." (*Stow's Annals*.) All these barbarities were perpetrated in times which we are told were "the days of chivalry." Well then, indeed, might the poet exclaim—

" Let loose but power, and you will quickly see,
How wild a thing unbounded man will be."

Notwithstanding the foregoing statements of the horrible cruelties inflicted by the English Christians upon the Jews, yet many of our writers, in relating these facts, have evinced a desire to make their readers believe that the Jews in England were treated with hospitality and humanity; that their condition, in fact, was one of the purest Christian toleration; but, that the Hebrew people having become too much enamoured of their Elysium here, it required the force of a special Act of Parliament to effect their ejection from this country.

One of our learned writers, who has treated most elaborately of the Jews, concludes his commentary on that people in the following words: "Thus these people having, by their extraordinary usury, extortion, and oppression, *reduced themselves* to be despicable and then banished, *and that by a people, too, with whom, if they had continued in love and friendship, they in all probability might have continued and flourished.*"

And such is the language which has been commonly used with reference to the Israelites by our former writers, who, while they have gloried in recounting the hideous tortures inflicted upon that defenceless

people, seek with parasitical baseness to make an apology for the Christians, by falsely alleging that those persecutions were caused by the demerits of the Jews themselves.

Surely, after perusing the facts hereinbefore stated, no one can for a moment doubt that the wretched Jews of England must have entertained an ardent desire to seek "a better land." Alas! how frequently must their lovely and virtuous daughters have exclaimed to their venerable fathers, like the persecuted Rebecca, "Do not tarry, old man, in this land of bloodshed and cruelty; for less cruel are the cruelties of the Moors to the race of Jacob than the cruelties of the Nazarenes of England*."

It is quite unnecessary to adduce further evidence to the point, that no Act of Parliament was required for inducing the Jews to leave this kingdom†. The fact is, that, in order to avoid the accumulated exactions imposed on them by the Crown—the torturous cruelties inflicted by the Barons—and the sanguinary visitations to which they were liable from a brutal, bigoted, and unrestrained populace, the Jews sought and ultimately obtained permission peaceably to depart the realm. And in this view of the matter we are sustained by authoritative data; for there is ample

* Sir Walter Scott.

† It may be here noticed that the Jewish people of old were sometimes obliged to labour, in the proof that they were not *expelled* out of Egypt, but conducted thence under the especial care of a powerful Providence and protection. See *Dr. Lardner's Disc.* p. 35; *Josephus' First Book against Appion*; and *Tacitus' Hist.* b. v.

evidence to shew, not only that the Jews did solicit leave to depart the realm, and that such permission was at first denied to them, *but that they were prohibited from leaving England, without licence, on pain of death.*

In the reign of Henry the Third, the King having ordered a heavy impost to be levied on the Jews, they remonstrated against the numerous and unjust exactions to which they were exposed* ; and several of their principal men having been summoned before the Royal Council, to answer for their default in not paying the levy, *they were threatened with imprisonment and death, unless they supplied without delay the sum demanded of them.* On that occasion, their Chief Rabbi, Elias, boldly and eloquently addressed the Council on behalf of his brethren, and supplicated their oppressors, in the name of the God of Gentile and Jew, to permit them to depart out of the kingdom ; *but they would not.* The impressive address of this undaunted High Priest is recorded by our historians, and commences as follows: "Oh, noble lords, we see undoubtedly that our lord the King purposeth to destroy us from under heaven. We entreat, for God's sake, that he give us licence and safe-conduct to depart out of his kingdom, that we may seek a mansion in some other land, and under a prince who bears some bowels of mercy and some

* Speed says that "Henry wrung great sums from the Jewes, from one of whom hee had at times drawne 30,000 markes sterling, besides two hundredeth markes in gold." (*Hist. of GreatBrit.* p. 625.) Matth. Paris, also, strongly inveighs against the profligacy and extortions of "*this Dilapidator of the Kingdom,*" as he styles King Henry the Third.

stability of truth and faithfulness ; and we will depart, never to return again, leaving our household stuff and houses behind us. *But how can he,*" boldly asked this noble advocate, "*spare us miserable Jews, who destroys his own natural subjects?*" Henry, however, "like the deaf adder that stoppeth her ear," would not hearken to the voice of the oppressed ; but, although the cry for justice passed unredressed, it did not pass unnoticed ; for soon afterwards an Ordinance was promulged, forbidding all Jews from leaving England without the King's licence*.

In the following year, another unjustifiable demand having been made upon the Jews, they again addressed the King, requesting leave to depart the realm, and soliciting safe conduct for the Hebrew people. The memorial was as follows : "Sir King, we see thou sparest neither Christians nor Jews, but studiest with crafty excuses to impoverish all men. We have no hope of respiration left us ; the usurers of the Pope have supplanted us. Permit us to depart out of the kingdom with safe-conduct, and we will seek for ourselves such a mansion as we can, be it what it will." On receiving this memorial, the Monarch "flew into a passion, swore by the head of God that his debts amounted to 300,000 marks," and exclaimed "there is a necessity for me to have money, gotten from what

* Neither did the King allow this address of the Rabbi Elias to pass unresented ; for he deposed the High Priest from his office, without alleging any offence whatever against him. (*Rot. Pat 41. Hen. III, m. 4. Teste Rege apud Wodestoke, 20 die Julii.*)

place soever, and by what means soever, and from whomsoever*.”

In the 7th of Edward the First, however, another ordinance was passed relative to the Jews, enacting that “No Jew shall walk or ride without a yellow badge upon his outward garment; *no Jew shall be sworn upon the Evangelists*; and *no Jew shall depart England without licence, on pain of death*†.”

Ample testimony, therefore, has been adduced to demonstrate, that the Jews frequently made most strenuous though unsuccessful efforts to free themselves from the snare of their oppressors, to escape from their worse than Egyptian bondage,—and also that their departure from England was prohibited by special enactments.

* Matthew Paris and other historians state, that, in order to pursue in England the trade of usury, the Pope used to employ certain Italian merchants called *Caorsini*, a class of men who had made themselves so odious by their exactions, that Dante in his *Inferno* has ranked them in wickedness with the inhabitants of Sodom. The method resorted to by these Papal agents was as follows: If a party wanted a sum of money for six months, the Italians would lend it him for three months without interest, and covenant that they should receive £50 per cent. every month after the sum had remained unpaid; and this it was Jesuistically contended could not amount to usury. In the 36th of Henry the Third, it was ordered that the *Caorsini* should be prosecuted; but they pleaded that they were servants of and employed by his Holiness the Pope. At this period, it would also appear that the English people were as profitable to the Roman Pontiff as the Jews were to the King; “for, beside the thousand marks sterling which England paid every year to the Pope, the clergy of this kingdom complained (in 1252) that *the Court of Rome* drew away *fifty thousand* marks more, for the grant of benefices.” (*Whatley’s Acta Regia*, vol. i, p. 29.)

† The regulation respecting the mode of giving testimony was but a just concession to the religious feelings and principles of the Jews, and has ever since been invariably held by our Judges (as will subsequently be shewn) to be the law of England. (See p. 35.)

That the Jews did leave England, about the 18th year of Edward the First's reign, is evidenced by the concurring testimony of numerous writers.

Up to the last moment, however, of the departure of the refugee Israelites from England, we find the same unchristian hatred, the same brutal barbarity, the same fiendish malignity displayed towards the remnant of this powerless people.

Lord Coke, *in his second Institute*, narrates, from Holinshed and other celebrated English historians, *the concluding incident relative to the Hebrews who were early resident in England*. "Some of the wealthiest of the Jews having embarked with their treasure in a very large ship which they had hired, when the same was under sail and got towards Queenborough, the captain caused his men to cast anchor, and so ride at the same, till the ship by ebbing of the tide remained on the dry sand. The captain then wilyly enticed the Jews to walk out with him on land for recreation, and when he found the tide coming in, he got back to the ship, whither he was, by a preconcerted arrangement, drawn by a cord. The Jews, not apprehending the wile, had strayed along the sands far from the vessel; but at length perceiving their danger, they cried out to the mariners for help; but the captain told them to cry to Moses, by whose aid their fathers passed through the Red Sea, to help them out of the raging floods which surrounded them. The Jews reiterated their cries for assistance; but the captain gave no succour, so they were all swallowed up in the water. The captain returned with the ship, told the King how he

had acted in the matter, and had, as some state, both thanks and rewards." And "Walter de Hemingford," says Hallam, "recounts this story with excessive delight." (*Middle Ages*, v. ii, p. 453.)

Indeed, it is impossible to peruse the earlier records of English history without a feeling of horror at the recitals therein given respecting the barbarities commonly inflicted on the Jews; and the human mind recoils with disgust at the recollection, that such enormities could ever have been perpetrated in a Christian land. Happily, however, those dark days have passed away; "those incompassionate times," as the great Selden says, "when our laws were administered in accordance with the dictates of prejudice and passion, rather than sober judgment."

We shall now have the far greater pleasure and satisfaction of noticing the treatment of this ancient people in later and more enlightened times. For nearly four centuries the Jews refrained from making any attempt to re-establish themselves in England; and we do not find any notice of their presence in this country from the 18th of Edward the First (A.D. 1290) till shortly after the death of Charles the First, when they solicited permission to resume their residence in England. Monteth informs us, that, during the Commonwealth, overtures were made on behalf of the Hebrews to the Parliament and Council of War, through the medium of two popular adherents of the Parliamentarians; the Jews offered to pay for the privileges then sought by them the sum of £500,000; several debates took place on the subject;

but the *ultimatum* of the Puritans being £800,000, consequently the negotiation was broken off. (*Hist. of Great Britain*, p. 473, and *Thurlæ. Sta. Pap.* v. II, p. 652.)

On the elevation of Cromwell to the Protectorate, another application was made on behalf of the Hebrew people by the celebrated Menasseh Ben Israel*. This eminent Rabbi, having been chosen by the Jews as their negotiator, came over from Holland in the year 1655, and presented a memorial to Cromwell, comprising the following proposals :

1. That the Hebrew nation might be received here, and protected from all wrongs equally as the English.

2. That they might have public synagogues, to observe their religion as they ought.

3. That they might have a burial-place out of the town, without being molested by any respecting their funerals.

4. That they might trade as freely in all sorts of merchandize as other strangers†.

* During the 17th century, the Jews flourished in Holland; and their synagogues at Amsterdam produced many distinguished men, of whom one of the most celebrated was Manasseh Ben Israel, a person of Spanish descent, and of the family of Abarbanel; and so high was his reputation, while yet a youth, that at the age of eighteen he was appointed to explain the Talmud in the great synagogue at Amsterdam.

† The privilege of trading, it may be observed, is secured to all alien merchants by the Great Charter, the 50th Article of which is as follows: "All merchants, not prohibited by law, shall have safe and secure conduct to go out of and to come into England, to stay there, and to pass as well by land as water; to buy and sell by the ancient and allowed customs, without any evil tolls, except in

5. That they might receive passports, or safe-conducts, on taking an oath of fealty.

6. That matters of difference amongst the Jews might be accorded and determined by the heads of the synagogues, and others with them, amongst themselves.

7. That any laws made against the Jews, *if any such there were*, might be repealed*.

With reference to this memorial, Cromwell appears to have acted impartially and indeed liberally; for when the proposals were read, the Protector said they should be taken into consideration; “and thereupon he summoned several divines and merchants, and also some of the judges, to attend him and his privy council, to declare their opinions on the matter.”

The puritan preachers to whom the Protector sent letters, and who met, were Dr. Tuckney, Dr. Whitchoot, Mr. Newcomen, Dr. Wilkinson, Mr. Row, Mr. P. Nye, Mr. Carter, Mr. Caryll, Mr. Cudworth, Mr. Bridge, Mr. Ben, of Dorchester, Mr. T. Goodwin, Mr. Jessey, and Mr. Dyke, of Essex; the merchants were Alderman Doblich, Lord Mayor of London, Alderman Pack, late Lord Mayor, the two Sheriffs, Alderman Tichburn, Mr. Cresset, of the Charter House, and Mr. Kiffen; and the judges were the Lord Chief Justice

time of war, and when they shall be of any nation at war with us. (*Mag. Char.* xviii, *Joh.*; ix, *Henry III*, S. 3; and see ix, *Edw. III*, c. 1.): and it may be observed, also, that a similar clause is usually inserted in our international treaties of commerce. By the new Alien Act, stat. 11, Vict. cap. 20, power is given to the Secretary of State to order aliens, in some cases, to depart the realm.

* It will be subsequently shewn that the learned Judges who attended the Council declared—there was no law in England against the Jews. (*Vide p. 30.*)

Glynn, and the Lord Chief Baron Steel." The discussions which took place at this Council may not perhaps prove uninteresting, as indicative of the feelings of those times towards the Jews ; and on this account we here recapitulate them.

Some of the speakers alleged—That it was much to be doubted, if the Jews should return, that many would be seduced by them ; and though they heartily desired the conversion of the Jews, yet they feared greatly it would prove the subversion of many here, because people at this time were so soon drawn aside to new opinions.

To this the Lord Lawrence and General Lambert replied—That persons were now carried away with the notion of further light, and of new discoveries of Christ and the Gospel ; but were not like to be taken with the Jewish religion, having nothing in that solemn worship inviting, therefore the Jews were not so like to seduce others.

Mr. Newcomen argued—That the Jews dealing chiefly in merchandize, the great trade they might bring in would abate the prices of all foreign goods imported, and advance the value of our native manufactures exported, to the great benefit of the nation ; and, besides, might be a hopeful means to convert the Jews to the Christian faith.

The Lord Chief Baron Steel gave a large account from ancient records of the former state of the Jews in England, and of their hard sufferings here in the olden time ; likewise of William the Conqueror's bringing them into England, and whose posterity, in-

habiting in London and several other places here, *were falsely accused* that they used to steal Christian children and torture them; which reports of them had often occasioned great mischief and sufferings to befall them.

Mr. Nye and Mr. T. Goodwin were of opinion—That it was a duty to yield to the request of the Jews, considering :

1. It is God's will that strangers and persons in affliction should be courteously dealt with.

2. That special respect ought to be had to the Jews, because their debtors we are (*Rom. xv, 27*), and partake of this Messiah and promises, and salvation, that was to the Jews as natural branches of the olive tree.

3. Because we are brethren of the same father, Abraham, they naturally after the flesh, we believers after the spirit.

4. Because we believe these natural branches shall return; and it will be the glory of the Gentiles, where they reside, to be kind to them.

5. That it might be very acceptable to God, if favour were shewn to them.

Mr. Joseph Caryll said to the effect—That though the Jews were now under hardness of heart, yet we need beware not to occasion their further hardening, or of being instruments in punishing them. That the good people of England did generally more believe the promises of the calling of the Jews, and more earnestly pray for it, than any other nation. That many Protestants who were persecuted in the reign of Queen Mary, and since had been kindly received as strangers

in other countries ; and that we should the more pity and harbour our fled strangers, especially persecuted Jews. That the cruel injuries and inhumanities used towards that nation (that intruded not, but were invited into England) by our kings and government, whereby multitudes of them were killed and drowned in the Thames and the sea, &c., might still lie as a sin upon this kingdom ; which our kindness to their survivors and successors may make some kind of amends and satisfaction for.

The learned judges, Glynn and Steel, then delivered their opinion, and said—*There was no law which forbid the Jews' return into England* ; and, therefore, they might come upon terms and agreements.

But the merchants vehemently insisted upon it, that the admission of the Jews would enrich foreigners and impoverish the natives.

The Protector, having heard all their sentiments on this affair, declared—That he had no engagement to the Jews but what the Scripture held forth ; and that, since there was a promise of their conversion, means must be used to that end—which was the preaching of the Gospel ; and that could not be had, unless they were permitted to reside where the Gospel was preached :—that he had hoped by the preachers summoned, to have had some clearing of the case, as to matters of conscience ; but seeing these agreed not, but were of different opinions, it was left more doubtful to him and the council than before. And he hoped he should do nothing here hastily or rashly ; and had much need of all their prayers, that the Lord would

direct them so as might be for his glory and the good of the nation*.”

Although the assembly continued fourteen days in deliberation, it was dissolved without any definite decision having been given respecting the memorial.” Vide “*The Proceedings about the Jews in England, Anno MDCLV.*”

As regards the precise time when the Jews were re-established in England, there does not appear to be any conclusive evidence. A modern and clever writer on the Jews (Mr. Blunt) seems to doubt that their return to England was sanctioned by Cromwell; but Dr. Chamberlayne, who lived during, and published his work shortly after, the time of the Protectorate, and who consequently was more likely than later authors to have acquired correct information on the subject, distinctly states that “the Jews were admitted by the late usurper, and since continued†.”

When we reflect, that the Jews are a people who have always conferred benefits, by the exercise of their industry and application of their wealth, upon any state whatever in which they have been permitted to reside—that in all their sojournings they have ever been mindful of the precept of their great prophet, Jeremiah, “Seek ye the peace of the city wherein ye dwell, and pray for it, for in the peace

* “At this debate,” says Sir Paul Rycout, who was present, “I never heard in my life a man speak so well as Cromwell did on this occasion.” (*Spence's Anecdotes*, p. 77.)

† Vide *Angliæ Notitia*, p. 35. And Bishop Fleetwood, a very high authority, testifies in his *Chronicon Preciosum* that “*Chamberlayne's is an excellent book.*”

thereof ye shall have peace*''—and when we also reflect on the enlightened and statesman-like conduct displayed by the Protector on the discussion of the Jewish memorial,—there are strong grounds for concluding that the re-establishment of the Hebrew people in England was desired, rather than otherwise, by so politic a ruler as Cromwell. And from a dispassionate review of the information furnished by our writers on the subject, we incline to the conclusion, that the re-establishment of the Jews in England really took place during the Protectorate, and with the sanction of the Protector†.

After the Restoration, however, we find unequivocal proofs that the Jews had again taken up their abode in England; for Dr. Chamberlayne states, that in London alone there were at that period “thirty or forty families” (*Angl. Not.*), certainly no great number, but enough to shew that they were then tolerated.

From the journals of the House of Commons we learn, that early in the reign of Charles the Second an

* It is a maxim of the Rabbies, that, wherever the Jews reside, they should strictly observe the laws of the government under which they live. *Talmud. Treat. Kama*, fol. 113.

† Stronger evidence of the loyal and peaceful character of the Hebrew people cannot perhaps be adduced, than the fact—that most Jews are members of the ancient and honorable order of Free-Masons; and a very marked proof of the estimation in which the Jews are generally held, was recently afforded by the Grand Lodge of England, which passed a resolution to exclude from their meetings all Prussian Freemasons, in consequence of an order having been issued by the Grand Lodge of Prussia to exclude from their assemblies Hebrew Masons. The brethren of Prussia, however, promptly acknowledged the just reproof of the brethren of England, by immediately rescinding an order which doubtless had been passed without due deliberation. See some able articles on this subject in the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review* for 1846 and 1847.

Order of the Lords of the Council was presented to the lower House, recommending the consideration of measures relative to the Jews* ; and, in the year 1662, the Jews had re-established their synagogues in London †.

Of such importance were the Jewish people considered in the year 1670, that a Committee of the House of Commons, appointed to bring in a Bill to prevent the growth of Popery, were directed to enquire likewise into the number of Jews settled in the kingdom—the number of Jewish synagogues then established—and the terms upon which the Jews were then located in England ‡.

In the reign of James the Second, the Jews were exonerated from the payment of alien duty ; but in the 2nd of William the Third, a petition having been presented by the merchants of London, the Jews were again subjected to that impost.

That a very considerable number of Jews had resettled in England towards the end of the seventeenth century, is evidenced by the fact, that the loss supposed to have been sustained by the revenue, owing to the exemption of the Jews from alien duty, amounted to £10,000 per annum.

In Queen Anne's reign, a Statute was passed, enacting that—"If the child of any Jewish parent is converted to the Christian religion, upon application to the Lord Chancellor, he may compel any such parent

* Journal of the H. of Com. 17th Dec. 1660.

† See Burnet's Hist., vol. 1, p. 71 ; and Ellis' Orig. Letter, vol. 4, p. 4.

‡ No report of this committee appears to have been published.

to give his child a maintenance in proportion to his circumstances." (1, *Ann. cap.* 30.)

In the 13th, George the Second, an Act was passed, to enable persons professing the Jewish religion, who had resided seven years in the American colonies, to be naturalized without receiving the sacrament. And in the 26th, George the Second, an Act was passed, authorizing the naturalization of foreign Jews without their being compelled to take the sacrament; but the ancient rancour of the English people having been resuscitated (for political purposes, as it is said) against the Jews, the legislature of that day succumbed to the populace, and repealed the enactment.

Upon this event, a talented writer justly observes—
 "The repeal of the Jewish Naturalization Act by the Pelhams in 1745, the year after its enactment, is one of the most painful incidents in our constitutional history. It had been passed by considerable majorities in both Houses, and with the full acquiescence of the bishops; and it was abrogated under the most shameless avowals of popular compulsion. In vain Lord Temple pronounced the clamour to be *disaffection clothed with superstition*, and declared that the persecution of the Jews must lead to that of the Dissenters. (*Edin. Rev.* for 1847.)

A vast deal has been said and written, even in modern times, to lead us to conclude that the religious principles of the Jewish people have never been recognized by the law of England; and, on this account, it may be well to glance here at the records of our

judicial tribunals, with the view of ascertaining the truth or fallacy of these statements. A very brief reference to our law books will shew that the rights and privileges granted to the Jews, at a remote period of our history, have been fully recognized and confirmed, in later times, by some of the most eminent English judges. In the case of *Robeley v. Langston*, (tempo, Charles the Second), “the witnesses produced in the cause being chiefly Jews, the Lord Chief Justice Keeling *swore them on the Pentateuch*; and the correctness of the Chief Justice’s law was affirmed, on appeal, by the other judges.” (2 *Keble’s Repts.* p. 314.) In the 25th of the same reign, a *foreign Jew* having brought an action of debt *against a British subject*, and the defendant having pleaded that the plaintiff was a Jew, the Court overruled the plea; and judgment was given in favour of the plaintiff. (*Lilly’s Pract. Reg.* v. 1, p. 3.) In *Wells v. Williams*, the Court declared that, even before the time of Edward the First, Jews might be sworn on the Pentateuch. (2, *Ld. Raymond*, and 2, *Stra. Repts.*)*

Another strong proof of the judicial deference paid to the religious customs of the Jews is recorded in 2, *Mod. Repts.* p. 271, where it is stated that—“On the application of a plaintiff, the Court allowed the venue to be changed from London to Middlesex, because all the sittings in London were on a Saturday;

* We have shewn (p. 23) that in the 7th, Edward I. the Jews were expressly exonerated from having an oath administered to them according to the Christian form, i. e. on the Evangelists.

and it appeared that the most essential Witness in the cause being a Jew, he could not conscientiously attend Court on his Sabbath." In the case of *Omychund v. Barker* (1, *Atk.*), it was likewise declared, by Lord Chief Justice Willes, that—" Long before Lord Coke's time, *and ever since*, the Jews have been admitted as witnesses*." And all our books on Equity Practice also demonstrate that the answers in Chancery of Jews are sworn on the Pentateuch†. Thus in Equity, as at Law, the religious forms and tenets of the Jews have been unhesitatingly admitted.

Nearly two centuries have elapsed since the Hebrew people returned to England. During that time, their numbers greatly increased ; and it is estimated that there are now in Great Britain 40,000 Jews, one half at least of whom are native-born subjects of the Crown of England.

But notwithstanding the high character which the Jewish people have acquired in England for probity, industry, and loyalty, various illiberal objections have been advanced against their just claims to participate in common with their fellow-subjects in all the privileges of our free Constitution.

Of late years, however, great efforts have been made by the British People, to effect the removal of those disabilities under which Englishmen, professing the Jewish religion, labour ;—and the first important Parliamentary step to promote Jewish Emancipation

* In this case the evidence of the Gentoo was declared to be admissible by the Lord Chancellor, the two Chief Justices, and the Chief Baron.

† See Wyat's *Prac. Reg. Hind's Chan. Prac.* Daniel, Smith, &c.

was taken, in the year 1830, by that eminent statesman, the late Mr. Huskisson. Various Petitions in favour of the Jews were presented to the House of Commons in the year 1830 ; and, on the presentation of a petition from Liverpool, Mr. Huskisson spoke as follows:—"I wish to take this opportunity to express the opinion which I have always held of the impolicy and injustice of imposing civil disabilities on account of religious opinions. I support the prayer of this petition with all my heart, and express my entire and cordial concurrence in the principle of the Bill about to be brought in by the honorable member for Inverness (Mr. R. Grant) on this subject. Individuals of the persuasion of the petitioners have hitherto been considered as cosmopolites, rather than as belonging to any particular country. I trust that they will henceforth find a welcome home in Great Britain."

And subsequently this noble-minded senator said—"In the petition from the Bankers, Merchants, and Inhabitants of Liverpool in favour of the emancipation of the Jews, they state that the exclusion from civil offices on account of religious opinions, and the other civil disabilities under which the Jews labour, are at once opposed to the genuine and tolerant spirit of Christianity and to the best interests of the State ; they therefore pray that the Bill now before the House for the emancipation of the Jews may pass into a law. The petition is signed by upwards of 2,000 persons, comprising not only the Mayor of Liverpool and many members of the Corporation, but also every banker, and, indeed, every Merchant of weight and influence

in that great and enlightened town. I am sure that my honorable and gallant colleague will acknowledge that he has never known any petition presented from that town which has been more numerous and respectably signed. It has attached to it the signatures of several respectable clergymen of the Church of England, and men of all parties have subscribed it. There may be some exceptions; but I believe that, generally speaking, there is but one unanimous feeling in the town of Liverpool, even among those most attached to the established religion and church of this country, in favour of Jewish emancipation. I trust that, under such circumstances, this petition will have due weight with the House*.”

On the ensuing 5th of April (the Duke of Wellington being then Prime Minister), Mr. Robert Grant moved for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal the civil disabilities affecting British-born subjects professing the Jewish religion, and this motion was carried by a majority of 115 to 97.

Previously to the motion for the second reading, on the 17th of May, 1830, Mr. Alexander Baring (the late Lord Ashburton) presented a petition in favour of the Bill, signed by 14,000 merchants, bankers, and traders of the City of London; but the second reading was lost by a majority of 228 to 165.

Notwithstanding the defeat of Mr. Grant's Bill in

* General Gascoyne, the other Member for Liverpool, and who followed Mr. Huskisson in opposition, stated, that he “had not known, for many years, any petition presented from Liverpool more numerous or respectably signed.”

the House of Commons, Lord Bexley presented, on the 14th of December, 1830, a petition to the House of Lords in favour of the removal of Jewish disabilities, expressing his cordial support of its prayer, and signifying also his intention of introducing the subject on some future occasion to their Lordships' consideration. The exertions, however, both of Mr. Grant and Lord Bexley, having been interrupted by the fall of the Wellington Administration and the introduction of the Reform Bill, no further step was taken in this matter until the 17th of April, 1833, when Mr. Grant moved a resolution in Committee of the whole House—"That it is expedient to remove all civil disabilities at present existing affecting her Majesty's subjects of the Jewish religion, with the like exceptions as are provided with reference to her Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion." This motion was agreed to without a division, and the Bill was ultimately carried in the House of Commons, on the 22nd of July, by a majority of 189 to 52. On the 25th of July, the Bill was read a first time in the House of Lords, on the motion of Lord Bexley. On the 1st of August following, previously to the second reading, numerous petitions were presented in its favour, including one signed by 7,000 inhabitants of Westminster, presented by the Duke of Sussex*. His Royal Highness eloquently supported Lord Bexley in the debate, as also did Lord Melbourne,

* Not one petition was presented against the bill.

the Lord Chancellor (Lyndhurst), the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Chichester, and the Marquess of Westminster.

On that occasion, the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Howley) expressed himself as follows:—" I do not feel harshly towards the Jewish nation. *I look on the Jews as the most remarkable people on earth.* Having been separated in the beginning from the nations, they shone forth in ancient times, like a light in the firmament, proclaiming the attributes of the Creator, and the hope of a Redeemer to a benighted world. Even in their present state of depression, they retain their original character as vouchers of divine truth; they bear a testimony—irrefutable, because it is involuntary—to the faith of the Gospel; attesting the truth of the prophecies which relate to the mission of Christ by their own misfortunes. In this light, I cannot but view them with feelings of admiration and pity—admiration for the constancy with which, through all times, under every vicissitude, they have adhered to their faith; and pity for their errors and their sufferings. I trust, however, that the time will arrive when the veil will drop from their eyes—when they will see the delusion which has led them astray—and will fly into the arms of the Saviour, whom they have despised and rejected, but which are ever open to receive them. I regard them as brothers estranged for awhile from the family, but eventually to be restored to the household of faith, under the protection of one common Father.

In fact, my Lords, the moral and social code of the Jews, I apprehend to be the same as the moral and

social code of the Christians. The Jews differ from the Christians in point of religious belief; but I apprehend that every sound believing Jew—every Jew who is a member of his own communion—adheres to the same moral and social code as the Christians do.” His Grace, however, voted against the Bill.

The Primate of England was followed by the Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Whateley), who is justly considered one of the master-minds of the age, whether we consider him as an orator, a scholar, or a theologian. His Grace spoke as follows:—“It is urged, that persons who not only do not acknowledge, but who renounce and deny—and some say vilify—the great Author of the Christian religion, ought not to have any voice in the legislature of a Christian country. On this point arises a question, which I own I find it very difficult to answer. The Legislature of this country—I mean the two Houses of Parliament—is not confined to what may be called the civil government—the imposing of burdens which all must bear, and the enacting of laws which all must obey; but it extends to the government of the Established Church also, even in matters purely ecclesiastical. It is, in fact, at present the only ecclesiastical government,—since convocation has long been in a dormant state in England;—and, in Ireland, does not even exist in that state. Whoever, therefore, is admitted to a seat in the legislature, is admitted to a share in the government, not only of the State, but also of the Church; and that, not only in respect of its temporalities, but also of purely ecclesiastical affairs. If, therefore, the question

be asked, 'What right can a Jew have, under any circumstances, to legislate for a Christian Church?' I know of no answer that can be given to that question except by asking another: What right has a Roman Catholic to legislate for a Protestant Church; or a Presbyterian for an Episcopal Church? What right, in short, has any man to legislate, in ecclesiastical matters, for any Church of which he is not a member? This anomaly appears to me to exist in all these cases alike. The Jews, it is true, are much farther removed from us than any sect of Christians; but it does not follow that they are more likely to make innovations in our religious institutions. They never attempt to make proselytes, nor to introduce into Christianity any admixture of Judaism; nor is it likely they would attempt, in any way, to interfere with the doctrines or institutions of any description of Christians. Christians, on the contrary, of different persuasions, have often interfered in the most violent manner with each other's faith and worship. The Presbyterians did, we know, at one time, when they gained the ascendancy in this country, eject from every parish in England the Episcopalian clergy, and were, in turn, ejected by them; and I need not remind your Lordships of the many and violent struggles between Roman Catholics and Protestants in this, and in many other countries. In fact, the nearer approach to each other in point of faith between different denominations of Christians, than between Christians and Jews, instead of diminishing, increases the risk of their endeavouring to alter or to overthrow each other's religion. Although,

therefore, I cannot in the abstract approve of Jews being admitted to legislate for a Christian Church, or of the ecclesiastical concerns of any Church being, in any degree, under the control of such as are not members of it, I cannot on that ground consent to withhold civil rights from the Jews, when Roman Catholics and Dissenters have been admitted into Parliament ; since, in the case of Jews, the anomaly is not greater, and the danger is even less. The nearer any class of men approach to ourselves in their faith, the more likely they are to interfere with ours. If, indeed, an erroneous faith be regarded in the light of a sin against God, and if we were authorized to visit this sin with civil disabilities, we might then look to the greater difference in faith of the Jews, than of any Christians. I trust I may dismiss, without argument, the notion of our having a right to punish men on account of their religious opinions, either with a view of forcing them to renounce those opinions, or of inflicting retribution on them for erroneous belief. Often as that principle—which is, in fact, that of persecution—has by many been implied in their practice, no one, I imagine, will be found, in the present day, to defend it in the abstract. If, indeed, we were to admit the principle of punishing religious error, then, as I have said, the greater error of the Jews might be consistently assigned as a reason for harsher and less indulgent treatment of them, than of any sect of Christians ; but the only ground which any one will distinctly avow as authorising penalties and restrictions imposed on any class of religionists, is that of self-protection—to guard

ourselves either against religious corruption, or against some alarming civil danger. And in this point of view—looking to self-protection, and not to punishment—it is plain, that the nearer any persons approach to us in religion, the greater the danger, when there is any to be apprehended, of admitting them to an equality of rights with ourselves. We know that the Roman Catholics have persecuted the Protestants, and the Protestants, in their turn, the Roman Catholics;—in short, we know that the various sects of Christians have done much more, in molesting each other's faith and worship, than any Jews or Pagans have done against Christianity. When, therefore, it is said, that although not an exclusively Protestant, we have still an exclusively Christian legislature, I cannot but confess that a Christian legislature as such—simply as Christian—does not necessarily afford religious, or even personal security to a Christian. The most merciless persecutions, we know, have been (it is with shame and sorrow I speak it, but it is notorious) those inflicted by Christians on each other. From the mere circumstance therefore, of being under a legislature exclusively Christian, I can derive no security; and, what is more, I am certain that your Lordships think with me in this; for there is no one of us, professing Protestantism, who would not prefer living in Turkey or Persia, where he would be allowed, on paying a small tribute, the free exercise of his religion, to living under an exclusively Christian government in Spain or Portugal, or any country in which the Inquisition was established. The mere circumstance, therefore, of our having a Christian legis-

lature, is not of itself any ground of security. But, on the other hand, there is not necessarily any danger, or any incongruity, in persons of any religious persuasions, different from that of the Church of England, legislating upon matters distinct from religion. If any Jews are returned to Parliament, it must be by the choice of a great majority of Christian constituents. I own it does, therefore, appear to me to be a scandal, rather on our own faith, to consider it so frail and brittle as not to bear touching—to proclaim that Christianity is in danger unless the hands of Christians are tied to preclude them from the election of Jews. I am not discussing the question, whether Jews are the fittest persons to be returned to Parliament; but whether Christians should be left free as to that question, or should be prevented from electing them if they think fit. This Bill, it should be remembered, differs materially in this respect, from that by which the disabilities of the Roman Catholics were removed; because, by the latter, many persons, being already Peers, were by that Bill at once admitted into Parliament. That will not be the case in this instance; because no Jew can set foot in Parliament until he has been freely elected by a Christian constituency.”

His Grace voted for the Bill, which, however, was lost by a majority of 50: contents, 54; non contents, 104.

In 1835, the Attorney General, Sir John (now Lord) Campbell, introduced into the House of Commons the Sheriffs' Declaration Bill.

The Bill passed both Houses of Parliament with-

out opposition, and received the royal assent, August 21, 1835. Since the passing of this measure, which enables persons professing the Jewish religion to fill the important office of Sheriff, English gentlemen of the Jewish persuasion have been selected for Sheriffs in various cities and counties; and the impartial and highly commendable manner in which these individuals have discharged their duties, fully demonstrates the wisdom evinced by the British legislature (however tardily) in passing the enactment*.

In 1836, Mr. Spring Rice (now Lord Monteagle) introduced a Bill similar to that brought forward by Mr. Grant, for the removal of Jewish Civil Disabilities; on the 13th of June it was read for the first time; and, on the 10th of July, Mr. Alderman Thompson (a high Conservative), who from its earliest stage gave his strongest support to the measure, thus expressed himself:—"I have the honor to present the petition of burgesses and inhabitants of Sunderland, signed by 2,000 persons, praying that the Jewish Disabilities Bill may pass into a Law. I beg to say, that I shall most cordially support the Bill of the right honorable gentleman, the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I have already, on several occasions, supported the same measure, and shall continue to do so†." The Bill was carried in the House of Commons; and was introduced into the House of Lords, 19th of August, and read a

* Among gentlemen of the Jewish persuasion who have been elected Sheriffs, we find the names of Sir Moses Montifore, Bart., Mr. Salomons, and Baron Meyer de Rothschild.

† Parliamentary Debates, H. of Com. 1836.

first time; but, owing to the lateness of the session, the Marquess of Westminster deemed it advisable to postpone its further progress.

In 1841, a "Bill for the relief of persons of the Jewish religion elected to Municipal offices," was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Divett, and carried by a majority of 113; but this Bill, on its second reading in the Lords, was ultimately lost. In 1845, however, a similar Bill was introduced into the House of Lords by the then Chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst; the measure was warmly supported by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, and unanimously carried.

In the House of Commons, Sir Robert Peel moved the first reading of this Bill; Lord John Russell zealously advocated the justice of the measure; it passed without much opposition through the lower House, and received the royal assent July 31st, 1845.*

In 1846 was passed the "Religious Opinions Relief Bill," which enacted:—"That all Her Majesty's subjects professing the Jewish religion, in respect to their schools, places for religious worship, education, and charitable purposes, and the property held therewith, should be subject to the same laws as Her Majesty's Protestant subjects dissenting from the Church

* All municipal offices were by the statute 8 & 9 Vict., cap. 52, thrown open to English subjects professing the Jewish religion; and the first Jew returned by the City of London as a member of the Common Council was Mr. Benjamin Samuel Phillips. Under the above Act, also, several other members of the Jewish persuasion have been appointed Magistrates for their respective counties; viz. Baron Meyer de Rothschild, for Buckinghamshire; Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, Bart., for Middlesex; Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart., and Alderman David Salomons, for Kent; Mr. Joseph Montefiore, for Sussex; Mr. Benjamin Cohen, for Surrey; and Mr. Emanuel Lonsada, for Devonshire.

of England ;” and, also, “ That there should be extended to them the protection of the laws against the wilful, malicious, and contemptuous disturbance of religious assemblies and teachers.” *Stat. 9 & 10 Vict. cap. 59.*

At the General Parliamentary Election in the year 1847, the Citizens of London returned, (with three other candidates,) Baron Lionel de Rothschild as one of their representatives.

On that occasion, Nine Candidates sought the honor of becoming representatives for the City of London ; viz.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL, who was proposed by Mr. JONES LOYD, and seconded by Mr. W. HAWES.

Mr. MASTERMAN, proposed by Mr. T. BARING, and seconded by Mr. R. ELLICE.

Mr. PATTISON, proposed by Mr. W. H. PRESCOT, and seconded by Mr. DILLON.

Mr. FRESHFIELD, proposed by Mr. T. WILSON, and seconded by Sir C. MARSHALL.

Sir G. LARPENT, proposed by Mr. T. HANKEY, and seconded by Mr. W. G. HALL.

Alderman JOHNSON, proposed by Sir C. MARSHALL, and seconded by Mr. Deputy BROWN.

Baron LIONEL DE ROTHSCHILD, proposed by Mr. P. TAYLOR, and seconded by Mr. J. TRAVERS.

Mr. BEVAN, proposed by Mr. ABEL SMITH, and seconded by Mr. J. BRADBURY.

Mr. PAYNE, proposed by Mr. J. P. HEELS, and seconded by Mr. NELLOR.

The number of votes given, as declared by the Returning Officer, on the 30th of July, 1847, were:—

For Lord John Russell.. . . .	7,137.
Mr. Pattison.	7,030.
Baron L. de Rothschild. . .	6,792.
Mr. Masterman.	6,722.
Sir G. Larpent.	6,719.
Mr. Bevan.	5,268.
Alderman Johnson.	5,069.
Mr. Freshfield.	4,704.
Mr. Payne.	513.

The first four-named Candidates were, after a rigid scrutiny, declared by the Returning Officer duly elected the Parliamentary Representatives for the City of London.

Notwithstanding the unquestionable legality of Baron de Rothschild's return,—yet, as all Members of Parliament are required to take the oath of abjuration,—as that oath concludes with the words, “on the true faith of a Christian ;” and further, as Baron de Rothschild, being a member of the Jewish persuasion, could not take the oath according to that form ; it has been considered that he could not take his seat in the House of Commons*.

* It is only just to state that the British Legislature has never collectively decided that Jews cannot sit in Parliament : and as regards Baron de Rothschild's case, it may be observed that, as yet, the honourable Member for London has not claimed to take his seat in the House of Commons. His reason for pursuing this course is said to be, in deference to a desire entertained to obtain if possible a declaratory statute relative to the rights of the Jews, in order to prevent frivolous or vexatious objections being taken in future to the Parliamentary election of any member of the Hebrew persuasion.

To obviate this alleged difficulty, Lord John Russell, on the 16th of December, 1847, moved in the House of Commons:—"That the House should resolve itself into a Committee on the removal of the Civil and Religious disabilities affecting Her Majesty's Jewish Subjects." On that occasion, his Lordship enunciated the following, amongst other reasons, in support of the motion:—

"I place the question upon this simple, but, I think, solid ground—that *every Englishman is entitled to the honours and advantages which the British Constitution gives.* I state further, that religious opinion, of itself, ought to be no disqualification for the enjoyment of those rights. I found myself on a declaration in one of the statutes of the law of England,—‘*The laws of England are the birthright of the people thereof.*’ I found myself on a declaration made in the House of Lords, during the discussions on the Conformity Bill,—‘*The Lords think that an Englishman cannot be reduced to a more unhappy condition, than to be put by law under an incapacity of serving his prince and country; and, therefore, nothing but a crime of the most detestable nature ought to put him under such a disability.*’ I say, then, that on this ground, *unless something shall be proved to disqualify Jews, they stand in the position of persons born in this country, bearing all the burdens which are imposed on them, and ready to serve their prince and their country in any capacity in which they may be called upon; and that, therefore, they are entitled to all the rights and privileges enjoyed by their fellow-subjects.* I state this with con-

fidence ; and I will not attempt to ask your favour by anything which I might urge in behalf of the merits of the Jews. I think this is not a matter of favour towards the Jews, but that, unless some strong ground of disqualification be proved against them, it is a matter of right. *The common law of this country was not framed in favour of Christianity, but for the protection of what was then the Established Church of the realm.* But in the course of time the Reformation came ; various sects arose ; the Reformation was triumphant, and the Church of England became a Protestant Church. But heretics still continued to be punished ; and, in the reign of Elizabeth even, persons were sent to the flames on account of heresy.

In the course of time there arose a new distinction,—a distinction founded, not upon religious belief, but mainly upon political differences. The Roman Catholics of that day, thinking that they had no chance of supremacy under Elizabeth or James I, entered into repeated conspiracies with a view to change the succession of these realms. I am asking your attention on this point, because it was at that time that the words were introduced ‘ on the true faith of a Christian.’ In the time of Elizabeth it was necessary that the oath of allegiance should be taken on the *four Evangelists*, which the Jews, a despised and neglected race, could not take. But I will beg to read to you the preamble of an Act which is the first I can discover in which the words ‘ on the true faith of a Christian’ were introduced,—the Act 3, James I, c. 4, entitled ‘ An Act for the better Discovering and

Repressing of Popish Recusants.' The preamble states,—

'Forasmuch as it is found, by daily experience, that many of His Majesty's subjects that adhere in their hearts to the Popish religion, by the infection drawn from thence, and by the wicked and devilish counsel of Jesuits, Seminaries, and other like persons dangerous to the Church and State, are so far perverted, in the point of their loyalties and due allegiance unto the King's Majesty and the Crown of England, as they are ready to entertain and execute any treasonable conspiracies and practices, as evidently appears by that more than barbarous and horrible attempt to have blown up with gunpowder the King, Queen, Prince, Lords, and Commons, in the House of Parliament assembled, tending to the utter subversion of the whole State, lately undertaken, by the instigation of Jesuits and Seminaries, and in advancement of their religion, by their scholars, taught and instructed by them to that purpose, which attempt by the only goodness of Almighty God was discovered and defeated.'

“And Section 15 prescribes the oath of obedience:—‘I swear from my heart, that notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of excommunication or deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted, by the Pope or his successors, or by any authority derived or pretended to be derived from him or his see, against the said King, his heirs or successors, or any absolution of the said subjects from their obedience, I will bear faith and true allegiance to His Majesty, his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend to the utter-

most of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shall be made against his or their persons, their crown and dignity, by reason or colour of any such sentence or declaration, or otherwise, and will do my best to disclose and make known unto His Majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which I shall know or hear of to be against him or any of them. And I do further swear, that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical this damnable doctrine and position, that princes which be excommunicated, or deprived by the Pope, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do believe, and in my conscience am resolved, that neither the Pope nor any other person whatsoever hath power to absolve me of this oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge, by good and full authority, to be lawfully ministered unto me, and do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge, and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever; and I do make this recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian.'

“In the seventh year of James I, another Act was passed, by which Members of Parliament were required to take the oath of allegiance according to the oath in 3 Jac. I, c. 4, s. 15, that is, ‘upon the true

faith of a Christian.' Now, this shows clearly what the intention of Parliament was in inserting that declaration, 'on the true faith of a Christian.' It was intended to meet the cases of those Roman Catholics who bore true allegiance to the Crown of this realm, and to separate them from those who believed that their prince might lawfully be deposed or murdered. *Therefore these words, 'on the true faith of a Christian,' were intended, not to exclude either Jews or infidels, but to give a greater sanction to the oath which the Roman Catholic Christian took when he declared himself a faithful and true subject of the Crown.*

"Now, I think I can contend that the history of this declaration shows, that it was intended only to give a security that those who were Roman Catholics, and who were admitted to office and to Parliament, were not men who swerved from their allegiance; and that, being Christians, they were asked to make the declaration 'on the true faith of a Christian.' I have stated this for the purpose of showing that the introduction of these words, so far as any exclusion or disqualification was in view, was founded upon political differences. In the reign of Charles II.—the same reasons prevailed. The Duke of York, and those who were with him, wished to overturn the laws of the country; and therefore political reasons, and not religious belief, led to the continued obligation of the same form of oath, and even to more exclusive tests. But there was another class who were likewise excluded from office, though not from Parliament,—I mean the Protestant Dissenters. Were they excluded

on the ground that they differed in religious belief? By no means. The ground of their exclusion was most ably stated by Bishop Sherlock, then a young man, in a pamphlet which he wrote in defence of the Test and Corporation Acts. He declared that every Member of Parliament ought to be well affected to the Established Church of the realm; and that it was not enough for him to be well affected to the civil institutions of the country, but that he must also be a friend to the Church as established by law. This was the ground on which the religious distinction was based. It was based on the ground that disaffection to the religious establishment of the country was disaffection to the state.

Thus, when the ground of a political disqualification was taken as a reason for exclusion from Parliament or office, it was either on the score of the Roman Catholics failing in their allegiance to the King, or, in the case of the Dissenters, that they were so averse to the ecclesiastical constitution of these realms, that the Church could not be secure unless they were excluded from office. But, whatever these reasons might be; in the years 1828 and 1829 we removed all those disabilities. Parliament declared, in its wisdom, that the Roman Catholics should no longer be subjected to the imputation to which they had been exposed—that of disaffection to their Sovereign; and that they were as well qualified as any other persons to hold office, with the exception of some offices connected with the ecclesiastical constitution of the kingdom. Parliament declared, likewise, that the Pro-

testant Dissenters should not be subject to the disqualification which excluded from corporations and from office (for they were before eligible to Parliament), because disaffection to the Church Establishment was no sufficient ground for depriving them of the honours and rewards which were the right of every subject of these realms. I submit, then, to the House, that what is called the Christian character of our constitution, if it ever had any existence at all, has only existed from the years 1828 and 1829. Previous to the first of those years, your constitution excluded certain persons from Parliament; but it was on the ground of their political and civil disability to perform the duties of good subjects and citizens. Thus political disability was attached to political disaffection, supposed to exist in Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics, and not to mere difference of faith. Moreover, it is clear, from the words in the oath of abjuration, that they were introduced, not for the purpose of exclusion, but for the purpose of giving a superior sanction to that declaration. *If it had been intended to exclude the Jews from Parliament, on the ground that their erroneous faith ought to deprive them of the character of British subjects, there would have been introduced into that oath some declaration like that against the doctrine of transubstantiation, such as a declaration of a belief in the New Testament. You admit that there are no direct words of exclusion; but you leave exclusion to be inferred, from the words which were introduced to give superior solemnity and sanction to the oath.*

One ground which has been stated for the exclusion of the Jews is, *that they are a separate nation*. But the Jews themselves utterly deny this allegation. *They say that they are not attached to any foreign State; and that, as the Jews in France are French subjects, those of England are English subjects; and that they are ready to do their duty, as all good subjects should do, either in time of war or of peace.* Again I say, if they are aliens, to what country do they belong? An alien is one who has another king and another country, to whom his allegiance is owing; and therefore he cannot pay perfect obedience to the laws of the state in which he lives, and is subject to some necessary disabilities. But those Jews who have lived in this country for a century, or a century and a half—who have in England their property, their wives and their families—to *what other king or country can they resort in order to pay their allegiance? To none whatever.* It is obvious to all the world that their attachment is to England, and to no other country.

“But we have been told also, that there is a very solemn denunciation in the Prophecies, which would prevent our granting to the Jews the rights which they claim. It is obvious, that if such be the meaning of the prophecies, it is not for us to decide what should be done; but that Providence will accomplish by its own means its own purposes. But I would ask where it is that those who use this argument would draw the line? I have told you that in France they hold all offices to which Frenchmen are admitted, and that more than one member of the Chambers have been of

the Jewish persuasion. Even in this country we have much relaxed the rigour of our enactments respecting them. *A Jew has been a Magistrate ; a Jew has been a Sheriff. By a late statute, which was introduced by the right honorable Member for Tamworth, Jews may hold offices in corporations ; and it was but the other day that a Jew was admitted to the office of Alderman in the corporation of the City of London.* I ask you, what right or business have you to interpret a Prophecy, so as to draw the line between an Alderman and a Commissioner of Customs—between the Justice of the Peace and a person having a right to sit in Parliament? What enables you or authorises you to say where the line intended by the Prophecies should be drawn? and how can you take upon yourselves to draw the limits of the line the Almighty intended to mark out? It would be indeed to

“ Strike from his hand the balance and the rod,
Rejudge his justice—be the God of God !”

I trust that no such presumption will fall to our lot—that we shall do that which we think our duty to our fellow countrymen, and the best for the country according to our imperfect reason, and rest in pious and humble confidence that the Almighty will accomplish his purpose by means best known to his wisdom.

“ But, Sir, there is that which I can hardly call an argument, but which operates more against those whose cause I have undertaken, perhaps, than any other thing. There is a popular prejudice against the name of the Jew, founded upon various circumstances to which I

need not allude—founded upon what I think a mistaken view of Sacred Writ, and the dislike and distrust there are on the part of men of a different religion. But that popular prejudice which induced the Administration of 1753, after passing an Act for the naturalization of the Jews, to come down in a hurry, in the next year, for the purpose of repealing it, has, I believe, very greatly died away. That it has subsided in this metropolis, I have with my own eyes a proof; because a gentleman in the City of London, well known in that city by his extensive transactions, by his wealth, his charity and liberality, was elected for that city by nearly 7,000 votes at the last general election. I quote that as a proof that this House would not be safe in saying—‘ Very charitable is our opinion: we are liberal: we intend well to our Jewish fellow subjects: but there is such a prejudice amongst the people against them, that it would not be safe to legislate in their favor.’ I warn honorable gentlemen not to rely upon that feeling. *I believe that the People are to the full as enlightened as the Members of this House. I believe that the general opinion, and the right and true opinion as I conceive it to be, is, that religious opinions ought not to bring with them any penalty or punishment. I believe that that is the right and true opinion, overbearing any prejudice that may have existed against the Jews.*

I have now, Sir, stated to you the reasons why I think that the objections which have been made against the admission of the Jews are futile and unfounded. If I am asked, what are the prevailing reasons for the

motion that I propose, I appeal in the first place to the Constitution of these Realms. *I appeal to that Constitution which is intended to give to every man those rewards, that honor, that estimation, to which his character and talents may entitle him.* I appeal to that Constitution which is the enemy of restriction or disqualification; to that Constitution which, by the abrogation of the laws existing a few years ago, has put an end even to those cases of exception which our ancestors thought, upon the ground of imminent danger to the State and Church, they were justified in imposing. I ask you, in the name of that Constitution, to take away this last remnant of religious persecution, to show that you were not influenced by numbers or terrors which might make that which was an act of political justice, an act of political necessity. I ask you, in the name of that Constitution, to admit the Jews to all the privileges, to all the rights, of which those who are not excluded from them are so justly proud; and, let me tell you, that you cannot judge of the feelings of those who are excluded by the number of those who might wish for seats in Parliament, or who might aspire to hold office under the Crown. Many a man who would not seek for either, who would be content to pass his days in obscurity, and would wish for no other advantages than those of a private life, still feels the galling degradation, the brand that is imposed upon him, when he is told that men of all other classes—men of the Established Church, Protestant Dissenters, and Roman Catholics—may all enter within these walls, may all enjoy those advan-

tages, but that he belongs to a sect which by the law and constitution is proscribed and degraded. But I would make a still higher appeal. I would make an appeal to the principles of that Christianity which has so long been the law of the land. I appeal to you, then, in the name of that Religion which is a Religion of Charity and Love, to ‘do unto others as you would they should do unto you.’ I ask you why it is, that, when we are taught by examples and parables that we ought to love our neighbours, it is not Priests or Levites who are singled out as instances for our approbation and admiration, but it is one of a proscribed sect—one who belonged to what was then the refuse and the scum of all nations? *I ask why it is that we are taught that all men are brothers—that there is no part of the human race, however divided from us by feeling or colour, that ought to be separated from us, but that all belong to the family of man, and ought to be loved as brothers? I ask you, therefore, in the name of that Constitution which is the Constitution of Freedom, of Liberty, and of Justice—I ask you, in the name of that Religion which is the Religion of Peace and Good-will towards men, to agree to this motion.*”

The noble Lord then moved, “That the House should resolve itself into a Committee on the removal of the civil and political Disabilities affecting Her Majesty’s Jewish Subjects,” and resumed his seat amid loud and long-continued cheers.

The limits of this work will not admit of our inserting at length the various other able speeches delivered subsequently to the Premier’s admirable

oration ; but as the debate was one of the most important Parliamentary discussions which has perhaps taken place in modern times, we give here a *précis* of the chief arguments adduced by the supporters and the opponents of the measure.

Sir R. H. Inglis said, he had never been so much alarmed at the introduction of this measure as he was now, when it was introduced by the first Minister of the Crown. He did not dispute the merits of the Jews, but he was not inclined to place them in Parliament merely because they were amiable and respectable citizens. Mr. Macauley insisted that privation was punishment. He denied it: for would any man say that the Legislature punished those who enjoyed not the elective franchise, or those who were not qualified to sit in Parliament? The question was not one between Christians and Jews, but between Christians and non-Christians. Now, England for years past had not only had a constitution, but also a Christian constitution, and he defied Lord J. Russell to produce a single instance in which the oath of office had not always been taken upon some Christian symbol. It might be true that David Hume and Edward Gibbon, as infidels, would not have scrupled to take at the table the declaration now required by law ; but was that a sufficient argument for blotting out of our Statute Book a solemn declaration that our first duty, as legislators, was to discharge, our duties as Christian men ! A Jew could not listen to our form of prayer, in which we called upon Christ to have mercy upon us, without either committing an awful blasphemy, or going through a deliberate mockery of religion. He would not withhold these concessions from the Jews on account of the smallness of their numbers, if he could believe them just: but, as he did not think them so, he thought he had a right to ask whether it was either right or expedient to make them to 20,000 or 30,000 or 40,000 persons, at the risk of exasperating 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 ? He had called the last bill introduced on this subject a bill to enable Mr. Salomons to become an alderman of London, and he called this bill a bill to enable the Baron L. de Rothschild to

become a member of Parliament. He then proceeded to show that the Jews were a separate nation, with a separate creed, and for that purpose read a letter from a Jewish rabbi, and an extract from the speech of John Duke of Bedford against the Jew bill of 1753. He called upon the House, by every consideration of interest and duty, to pause before it changed the Christian constitution of the Legislature, and before it hazarded the confidence of the people in the Christian institutions of the empire. (Hear, hear!)

Mr. Fox supported the motion, because he saw no feature of exclusiveness either in the English constitution, or in the genius of Christianity. Sir Robert Inglis had remarked, that exclusion was not punishment; but that remark was scarcely applicable to any class which perceived and appreciated, and yet did not enjoy all the rights of citizenship. *The question really before the House at that moment was, the partial disfranchisement of the City of London; for, by the present anomalous state of the law, it was deprived of its due share in the representation, and was undergoing a punishment in not having its due share in the formation of those laws in whose proper administration it was so much interested.* (Hear.) It was, therefore, in the same position in which it would be, had a bill of pains and penalties been brought in against it for selecting Baron de Rothschild as its representative. He asked whether it was likely that the city of London, which had made such a choice, would retract it! The city would do no such thing; and he believed that if the House persisted in that form of oath by which the exclusion of the Baron de Rothschild was effected, it would stir up a most formidable agitation. Against the argument that the Jews regarded themselves as a separate nation, he adduced the example of the many Jews who had perished in the ranks of the Prussian army at Waterloo, fighting against Napoleon, who had proclaimed himself the friend of their race. He then recommended the emancipation of the Jews, first because they were a non-proselytizing people, and next, because their Bible was ours, their saints and patriarchs were ours, and their laws were placed on the tables suspended over the altars of our churches. They were, therefore, the people who ought to have come first and foremost, instead of last, within the pale of the British constitution. (Hear, hear!)

Lord Ashley observed, that on this question there was no intermediate feeling in the country ; *for it was either a feeling of indifference, or of the deepest interest.* (Hear, hear!) The prejudices of the present day against the Jews had no connexion with the personal hatred once directed against them on account of their crucifixion of our Saviour, nor even with those prejudices which existed in 1753. *The Jew held a higher place now in the opinion of society ; and the objections against his admission into Parliament did not rest on such half-forgotten recollections, but on the adherence of the people of England to a principle which he hoped they would never surrender. His opposition to this measure was not founded on any selfish or persecuting motive, but on a principle of religious truth. He contended, that religion had a great deal to do with politics—that the House knew that fact—and that it proved it by every one of its daily actions.* (Hear, hear!) The House was now called upon to break down all the barriers which prevented Jews from sitting in Parliament. No advantage would be gained by such an enactment—no compensation would be afforded for the great shock which it would occasion to thousands of honest and conscientious Christians. Lord John Russell rested his case upon justice. Dr. Arnold—whose words he quoted—denied that the Jews had any claim to emancipation on that ground, and his Lordship had not ventured to say a word in refutation of that denial. The present was altogether a question of principle. It was a Legislative declaration, that for all the purposes of public government, of making laws, and of administering public affairs, Christianity was altogether needless. To such a doctrine he could not assent, even for a single hour. If the Jews had been already in Parliament, he would not have proposed to turn them out ; but it was a widely different question to propose to bring them in, and to repeal, for their introduction, an oath which was a declaration of Christianity on the part of the Legislature. The noble Lord said, he disclaimed any antipathy to the Jews, and concluded his address with a glowing description of the knowledge, intelligence, literature, and perseverance of the Jews of the present age, both in this country, and other countries of Europe.

Mr. Gladstone, after an allusion to the course his colleague had

taken, said he felt bound to inquire whether there were any grounds for the disqualifications which distinguished the Jews from any other classes of the community. Lord Ashley, in that part of his speech in which he had exposed the existing misapprehensions as to the Jews, and in which he had described their excellent capacity for public business of every kind, had greatly enhanced the force of the arguments by which the admission of Jews into Parliament was recommended. He then passed on to the question of religion. Having shown that we had contended first for a Church Parliament, and then for a Protestant Parliament, in both of which contests we had been defeated by the course of events, or he should rather say by the providential superintendence of God over the world, he said that, according to Lord Ashley, we had now come to the stage in which we must stand up for a Christian Parliament. This measure did not make a severance between politics and religion, it only amounted to a declaration that there was no necessity for excluding a Jew, as such, from an assembly in which every man felt sure that a vast and overwhelming majority of its members would always be Christian. It was too late for us to say that this measure was un-Christian, and would call down upon us the vengeance of Heaven. He had opposed the last law for the removal of Jewish disabilities; but when he did so, he foresaw that if we gave the Jews municipal, magisterial, and executive functions, we could not refuse him legislative functions any longer. The Jew was refused entrance into that House because he would then be a maker of the laws; but who made the maker of the laws? The constituencies; and into those constituencies you had admitted the Jew. Now were the constituencies Christian constituencies? If they were, was it probable that the Parliament would cease to be a Christian Parliament? He concluded by stating, that if we admitted the Jews into Parliament, prejudice might be awakened for a while, but that the good sense of the people would soon allay it, and we should have the consolation of knowing that, in a case of difficulty, we had yielded to a sense of justice, and by so doing had not disparaged our religion, or lowered Christianity, but had rather elevated both in all reflecting and well-regulated minds. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. G. Bankes vindicated the arguments of Lord Ashley, and expressed his horror at the possibility of seeing a Jew Premier in Parliament.

Mr. Romilly contended the admission of Jews into Parliament was simply an act of justice. The admission of Roman Catholics into the House had not impaired the Protestant character of the Legislature, but had, on the contrary, increased its efficacy. So, the admission of the Jews would not impair the Christian character of the House, or do injury to Christianity. (Hear.)

Mr. Goulburn urged, that we must resist this motion if we intended to carry out the objects of a Christian Legislature. Two tests had hitherto been provided by the Legislature before any man could be admitted into it. One was the oath of allegiance, the other was his sworn avowal of his belief in Christianity. The City of London had thought fit to say that the Baron de Rothschild, who would not submit to the latter of these tests, should take his seat in the Legislature as its representative. Now, if that claim were admitted, how soon might the City return a foreign merchant who would refuse the other test, the oath of allegiance ?

Mr. Plumptre said, that this was simply a question whether they, as a Christian Legislature, believing Christ to be their only Saviour and Redeemer, and having continually to consider subjects affecting the honour and glory of that Saviour, would invite among them into that house men who looked upon him as an impostor. The honourable Member was understood to say that he intended no insult to the Jews in asserting that they were unfit to legislate or interfere in the affairs of a Christian nation, and as he deemed the question to be one of principle and not of expediency he should vote against the motion of the noble Lord, and against the Bill when it was introduced.

Mr. Disraeli observed, that both Lord John Russell and Lord Ashley had considered this measure as a question of principle. With the former it was a principle of religious liberty ; with the latter a principle of religious truth. The former had adopted a principle which in this country was comparatively a novel one, and upon which his Lordship, from his descent and his own personal

exertions in its behalf, must ever be expected to look with respect. The Jewish race were men who acknowledged the same God and admitted the same revelation with ourselves, and to whom we were indebted for much of our human civilization and almost all our divine knowledge. They professed a true, if not the true, religion. If they did not believe all that Christians did, Christians believed all that they did. As far, then, as the religion of the Bible could be a sanction for conduct, Parliament had, in the religion of the Jew, the best sanction in the world for their good conduct, save that of its own Christianity. It was said, however, that the admission of the Jew into Parliament would de-Christianize the nation, and would enable persons of any religion, Pagan or Mahometan, to come amongst us. Now, this question of the Jew ought not to be mixed up with that of other religions. The Jew should be admitted from his near affinity to the Christian. Was that denied? Then he would ask, where was your Christianity except in his Judaism? He should be admitted, too, because you are a Christian community and a Christian assembly. If you had been a Druidical assembly, you might have rejected him on the ground that his race were few in number and you knew nothing of his religion. But a Christian assembly could not urge such a plea and were placed in regard to a Jew in a very different position from that in which it stood either to the Pagan, the Hindoo, or the Mussulman. Besides, the Jew had no interest in opposing the Christian church. He concluded with an eloquent panegyric on the high qualifications of the Jews in all ages, and insisted that the house ought to perform this great act of national justice, and to discard the dark superstitions of the darkest ages, which were influencing themselves and their constituents to oppose it.

Sir T. Acland replied with great warmth to Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli, and reminded the House that Mr. Hume had often told it that religion had nothing to do with legislation and that the less legislation had to do with religion, the better. He denied the justice of that principle and showed that it was never recognized by Queen Elizabeth, William III., or any of our greatest princes. He therefore called upon the House to beware how it broke asunder the ties

which bound together religion and legislation, and to reflect on the awful consequences which might arise from such a violation of sound principle and ancient custom. (Hear.)

Mr. Law insisted that this measure, which involved the question whether religious tests should any longer be administered to Members of Parliament before their admission into that House, struck at the vitals of our Christian nationality and was an infringement of the Christian character of our Legislature. He admitted that religious liberty was a principle of the constitution, but it was one of those principles in which individual rights must be limited like all other rights in special cases. He reminded the House that the admission of every Jew into Parliament would displace a Christian and would make room for an infidel or an atheist. (Hear.) He then entered into a very elaborate refutation of the various arguments urged by Lord John Russell last night, and based it, for the most part, on the dogmas laid down in the last number of the Quarterly Review. He reminded Lord John Russell that the Government which had passed the bill for the naturalization of the Jews in 1752 had been compelled to repeal it in the next year, and warned him that if a similar reaction should take place now, which was not improbable, the people might demand something more than the repeal of this measure, supposing that it should be carried. He then attacked Mr. Gladstone with weapons borrowed from the same armoury from which he had drawn his missiles against Lord John Russell, asserting that the conscience of that gentleman might well be pricked, after all he had said and written to the University of Oxford, at seeing the word "Christianity" withdrawn from the portals of the constitution. Taking leave of Mr. Gladstone with the passing remark, that his speech was a striking illustration of Talleyrand's saying, that language was given to man to conceal his thoughts, he next ventured to break a lance with Mr. Disraeli, whose nation of contented Jews in China, eager to support the established religion of that country, he treated with no slight ridicule. He then returned to his original denunciations of this measure, which he considered as more subversive of the best interests of this country than any measure ever yet proposed to Parliament. It might obtain the approbation of both

Houses of the Legislature. The hour of victory might give Ministers the pleasures of triumph; but the hour of retribution would come, and they might depend upon it that the people of England would not acquiesce in the measures of the Legislature if it ceased to be wholly or professedly Christian. (Hear, hear.)

The Earl of Arundel and Surrey supported the measure on the general grounds of religious freedom and religious truth. He was not old enough to have suffered himself from the Roman Catholic disabilities; but he well remembered the strong feelings of indignation which his father and his grandfather experienced owing to their having been excluded by them from Parliament. It was therefore not wonderful that he should sympathize with the Jews who were suffering under the same galling exclusion.

Mr. A. Hope opposed the measure, on the ground that there was no pre-eminence or super-excellence in the Jewish race which would justify the house in relaxing the "fag ends" of those oaths which were necessary to be taken before any member could take his seat in Parliament.

Mr. Newdegate followed on the same side, but contended, that in opposing the emancipation of the Jews he was not influenced, as Mr. Disraeli supposed, by any remnant of the "dark superstitious of the darkest ages." The admission of every infidel and atheist in Parliament was inevitable if we once admitted the Jews, who knew most of the divine revelation given to us, and who nevertheless had rejected it. He then controverted the arguments of Mr. Gladstone and censured him in very strong language for voting in favour of a measure of which he clearly foresaw the difficulties. If it had been known in the University of Oxford, that Mr. Gladstone entertained his present sentiments, and intended to vote against the principle for which he had formerly voted, he never would have enjoyed the high honour which had recently been conferred upon him by that university.

Lord Morpeth adopted the principle that, when the state required from any class of citizens the performance of any acts or the payment of any duties which the claim of citizenship imposed, no difference of creed which did not lead to practices injurious to the community

should operate as an exclusion from any right, dignity, or privilege within its gift. On that principle he supported this measure, which he reminded Sir R. Inglis was not intended to emancipate Parsees and Hindoos, but was confined simply to the removal of Jewish disabilities. Not that he shrank from following out the principle of equality before the law to its fullest extent, from any fear of an irruption of Parsee candidates into Great Britain or their acceptance by a British constituency. He then applied himself to a consideration of the motives of opposition to this measure both in the house and in the country—motives which in his opinion were founded on religious views alone. He then denied that Lord J. Russell had ever asserted that religion had nothing to do with politics; on the contrary, his Lordship had distinctly declared that religion ought to pervade and influence everything we did. He said, however, that the security of Christianity would not be impaired by the admission of Jews into Parliament, and he Lord Morpeth was of the same opinion; and for this among other reasons, that if the religion of the first Christians was not endangered by their taking service in Cæsar's household, so neither would our religion be endangered by the admission of a few Jews into our senate. The Jews were now in the possession of all the privileges of citizens in France, and never had there been more vital piety in the Roman Catholic and Protestant population of that country than at the present moment. He called upon the house to treat the Jews with similar kindness, tenderness, and justice, and to consider them in their scattered and fallen state like the trunk blighted by the lightning, sanctified by the very stroke which had caused its ruin. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Home Drummond was not actuated in opposing this measure by any of the old prejudices or unworthy feelings against the Jews, whom he admired almost as much as Mr. Disraeli did. Sooner or later, he was afraid that it must be carried; for if the house threw Mr. Rothschild back upon the constituency of London, we should have a recurrence of similar contests between the house and that constituency as had formerly taken place between it and the electors of Middlesex in the time and in the case of Mr. Wilkes. Formerly gold was extracted from the Jew by the thumbscrew; now it was

extorted by the more efficient process of a contested election. He admitted that this measure, if carried, would be the triumph of Liberalism; but, what was Liberalism? The antagonist of religion. Liberalism was that which set a man free from all obligation to God—which left him at liberty to make out of his own imagination his own God—and which led him to despise the dogmas of the church which told him there was no truth but that which it taught. He would not venture to read the denunciations of the prophecies; but he would remind Lord J. Russell there was such a thing denounced in scripture as national apostasy. He hoped that we might still say in Parliament that we were Christians; but if this measure passed we could no longer say so. He concluded by declaring that he would not give his consent to a measure which would enact from this time forward that no man should pronounce in that house the name or recognize the authority of Christ.

Lord G. Bentinck said, that he should be slinking from his duty if he did nothing more than register his vote in favour of this measure. It was with deep pain he felt himself called upon to separate himself from his friends, and to inflict what might perhaps prove an injury to his party; but he was actuated by a solemn sense of duty, to which all other considerations must give way. He had supported, along with the friends of Mr. Canning, the first motion which the whigs had made on this subject in 1833, and the conduct of the Jews since that time had not been such as to justify him in rescinding, in 1847, the vote in favour of the Jews which he had given in 1833. If he could bring himself to believe that by voting in favour of this measure he was either impairing Christianity or un-Christianizing Parliament, he would be the last man to vote in favour of raising the Jews to a political equality with the rest of their fellow subjects. He reminded the house that when the bill for the repeal of Tests and Corporation Acts was passed in the Commons, it was passed in such a shape as would have at once enabled Jews to become members of the Legislature, and that it was not till the bill reached the House of Lords, that the words "on the true faith of a Christian" were inserted in the declaration which was thenceforward to be taken by all candidates for admission into

office and into Parliament. When the bill was returned to the House of Commons, the regret was universal that those words, had been inserted. No one then saw any danger in the omission of those words—nor did any person defend their insertion on the ground that they would exclude Jews from the Legislature. But where, he would ask, was the danger of admitting Jews into the Legislature? They must be returned by a Christian constituency, and if they were to attempt to make laws destructive of Christianity and promoting Judaism, they would have little chance, when they laid down their trust as members of Parliament, of having it again restored to them. Besides, the danger itself was almost visionary; for there was no spirit of proselytism in the Jewish religion. He then asked how the house could refuse the Jews the measure of justice now proposed to be awarded to them, after it had rendered them capable of filling all magisterial and municipal offices? A Jew might now be elected Lord Mayor of London. Acting in that capacity, he might become a member of the Privy Council; for there was nothing said in the oath of a Privy Councillor about the “true faith of a Christian.” If then he could qualify himself under the existing law to become a Privy Councillor, why should he be prevented from becoming also a member of the Senate? (Hear, hear.) He then adverted to the arguments of Mr. Goulburn, and observed that that gentleman had formerly opposed the admission of Roman Catholics into Parliament on precisely the same grounds upon which he now opposed the admission of the Jews. But when Mr. O’Connell was returned for the county of Clare, and knocked at the door of the House for admission with millions at his back, Mr. Goulburn was a Member of the Cabinet which shrunk from the contest, and which subsequently conceded all the privileges which they asked. (Hear.) He hoped that it would not be necessary for Mr. Goulburn to undergo once more the same process of resistance at one time and humiliation at another in the case of the Jews. He reminded the House that shortly before the crucifixion of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ had implored his Divine Parent to forgive the Jews, because they knew not what they were doing. We were now within eight days of the nativity of our Lord; and we should be wretched

imitators of his divine example if we should withhold from the Jews the privileges which they were now claiming.

Mr. O'Gorman Mahon, in reply to Mr. Home Drummond, denied that Liberalism was the absence of virtue, piety, and religion; it was the absence of all religious acrimony and intolerance—it was the absence of persecution and sectarian bigotry—it was the absence of all those selfish and vindictive feelings which denied to man the right of worshipping God as he pleased (Hear, hear.) He coincided in the propriety and justice of the proposition of Lord John Russell—namely, that from the present hour everything like a disqualification consequent on conscientious belief should be removed from the statute book. He called on the House to reflect that fear had extorted for the Roman Catholics of Ireland that boon which justice required that they should now grant to the native born Jews of this country. (Hear.) It had been said when the Roman Catholics were first admitted into Parliament, that they would un-Protestantize the empire. Some 20 or 30 had since been admitted, and the country was as Protestant as ever. Had they any just grounds, then, for expecting that four or five Jews admitted into Parliament would un-Christianize that body?

Lord John Russell said, that his principal reason for addressing the house at present was to explain to Mr. Gladstone the precise nature of the measure which he was about to propose in the committee. His resolution would be in the following terms:—"That it is expedient to remove all civil disabilities at present existing affecting Her Majesty's subjects of the Jewish religion, with the like exceptions as are provided for Her Majesty's subjects professing the Roman Catholic religion." The bill, which he should afterwards found upon that resolution, would be couched in the same terms as that introduced by Sir R. GRANT in 1833. His Lordship then entered into a refutation of a report to which Mr. Law's speech was calculated to give confirmation—that his (Lord John Russell's) recent election for the City London had been carried by means of his association with the Baron Rothschild, and that he had in consequence proposed this measure to bring the Baron into Parliament.

His Lordship entered into a detail of facts, and shewed that there was not even a shadow of foundation for these allegations.

The house then divided, when the numbers were for the motion—

Ayes	....	....	253
Noes	....	....	186
			<hr/>
Majority	....		67

On the 7th of February, 1848, the Order of the Day for the Second Reading of the Jewish Disabilities Bill having been read,

Mr. Stafford moved, as an amendment, that it be read a second time that day six months. The last of three great questions respecting religion must now be answered by the House in the affirmative or negative. The first was "should we persecute?" by which he understood, "should we fine, imprison, and execute?" That had already been answered in the negative. The next was, having ceased to persecute, having given to all sects tolerance and connivance, should we consent to allow them to exercise the administration of the laws which we had ourselves passed? That had been answered in the affirmative, and, as he thought, wisely. The last question which the House had then to answer was, should we admit them to legislate for us, and to assist us in the enactment of laws for the protection of Christianity? It was no answer to those who objected to such admission, to say, that we first struggled for a Catholic, and then for a Protestant, and that we were now struggling for a Christian Parliament; for the two first struggles were only struggles of degree, but the last struggle is a struggle of kind. He called upon the House, when it had removed what was now called "the last remnant of persecution," and when it had passed this bill, and had admitted the Jews into Parliament, to determine what it would do with its ordinary forms. Its ordinary forms required that those who wished to secure their seats should write their names on printed cards which had only two words printed on them, "At prayers." A blank was left for the name of the Member. Now,

could the name of Lionel de Rothschild ever fill up that blank? If it could, then the sooner such an absurdity was removed the better; but if it could not, would not Lionel de Rothschild have a right to say, "You told me, when I was elected a member of Parliament, that religion had nothing to do with politics; why, then, do you call upon me to assist in the worship of one whom I deem an impostor?" (Hear.) Again, it had been said that we placed the Jewish decalogue over our altars, and therefore we might safely admit the Jews into the Legislature. But that observation led him to another; we had changed the day of the Sabbath, and had compelled the Jew to shut his shop for traffic both on his Sabbath, and on our own. Now, it appeared to him to be a greater hardship to compel the Jews to close their shops for fifty-two days in the year, than to exclude them from Parliament. How then could it be justly urged, that this Bill would remove "the last remnant of persecution," when you would still compel the Jews to close their shops for traffic for two months in the year, and that, too, in honour of one whom they declared to be an impostor? The question, then, came to this—"Was the House prepared to give up Sunday?" He then adverted, but as he said, with deep pain, to another question which had been asked in the course of this debate. It had been asked what was the great difference between the Christian and the Jew? His answer was this—A Jewish peasant had changed the religion of the world. When he was brought before the tribunals of his country, his countrymen exclaimed, that they would not have him as King to reign over them. Since that time a cry had gone up to Heaven from country after country, "We will have this man to reign over us! We accept the immense array of prophecy as the proof of his glorious god-head. Strong in his rule we will live, and strong in his faith we hope to die." There was, therefore a difference, immutable and eternal, between those who looked on the Cross of Christ as the punishment of a malefactor, and those who looked upon it as the best hope of happiness here, and the only hope of happiness hereafter. (Hear.)

Lord Burleigh seconded the amendment, because it appeared to him that this Bill enacted that, if a man had money enough, and influence enough to become a Member of Parliament, it was no

matter whether he was a Christian or not. If it were passed, every form of the constitution which gave us assurance of Christianity must be abolished.

Mr. W. P. Wood supported the Bill on religious, far more than on political grounds; for he considered it essential that we should forthwith abolish those laws which attached disgrace to the Legislature of England, and reflected it upon the Church of England, which he believed to be the best form of Christianity. Religious opinions should not be used as a qualification or a disqualification for political offices; for he undertook to show that it was very far from being the principle of the Christian religion to mingle itself with the political administration of affairs. From the earliest times Christianity had kept itself distinct from politics; and it was only coincident with the corruptions which crept into it, that the Church was found in union with the State. There was no positive precept to be found in Divine Writ for the union of the Church and State, and the absence of such a precept following on the theocracy of the Jews, was a clear proof that no such union was intended. He then entered into an able historical disquisition, to prove that it was not till the reign of Theodosius that any question had arisen as to the interference of the State with religion, and contended, upon the authority of Protestant divines, that it was not till then that the corruptions of religion were introduced. (Hear, hear.) Then arose that system of persecution which crept into Europe, and which afterwards was adopted by our ancestors, not founded on the truths of Christianity, but on Papal decrees and rescripts. (Hear, hear.) He then proceeded to deny that Christianity was part and parcel of the law of the land, so far as regarded the question then before the House. None of the statutes which applied to heretics applied to the Jews, and thus the *dicta*, that "Christianity was part and parcel of the English Law," could not be justly applied so as to deprive the Jews of civil rights and privileges. (Hear, hear.) He then examined the position of Lord Coke, that the Jews were aliens, and joined with Lord Chief Justice Willes in holding it up to ridicule and contempt. He showed that in all the early Acts of Parliament, imposing tests and qualifications, the case of the Jews was *casus*

omissus, and that it was not till an act passed at the close of the reign of Charles II, they were excluded from any civil privileges. We had admitted the Jews to exercise parliamentary privileges in Jamaica and in Canada, and if we had thereby un-Christianized those colonies, how was it that the Imperial Parliament had sat quiet and allowed it to be done? It was a mere play on words to talk of a "Christian" Legislature, and a "Christian" country; and the epithet "Christian" was used in a different sense in each phrase. The Legislature might be called Christian at present, for none but Christians were now members of it; but the country was not Christian in the same sense, for many persons, not Christians, now lived in it. He wished the House, when so much was said about Christians, to act upon Christian principles; and the first Christian principle was, to do to others as you would have others do to you. It was on that principle he supported this Bill. We allowed the Jews to intermarry with us—we compelled them to fill municipal offices—we forced them to pay taxes—and he contended that it was gross, monstrous, and un-Christian to make use of the Jews for our purposes, and not to admit them to all the privileges of the State. It was a mistake to suppose that we should facilitate the diffusion of Christianity by the exclusion of the Jews. If we wished to convert the Jews, we ought to place them on a position of equality with ourselves. Conversion must be produced by influence on their reason and their minds; for, as Lactantius had told Theodosius, conversion was a matter beyond all others voluntary, for a man could not be forced to belief, though he might be forced to become a dissembler. The Almighty, for his own wise purposes, had left a veil over the hearts of the Jews, blinding them to the prophecies which were clear to us; we ought not to deepen their blindness by surrounding them with the mists of human prejudice. He then noticed Mr. Stafford's argument, that if this Bill were passed, it would be necessary to alter the mode of keeping seats in that House, and expressed his surprise that a gentleman of his good sense could employ an argument so ludicrous on a theme so solemn. It had been said, that if the Bill were passed, the Christianity of the House would be destroyed, and infidel and Mussulman would be capable of

taking their seats within it. Now, what was the Christianity of the House? He could not tell—for it was rather negative than positive. Besides, would it be wise, with our immense empire in the East Indies, to lay it down as an unalterable rule, that on no condition should a native of that country, professing either the Hindoo or the Mahometan religion, ever be clothed with a representative character? The last Charter of the East India Company had declared no native of India to be incapable of holding any office, however high, within its limits. At this moment the Governor-General might be a Mahometan, and the Members of the Council might be Mahometans too; and yet we were not said to have un-Christianized our Government of India by such an enactment. He concluded by calling on the House to follow the example which it had already set in India, and by imploring them, as Christians, to act upon Christian principles, and to give emancipation to their Jewish fellow-subjects.

Mr. B. Cochrane could not understand what Mr. Wood meant by asserting that the Christianity of the Legislature was merely negative. He differed from Mr. Wood, too, when he laid it down that Christianity was not part and parcel of the law of England. He paid a high compliment to the benevolence and charity of the Baron de Rothschild, which had been exhibited in the brightest light during the recent distress in Ireland, and assured him and his fellow-religionists that he did not resist their claims from any feeling of dislike towards them, but from principle. He felt, however, that if the House should pass this Bill, it must go much further, and that it could never stop until it provided payment, as was done in France, for the ministers of the Jewish religion. He considered the apathy with which this Bill had been received in the country as no source of congratulation, but as a very terrible sign of the corruption of the times.

Mr. R. M. Milnes contended, that the man who felt that he was oppressed, was the sole judge of what was persecution, and therefore he could not even allow Mr. Stafford, with all his benevolent feelings, to set himself up exclusively as the judge of what the Jews considered persecution. He thought that the Government would have taken a wiser course, if, instead of bringing in this Bill, it had adopted

the recommendation of the Commissioner of the Criminal Law, and had introduced one general form of oath or affirmation for entry upon all public duties and offices. Still, as the citizens of London had shown their disapprobation of the present state of the law by electing Mr. de Rothschild as their representative, he should gladly give his assent to this measure. He reminded the House that its decision of that night would have a great effect upon other countries. In Prussia, the Jews had been admitted to all civil rights, but had been excluded from Parliamentary privileges by a mere majority of three. In this turning point of their destiny, it was important for us to throw our moral weight into the scale of that balance in which their liberty was at this moment trembling.

Lord Mahon explained the grounds on which he had formerly voted, and on which he should again vote against this Bill. The Christian character of the House could not be gainsaid, and the good conduct of the Jews was no reason for divesting it of that character. If this Bill were passed, every creed would be capable of admission within the walls of Parliament; and it was therefore important that we should not give way now, lest we should be compelled to give way altogether. He then entered into an attempted refutation of the pamphlet which the Archbishop of Dublin has just published on this subject, concluding it with a declaration of his opinion, that the enactment of Jewish emancipation would lower the tone of religious opinion in England, and would impair the belief of the people in the religious character of Parliament.

Sir W. Molesworth asked the opponents of this Bill what substitute they intended to propose for it, in case it was rejected. Parliament must either adopt this Bill and allow Mr. Rothschild to take his seat, or it must pass a Bill declaring that the election of any man who did not profess the Christian religion must be null and void in future. He contended that a Jew, being a native born subject of this realm, was capable of being elected a Member of Parliament; and being elected, was legally bound, and could be compelled to serve even against his will. Now, every Member was liable to serve on Election Committees—The name of Mr. Rothschild was already on Panel No. 4,—and as he was not disqualified to serve on

Election Committees, sooner or later he must be so appointed. He would either attend, or he would not, when he received his summons. If he did not attend, he would be taken into custody by the Serjeant-at-Arms, and punished accordingly. If he did attend, he would be called upon to take three oaths before he took his seat—the Oath of Allegiance, the Oath of Supremacy, and the Oath of Abjuration. Mr. Rothschild had no objection to take the two first oaths, but objected to the last, as it was to be taken “on the true faith of a Christian.” Now, by the Act of the 1st of George 1st, the House had no power to declare a seat vacant because a Member refused to take the Oath of Abjuration; for the penalties of that Act only attached to a Member voting, but not to a Member taking his seat. The law was certainly anomalous—but such was the fact. It might be that the House had the power to expel Mr. Rothschild, with reason or without it; but since it had established a tribunal for the trial of elections, it had never expelled any Member except he had been guilty of some grave and grievous offence. He thought that the House would not expel Mr. Rothschild under such circumstances; but if it did, the act of expulsion would not prevent Mr. Rothschild from being re-elected. There was, therefore a dilemma, from which the House could not escape without an Act of Parliament. He then entered upon a general argument in favour of Jewish emancipation, and in the course of his remarks delivered himself of an eloquent declamation upon the mischievous and injurious effects of persecution. The policy of England was the policy of the world. Twice within the last few years we had deserved the gratitude of mankind—first by abolishing slavery, and next by abolishing the restrictions on commercial intercourse. To these triumphs of human liberty and free commerce he exhorted the House now to add the triumph of religious freedom.

Mr. Walpole contended that the reasons for admitting the Jew, who laboured under no practical grievance, into Parliament, did not predominate over those urged for excluding him from it. The Legislature must be Christian in order that the laws might be enacted and the church governed on principles peculiarly Christian. (Hear.) This country always had been Christian; Christianity was a funda-

mental law of it as a state ; and a fundamental law ought not to be altered, unless a majority of the people called for, and unless the Legislature itself approved, its alteration. In grappling with the speech of Mr. Wood, he entered into several legal details, to prove that from the time of the Conquest downwards it had always been considered to be an undeniable axiom that Christianity was part and parcel of the law of England. He insisted that sufficient reason had not been given for the changes which was now proposed to be made in the law. He denied that, because we had given the Jews the elective franchise, we ought also to give them the right of being elected ; and instanced the case of the clergy, who could elect legislators, yet could not themselves be elected. The Jew was of a separate creed and interest ; he was not a citizen of this country, but of the world ; he had no land which he could call his own, save the land of promise ; and how could it be argued that he ought to be admitted within the walls of Parliament, which even a naturalized alien could not enter ? He next adverted to the argument that the constitution of England was an expansive constitution, and that the Jew ought therefore to be embraced within its folds ; and, in reply, said that though Catholics and Dissenters were admitted into Parliament, we were not divested thereby of our character as a Christian people. He had no feeling of dislike to the Jews ; but, convinced as he was that Christianity was so united with the State that they could not safely be severed, he should abstain from giving his assent to any measure calculated to weaken that union which had contributed so materially to our temporal prosperity and to our moral elevation.

Mr. Sheil said, that the speech of Mr. Walpole would have been as apposite to the measure introduced by Sir Robert Peel, in 1829, as it was to the measure then before the House ; for his arguments were as applicable to the exclusion of Unitarians, Independents, Baptists, and Roman Catholics from the House, as they were to the exclusion of the Jews. He compared the case of the Jews with that of the Roman Catholics when they were excluded from Parliament, and asked, why the Jews, who were but few and unorganized, were still to be under a ban ? Of what was it that the opponents of this

Bill were afraid? Did they fear for the Church? It might be in danger from 7,000,000 of Catholics and 3,000,000 of Methodists; but surely it could not be in danger from 40,000 Jews. (Hear.) It might have something to fear from without, and from its spurious Popery within; but from the unproselytizing spirit of Judaism it had nothing, and could have nothing to fear. But then the House would be un-Christianized. (Hear.) Would it? (Hear.) The Christianity of Parliament depended on the Christianity of the country; and the belief in Christ was fixed in the faith and inseparably entwined with the affections of the inhabitants of these islands. Their Christianity was as stable as the two islands in which they had their being; and it was his firm conviction that as long as Parliament—the mighty mirror of the people—remains untarnished, so long would their religion be reflected within those walls. He then travelled over the old arguments in support of this Bill from the infidelity of Hume, Gibbon, and Bolingbroke, and, after dwelling upon them with great eloquence for some time, defied his opponents to find in the New Testament any text or doctrine in favour of the position that penalties may be imposed for the diffusion of heavenly truth. It was in spite of persecution of the most various and excruciating character, that the Christian religion had conquered the passions and prejudices of the Pagan world; and was it to be maintained in its present triumphant condition by an instrumentality diametrically opposite to that by which it was established? In Catholic Belgium and in Catholic France all religious distinctions had for some time past been abandoned; and he called upon Protestant England to follow their Christian example. He then proceeded to maintain, in very eloquent language, that these disabilities were not only injurious to Christianity, but were also most detrimental in creating obstacles to the conversion of the Jew to the true faith; for they infixed a stigma upon the convert, and led to the suspicion that his conformity to the established religion of the country was not a sincere but an interested conformity. In conclusion, this brilliant orator said:—But not only are the disqualifications of the Jew inconsistent with the spirit of the Christian religion, but those disabilities impede the progress of Christian truth. They prevent the

conversion of the Jew, and produce effects diametrically opposite to what is intended. The disabilities of the Jew are sufficiently vexatious to make conversion be regarded as a synonym with apostacy. The fetters by which the Jew is bound, though apparently light, are strong enough to fasten him down and make it a matter of discredit that he should desert his creed. Nothing effectual will be done for the extinction of Judaism till you yourselves have began, by making restitution of his birthright to every Englishman by whom the Jewish religion is professed. I know the notion is entertained by some that there is no such thing as an English, or a Spanish, or an Italian Jew, that a Jew is a Jew and nothing else, that his nationality is engrossed by the country of his hopes and of his recollections, and that the house of Jacob must remain for ever in a state of degradation. When his name and race were branded and oppressed in the midst of a captivity worse than the captivity of old, it is not wonderful that on the banks of the Seine or the Thames, as with his fathers by the rivers of Babylon, the psalm of the exile should speak comfort to his heart. But in proportion as you have mitigated the law against the Jew, his devotion to the land of his birth has been revived. British feeling has taken root in the heart of the Jew, and nothing remains but that you should remove the obstacles which still exist to its development. Emancipate the Jew,—abolish all distinction between him and the Christian! His exultations and his sorrows will be the same as yours, his heart will beat with the same enthusiasm at English victory, and, if there be need, his life-blood will be poured out for his country with the same prodigality as yours. (Great cheering.)

Mr. Newdegate addressed the House in favour of the amendment, and, in the course of his observations, travelled over the same ground as had been previously taken by his predecessors in the debate. The only novelty which he introduced into it was his assertion, that to his knowledge the wealth of one distinguished Jew had been liberally lavished to obtain petitions in favor of the Bill. The first offer was 1s. 6d. for every 100 signatures, but that would not do; the next offer was 3s. for every 100 signatures, but that likewise would not do; and the conclusion was, that the petitions were

filled up with signatures at 5s. a 100. (Hear, hear, and laughter.) He mentioned this fact to the House in order that the House might deal with it as seemed expedient.

The debate was then adjourned.

On the 11th of February, 1848, the adjourned Debate on the Second Reading of the Jewish Disabilities Bill was resumed.

Mr. C. Pearson said he supported the measure on the broad principle of religious liberty. He particularly referred to the speech of Sir R. Inglis, and argued, in opposition to that Hon. Baronet, that the eligibility of Jews to sit in Parliament was not contrary to the Constitutional rights of the country,—was not inconsistent with the feelings of the people—and was not inconsistent with sound Christian principles. He also broke a lance with Mr. S. Walpole, whose speech of Monday night he submitted to a rigorous examination. As a citizen of London, he complained of the injustice and injury inflicted on his fellow-citizens by the exclusion of Baron Rothschild, who was not disqualified by any Statute from his seat in that House as their representative. (Hear, hear.)

Lord Drumlanrig opposed the Bill on Christian grounds, and complained that the efforts made by the Press to procure the Emancipation of the Jews had not been marked by any desire to search after truth. Admiration of the conduct of the Electors of London (said his Lordship) must be mixed with surprise and curiosity. It was a question which suggested itself for consideration, how they had done so much, and yet so little;—how, with their spirit in favour of the Jews, they had contented themselves with electing one Jew only, and not four? There was great moderation in that. With a splendid contempt of appearances, they chose only the richest Jew. It had been stated by the hon. Member for West Surrey (Mr. H. Drummond), in the course of the debate on the Currency, that in this country they were unfortunately actuated by a love of money, which was highly discreditable! and he (Lord Drumlanrig) was

not surprised to find, in this election, a living proof of the hon. gentleman's statement. If any such thing was suspected, it was not one member only who had been led to conclude that such was the case. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. W. Cowper considered it a matter of Christian duty to support this Bill. To restore the persecuted, vilified, and despised Jew to his proper position in society and the Constitution, appeared to him to be a logical and necessary sequence of the many measures which had been taken, of late years, to remove all civil and religious disqualifications. Already there were in the House six Members who had Jewish blood in their veins, and he believed that every one of them, and especially that distinguished member who had spoken so eloquently of the glories of his race (Mr. D'Israeli), had as ardent a feeling of British nationality as any Christian Member within its walls. There was, therefore, no reason for the exclusion of other Jews, or, if there was, the burden of proof lay upon those who supported that exclusion. We should not lose the exclusive title of Christians by admitting Jews into Parliament; for, as Christianity was not given by Act of Parliament, so neither by Act of Parliament could it be taken away.

Mr. Seymour could not concur in the principles laid down by Lord John Russell in propounding this Bill, for his Lordship himself was not prepared to carry them out to their full extent. This very measure, if carried out, would leave the edifice of what was called religious toleration still incomplete; and he was quite sure that Lord John Russell was not the man who would complete it; for, if he did, he must repeal the fundamental law of the Constitution, that the Sovereign must be a Protestant. He treated very lightly the injustice inflicted on the citizens of London by the exclusion of Mr. Rothschild. The citizens of London had elected Mr. Rothschild on speculation. They had drawn a bill at a venture on the Lords and Commons, in hopes that Parliament would accept it; but he believed that they were now in the situation of those merchants of the City, who, in the heyday of railway speculation, had taken shares in Railway Companies, and who were now reluctant to pay up the remaining calls. The remaining calls which the citizens of London

would have to pay up, if this Bill were accepted, would be the admission of Hindoos and Mahometans into Parliament, and he did not think that they were prepared to pay up such calls.

Mr. Horsman considered that one great fallacy pervaded the speeches of all the opponents of this Bill, and particularly the speech of Mr. Walpole, who had stated that we were not discussing a question of religious freedom, but that we were intending to alter, by this Bill, that maxim of law which declared Christianity to be part and parcel of the Law of England. Now that argument meant this—that, in order to guard Christianity, we had excluded the Jews by Statute, and that we now meant to repeal that Statute. Now there was no such Statute in the Statute Book, and therefore we had no such Statute to repeal. He then examined the argument, that we should un-Christianize the Parliament and injure the Church, if we admitted Jews within its walls. Now that argument showed great want of caution and knowledge on the part of those who urged it. At present, Jews could be members of vestries; as such, they could fill parochial offices, and could in many places elect vicars. As proprietors of advowsons, they could appoint ministers to perform religious worship in your parish churches. Now, he asked the opponents of this Bill to explain how it was that Christianity was trenched upon, when you admitted the Jew to political power, but that it was not protected when you gave them absolute power to interfere in the administration of the Church? The old cry, that the Church was in danger, was now given up; but the new cry was, that Christianity was in danger from the passing of this measure. Now, would it make one Christian the less, or one Jew the more? It did not give the Jew the right to sit in Parliament; it only gave the Christian the right to elect him. What had Christianity to fear from a contact with Judaism? What had the Church to fear from the Synagogue? Did Jews strive to make Christians Jews; or did we strive, and not unsuccessfully, to make Jews Christians? He asked Mr. Walpole, and especially Sir R. Inglis, on whom he passed an eloquent eulogium, which excited the sympathy of the whole House, to answer those questions. He also asked Sir R. Inglis, whose whole life had been spent in proclaiming the weakness of his religion, and

its probable downfall, whether he was doing honour to his own religious principles in proclaiming, that the cause of his Church was always in fear, and its safety always in flight? He (Mr. Horsman) entertained no such feeling; and he should support this Bill, because he had faith in the essential attributes of Christianity, and would not allow them to be injured by disparaging the influence of religious truth, and by exaggerating the importance of carnal rites.

Mr. Spooner complained that the speech of Mr. Horsman was a most extraordinary misrepresentation of the views entertained by those who opposed this measure. How did Mr. Horsman reconcile his first proposition, that the Legislature must be governed in all its transactions by religion, with his recommendation to pass this Bill, which made religion a matter of indifference, and which would enable a Hindoo or Mahometan to take his seat in the House? He then replied, not only to many of the speeches previously delivered in the course of the debate, but also to Mr. Macauley's celebrated article in the *Edinburgh Review* in favour of Jewish Emancipation. He read that gentleman a severe lecture for having compared Christian government to Christian cobblerly, and in the course of his remarks animadverted with some pointedness on the absence of Lord John Russell and his colleagues from the discussion on this Bill, which was one of their own bantlings.

Mr. Cockburn conceded to the opponents of this Bill, that if the introduction of Jews into Parliament was dangerous, either to the State or to the Church, their opposition was perfectly justifiable; but he denied their premises, and called upon them, as they refused to 40,000 of their fellow subjects the ordinary rights of Englishmen, to prove its truth. He contended, that, from the beginning of time to the present hour, we had never had one single law, either direct or indirect, in the Constitution, or in the Statute Book, which had for its object the exclusion of the Jews from Parliament. Their exclusion was not the result of Legislative design, but of Legislative accident, as he proved by historical reference to the various Acts imposing the oaths of Supremacy, Abjuration, and Allegiance, which were one and all directed against either the Roman Catholics, or the adherents of the fallen dynasty of the Stuarts, and not against

the Jews. There was, however, a still greater anomaly in our Legislature, of which he thought that they had reason to complain. When we found it right to admit the Roman Catholics into that Parliament from which we had excluded them for two centuries, we re-modelled the oaths which the Roman Catholics had to take ; we relaxed them so far as regarded the Roman Catholics, but we maintained them in more than former severity so far as regarded those against whom they were not originally directed.

He was surprised to hear a lawyer (Mr. Walpole) assert that a Jew was not a subject of the realm, and was no better than a naturalized alien. What right had any person to characterise in such terms men who were born in this island, whose families had been settled here for two centuries, and who were loyal to the Sovereign, and ready to make all the sacrifices that any of their fellow-countrymen were ready to make in defence of the State? They were British-born subjects, and, as such, entitled to all the rights incidental to other citizens. There was nothing in their religion leading to the dangers of which their opponents were so much afraid. Those dangers must be either political or religious. Now, not one iota of political danger from the Jews had been suggested in the course of the debate ; and political wisdom suggested, that in the concession of political privileges to the Jews, we had gone either too far, or not far enough. As to religious danger, it must be a positive, substantial, tangible mischief to the Christian religion, not a vague and obscure apprehension, to justify the further exclusion of the Jew. Had any such mischief been proved in the course of this debate? Quite the reverse ; and even if such danger were to occur, the remedy would always be in the hands of a Christian people. Other countries, as religious as ourselves, had made this experiment—for instance, Holland, Belgium, and America. He trusted that we should make it too, and that it would be followed in our case, as it had been in theirs, by the beneficial result of reconciling to our institutions a well-conducted and industrious population.

Mr. G. Bankes contended, that the exclusion of the Jews from Parliament was no dishonour to them ; for, if it were, the whole

clergy of the Church were dishonoured too; for, by an Act of Parliament passed within the memory of living men, they had been declared incapable of sitting in Parliament. Referring to the speech of Mr. Cockburn, he observed, that the admission of the Jews into Parliament would be productive of danger to the Church, both from the schism which it would create within, and from the increased power of attack which it would give to its enemies without. He considered that there was great danger in placing in political power those who were hostile to the religion of the country; and such being his opinion, he should give his decided opposition to this Bill.

Sir Robert Peel observed, that it was with great reluctance that he had given a silent vote on the first reading of this measure; but his unwillingness to prevent the House from coming to a practical conclusion before the recess had induced him then to be silent. He now intended to state the reasons which had induced him to come to a conclusion at variance with his first impression, and which placed him in painful collision with many of those friends with whom he had hitherto invariably acted. He had given the subject the maturest consideration, and he would now state the reasons which induced him to vote for the proposition of Lord John Russell. No part of his resolution was founded on his belief that religion had nothing to do with Government. He was impressed with the solemn conviction, that the precepts and spirit of Christianity should influence our Legislation, and that if our Legislation were at variance with them, we could not expect a blessing upon it. The conclusion to which he had come had been less influenced by political expediency, than by religious obligation. There was, between the tenets of the Jew and the Christian, a marked distinction; and no concurrence as to the historical accuracy and Divine character of the Old Testament could reconcile that discordance. If he had a mission to punish religious error, it would be his duty to punish the Jew; but he had no such mission. If the Jews had committed an inexpiable error 2,000 years ago, even if he could prove the descent of existing Jews from those who then offended, he had no commission to punish the children for the sins of the father, not merely to the third and fourth, but also to the three hundredth

and four hundredth generation. "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, and I will repay." Having then no such mission, he proceeded to argue, that for religious error the House had no right to inflict any penalty. Now, civil disabilities partook of the nature of a penalty. He admitted, that if you could show that the religious error of the Jew made him unworthy of civil privileges, you had a right to disqualify him; but the assumption of unworthiness you must prove, and the onus of rejecting the claim of the Jew, as a British subject, to all the privileges of British subjects, rested on those who rejected it. His claim was not answered by any partial concessions; on the contrary, the responsibility of withholding the remainder from him was still the same, if, indeed, it were not considerably aggravated. He then referred to the speech of Lord Ashley on the first reading of the Bill, and to his quotation from the writings of Dr. Arnold, to whose authority he opposed that of Lord Bacon, who had maintained that the right of a natural-born subject was complete and entire, and that he was entitled to all civil privileges. Now the British Jew was a natural-born subject, and therefore, having a clear inchoate right to every distinction, civil and political, attainable by any other British subject, it was for Lord Ashley to show what cause there was for precluding him from them. It had been stated in the course of the debate, that there was no harm in the exclusion of the Jew, because the copyholder was excluded from some of the privileges of the freeholder, and because the minor was excluded from the privileges of the adult; and likewise that there was a wide difference between the elective franchise and the right of legislation. He looked upon both assertions as mere fallacies. The nature of the two exclusions alluded to was very different from the exclusion of the Jew from Parliament. The Jew, be it remarked, if he were a copyholder or a minor, was liable to the same exclusion as other copyholders; but he was also liable to the further exclusion of being incapacitated to sit in Parliament. Besides, many of these exclusions were voluntary, as in the case of the clergy, and others were only temporary, as in the case of the minor; but the Jew was disqualified on account of his religious opinions, which were not temporary, nor, in one sense of

the word, voluntary. So far as the political conduct of the Jews was concerned, the tenor of the present debate had clearly shown that the exclusion of the Jew, on that account, was quite impossible. On the score of industry, talent, property, and loyalty, he was clearly entitled to the same consideration as any other subject of the British Crown. Two reasons, to which some weight had been attached, had been urged against his admission into Parliament. One, that we had had for the last 200 years a recognition of the Christian faith as a necessary qualification for legislation; and the other, that if we struck that recognition from the Statute Book, it would imply, on our part, an indifference to our religious faith. Both objections appeared to him to resolve themselves into one; and that led him to the consideration of the various oaths which regulated the admission of Members into Parliament. On a deep consideration of the subject, he had come to the conclusion, that the popular impression of the object for which the words "on the true faith of a Christian" had been introduced into the oath now taken at the table was an erroneous one. He then entered into an historical disquisition, for the purpose of showing that they were not inserted for the purpose of excluding any person, much less Jews, from legislation, but for the purpose of securing the allegiance of the professors of Christianity.

It had been said, however, that though we had ceased to be a Catholic and to be a Protestant Parliament, we had not yet ceased to be a Christian Parliament. The Jew had a right to reply to that argument, by stating that all the tests which excluded him were framed for the purpose, not of excluding him, but of excluding professing Christians; and that if all professing Christians were now reconciled with each other, the tests to which they were formerly liable should be done away with altogether; and in that case he would be entitled to take his seat along with those professing Christians. But was not the very allegation that we were bound together by the common bond of Christianity an exclusion in itself? and was it, in point of fact, consistent with truth? He would not dispute that Parliament had been summoned together for the purpose of consulting on the affairs of the Church, and providing for the security

of the Anglican Church ; but surely the Jew had a right to say, " I am as entitled to give advice as to the Church of England as the Quaker ; I pay tithes to the Church, which he does not, and I have no objection, as he has, to the principle and practice of war." He might also say, " The Unitarian is admitted into your walls, and yet he differs from you on a point of faith as essential as that of the divinity of Jesus Christ." He might then ask why you had taken from the Jew the privilege which you had not taken from the Quaker ? and he might add that, " so little value do you attach to ' the true faith of a Christian,' that you did not administer an oath containing those words either to the Quaker, the Separtist, or the Moravian." It appeared to him that the present position of the Jew in this country was not sufficiently understood either within or without the walls of that House. The Jew was now admissible by law almost to the very highest offices in this country. Such being the case, the question arose, whether we could hope to exclude him permanently from Parliament, when he was entitled to hold every executive office under the crown, save those from which the indirect operation of the Privy Councillor's oath might exclude him. He thought that we could not. He believed the Church, from the disposition which it had recently shown to make salutary reforms within itself, was now stronger than it had been at any former period of our history ; its strength was not dependent on one or two stray votes in that House, but had its roots in the piety and affection of the people ; and it was an injustice and disparagement of its power to represent its safety as dependent upon the exclusion of Mr. Rothschild. Nay, more ; he would say that if it were not for the dissensions now raging within it, it would be stronger now, after all religious disabilities were relaxed, than ever it had been under the strictest operation of the Act of Conformity. He rejoiced at being enabled to come to the conclusion that he should not endanger either the Constitution or the Church, by removing, as Lord John Russell proposed, the disabilities of the Jews ; and he rejoiced the more, because he felt that if ever there was a race of men to whom every Christian country owed reparation for the infliction of cruel wrongs and savage persecution, it was the Jews. He defied any man to read,

without shuddering, the description of those persecutions in the early historians of our own country who were not Jews, but Christian Ecclesiastics. He quoted from Mr. Hume and Mr. Sharon Turner's *History of England* descriptions of them, which were perfectly appalling. Could we even be surprised, if, after being pressed down so long by persecution in this land, in the midst of their sufferings they had remembered Jerusalem? But he was happy to say that there was no degradation among the Jews; in point of charity, benevolence, industry, talent, and wealth, they were on an equality with the rest of their fellow-subjects; and that being the case, it was his object to relieve them from all future exclusion. He had another object in supporting this Bill. The Jews in many countries were still an oppressed race. They were oppressed in Poland. In Syria they had been exposed within the last few years to a sanguinary persecution. Appeals in their favour to the Governments of those countries would, on future occasions, be more favourably received, if it could be said that the prejudices against the Jews once felt in England were entirely removed. The authority of the British Parliament would exercise jurisdiction over regions far beyond its sway. No foreign power would hereafter justify its cruelty by our example. That example would be a balm to foreign Jews in the midst of their sufferings, and would find imitators in other realms. We should thus not only rescue British Jews from disability, but should also rescue foreign Jews from degradation and persecution in every climate under heaven. For these reasons, because he believed it to be in conformity with the enlightened spirit of the British Constitution, because he rejoiced in the opportunity of making reparation for the great injuries which we had inflicted, because the Jews had fairly earned the indulgence which we were about to give them, by their forbearance, fidelity, and loyalty under heavy wrongs, and above all, because he was not indifferent to religion, but proud of belonging to a Christian people and a Christian Legislature, he would perform an act which was in strict conformity with the spirit and injunctions of the Christian religion. The Rt. Hon. Baronet concluded his able address, amid loud and long-continued cheering, by saying that he gave his most cordial support to the Bill.

Lord D. Stuart, amid the loudest interruptions, denied the charge brought by Mr. Newdegate against Mr. Rothschild of having expended a large sum of money in getting up petitions in favour of this measure.

Mr. Newdegate, amid similar interruptions, reiterated the charge.

The House then divided, when the numbers were—

For the second reading.....	277
Against it.....	204

Majority in its favour..... 73

On the 4th of May, 1848, Lord John Russell moved the Third Reading of the Bill.

Sir F. Thesiger strenuously opposed the measure, and moved that the Bill be read a third time that day six months.

Mr. Trelawny, Mr. Westhead, and Mr. C. Lewis warmly supported, and Mr. W. F. Campbell, Mr. F. Scott, and Mr. A. Raphael as vigorously opposed the Bill.

Mr. Brotherton said, he supported the measure as an act of national justice, and because he believed the people of England were in favour of it; there had been 300,000 petitioners for the Bill, and not a fifth part of that number against it. He expressed his surprise that Mr. A. Raphael (who only twenty years ago was not himself entitled to sit in the House of Commons) should now so testify his gratitude for the boon conferred on him, by exercising the power which he had so recently acquired to exclude from Parliament a portion of his fellow-subjects. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. G. Robinson followed on the same side.

Mr. Napier stated, as he said, with simplicity, the reasons which induced him to vote against the third reading of this Bill. Hitherto England had always sanctioned a national religion; but if it admitted Jews into Parliament, there was an end at once to our acknowledgment of the true faith of Christians.

Mr. R. Palmer gave his support to the Bill on Christian as well as on political grounds, and replied in a very argumentative and eloquent manner to the speech of Mr. Napier.

Lord Mahon said he obeyed his own conscientious conviction in voting against this measure. As a matter of principle, Jews ought not to be permitted to legislate for a Christian community like our own; for if they were, it might become necessary to separate the Church from the State.

Sir R. Inglis observed, that as he had opposed the first introduction of this Bill, he would avail himself of this, the last stage in it, to state that a further consideration of the subject had only deepened his conviction of its inexpediency. He then attempted to refute the speech of Mr. R. Palmer, whom he accused of having propounded some latitudinarian theories which greatly disappointed him.

Mr. Gaskel regretted that this measure had excited the hostility of a party in this country distinguished by its loyalty, its intelligence, and its deep religious feeling; but as he was convinced that no danger would arise from the removal of those disabilities, he must differ from many of the friends with whom he usually acted, and give his cordial support to the measure which they so bitterly denounced. He could not believe that this country would cease to be a Christian nation because a few Jews were admitted to seats in the Legislature. The Bill was rather a Bill for the removal of a stigma than for the grant of political privileges.

Mr. Newdegate insisted that the passing of this Bill would lead to a severance of the connexion between the Church and the State, and reminded Lord John Russell that the severance of that connexion in France had led to the recent abolition of the French monarchy.

Mr. C. S. Fortescue supported the Bill in a maiden speech of very considerable promise.

Lord John Russell, in a brief reply, answered the various objections which had been made to his Bill in the course of the present debate. He wished to disabuse the public mind of a false impression which had been created in the first debate on this subject, and which still appeared to exist in the minds of several Members. It was no part of his argument that religion had nothing to do with politics, or that Christianity should be kept out of sight in the

discussions of that House. His opinion was directly the reverse; for he held that Christianity was the source of the most enlightened laws which modern legislation had produced. What he had maintained was, that you could not by special declarations, or words introduced at the fag end of an oath, or by the formalities of a statute, obtain either a religious spirit or a general acknowledgment of Christianity. His Lordship then repeated his former arguments on this subject, and eloquently contended that it was contrary not only to the spirit of the British Constitution, but also to that of Christianity, to keep up religious exclusions, and to deprive men of political franchises on account of their religious opinions.

The House then divided, when the numbers were—

For the amendment	..	..	173
Against it	..	..	234

Majority for the Third Reading .. 61

The Bill was then read a third time and passed.

*Division on the Third Reading of the Jewish Disabilities Bill,
House of Commons, May 4th, 1848.*

AYES.

Abdy, T. N.	Brockman, E. D.	Cowper, Hon. Wm. F.
Adair, H. E.	Brotherton, J.	Craig, W. G.
Aglionby, H. A.	Brown, W.	Crawford, W. Sharman
Alcock, T.	Browne, R. D.	Cubitt, William
Anson, Hon. Colonel	Bunbury, E. H.	Dalrymple, Captain
Armstrong, R. B.	Busfield, W.	Davie, Sir H. R. F.
Arundel and Surrey, Earl	Buxton, Sir E. N.	Dawson, Hon. T. V.
Bagshaw, J.	Cardwell, E.	Denison, W. J.
Baines, M. T.	Carter, J. B.	Denison, J. E.
Baring, Rt. Hn. Sir F. T.	Caulfield, J. M.	D'Encourt, Rt. Hn C. T.
Baring, Hon. W. B.	Cavendish, Hon. Chas. C.	Disraeli, B.
Barnard, E. G.	Cavendish, W. G.	Divett, Edward
Bellew, R. M.	Cayley, E. S.	Duff, G. S.
Berkeley, Hon. Captain	Cholmeley, Sir M.	Duke, Sir James
Berkeley, Hon. H. F.	Clay, J.	Duncan, Viscount
Bernal, R.	Clay, Sir W.	Duncan, G.
Birch, Sir T. B.	Clements, Hon. C. S.	Dundas, Admiral
Blewitt, Reginald J.	Clifford, H. M.	Dundas, Sir D.
Bouverie, Hon. Ed. P.	Cobden, R.	Ebrington, Viscount
Bowring, Dr.	Cockburn, A. J. E.	Ellice, Rt. Hon. Edward
Boyle, Hon. Colonel	Coke, Hon. E. K.	Elliot, Hon. J. E.
Brand, T.	Colebrooke, Sir T. E.	Evans, Sir De L.
Bright, J.	Collins, W.	Evans, J.

- Evans, W.
 Ewart, W.
 Fergus, J.
 Ferguson, Sir R. A.
 Fitzroy, Hon. H.
 Fitzwilliam, Hon. G. W.
 Foley, J. H. H.
 Fordyce, A. D.
 Forster, M.
 Fortescue, C.
 Fox, R. M.
 Fox, W. J.
 Freestun, Colonel
 French, F.
 Gardner, R.
 Gaskell, J. M.
 Gibson, Rt. Hon. T. M.
 Gladstone, Rt. Hn. W. E.
 Glyn, G. C.
 Graham, Rt. Hon. Sir Js.
 Granger, T. C.
 Greene, J.
 Grey, Rt. Hon. Sir G.
 Grey, R. W.
 Grosvenor, Lord R.
 Hammer, Sir J.
 Hardcastle, J. A.
 Hastie, A.
 Hawes, B.
 Hay, Lord J.
 Hayter, W. G.
 Headlam, T. E.
 Heathcoat, J.
 Henry, A.
 Herbert, H. A.
 Heywood, J.
 Hindley, C.
 Hobhouse, Rt. Hn. Sir J.
 Hogg, Sir J. W.
 Howard, Hon. C. W. G.
 Howard, Hon. J. K.
 Hume, J.
 Humphrey, Alderman
 Hutt, W.
 Jackson, W.
 Jervis, Sir J.
 Johnstone, Sir J.
 Keppel, Hon. G. T.
 Ker, R.
 Kershaw, J.
 King, Hon. P. J. L.
 Labouchere, Rt. Hon. H.
 Langston, J. H.
 Lascelles, Hon. W. S.
 Lennard, T. B.
 Lewis, G. C.
 Lincoln, Earl of
 Loch, J.
 Locke, J.
 Lushington, C.
 Macnamara, Major
 Mc Gregor, J.
 Mahon, The O'Gorman
 Maitland, T.
 Mangles, R. D.
 Martin, S.
 Matheson, Colonel
 Maule, Rt. Hon. F.
 Melgund, Viscount
 Mitchell, T. A.
 Moffatt, G.
 Monsell, W.
 Morpeth, Viscount
 Morison, Gen
 Morris, D.
 Mowatt, F.
 Mulgrave, Earl of
 Norreys, Lord
 O'Brien, Sir L.
 O'Connell, M. J.
 O'Connor, F.
 Ogle, S. C. H.
 Oswald, A.
 Owen, Sir J.
 Paget, Lord A.
 Paget, Lord C.
 Paget, Lord G.
 Palmer, R.
 Palmerston, Viscount
 Parker, J.
 Pattison, J.
 Pechell, Captain
 Peel, Rt. Hon. Sir R.
 Perfect, R.
 Peto, S. M.
 Phillips, Sir G. R.
 Pigott, F.
 Pilkington, J.
 Pinney, W.
 Power, N.
 Powlett, Lord W.
 Price, Sir R.
 Pusey, P.
 Rawdon, Colonel
 Ricardo, J. L.
 Ricardo, O.
 Rice, E. R.
 Rich, H.
 Robinson, G. R.
 Romilly, J.
 Russell, Rt. Hn. Lord J.
 Russell, F. C. H.
 Rutherford, A.
 Sandars, G.
 Scholefield, W.
 Scrope, G. P.
 Seymour, Lord
 Shafto, R. D.
 Sheil, Rt. Hon. R. L.
 Shelburne, Earl of
 Smith, Rt. Hon. R. V.
 Smith, J. A.
 Smith, J. B.
 Somerville, Rt. Hon. Sir
 W. M.
 Stanley, Hon. E. J.
 Stansfield, W. R.
 Staunton, Sir G. T.
 Strickland, Sir G.
 Stuart, Lord D.
 Sullivan, M.
 Talbot, C. R. M.
 Talfourd, Mr. Serjeant
 Tancred, H. W.
 Thicknesse, R. A.
 Thompson, Colonel
 Thompson, G.
 Thornely, T.
 Tollemache, Hon. F. J.
 Towneley, C.
 Towneley, J.
 Towneley, R. G.
 Townshend, Capt.
 Trelawney, J. S.
 Turner, E.
 Verney, Sir H.
 Villiers, Hon. C.
 Vivian, J. H.
 Wakley, T.
 Wall, C. B.
 Walmsley, Sir J.
 Walter, J.
 Ward, H. G.
 Watkins, Colonel L.
 Westhead, J. P.
 Wilcox, B. M'Ghie
 Williams, J.
 Wilson, J.
 Wilson M.
 Wood, Rt. Hon. Sir C.
 Wood, W. P.
 Wortley, Rt. Hon. J. S.
 Wrightson, W. B.
 Wyld, J.
 Wyvill, M.
 Yorke, H. G. R.

TELLERS.

Tufnell, H.
 Hill, Lord Marcus

NOES.

- Acland, Sir T. D.
 Alexander, N.
 Alford, Viscount
 Arkwright, G.
 Bagot, Hon. W.
 Bailey, J.
 Bailey, J. Jun.
 Baldock, E. H.
 Bankes, G.
 Bateson, T.
 Beckett, W.
 Bentinck, Lord H.
 Beresford, W.
 Bernard, Viscount
 Blackstone, W. S.
 Blakemore, R.
 Blandford, Marquis of
 Boldero, H. G.
 Bolling, W.
 Bourke, R. S.
 Bowles, Admiral
 Bramston, T. W.
 Bremridge, R.
 Brisco, M.
 Broadley, H.
 Brooke, Lord
 Buck, L. W.
 Buller, Sir J. Y.
 Burghley, Lord
 Burrell, Sir C. M.
 Burroughes, H. N.
 Cabbell, B. B.
 Campbell, Hon. W. F.
 Carew, W. H. P.
 Chichester, Lord J.
 Christopher, R. A.
 Christy, S.
 Clive, H. B.
 Cobbold, J. C.
 Cochrane, A. D.
 Cocks, T. S.
 Codrington, Sir W.
 Coles, H. B.
 Colville, C. R.
 Corry, Rt. Hon. H. L.
 Cotton, Hon. W. H. S.
 Courtenay, Lord
 Cripps, W.
 Currie, H.
 Davies, D. A. S.
 Dod, J. W.
 Douro, Marquis of
 Drumlanrig, Viscount
 Drummond, H.
 Duncombe, Hon. A.
 Duncombe, Hon. O.
 Duncuft, J.
 Du Pre, C. G.
 Egerton, Sir P.
 Egerton, W. T.
 Estcourt, J. B. B.
 Farnham, E. B.
 Farrer, J.
 Fellowes, E.
 Filmer, Sir E.
 Floyer, J.
 Forbes, W.
 Forester, Hon. G. C. W.
 Fox, S. W. L.
 Frewen, C. H.
 Fuller, A. E.
 Goddard, A. L.
 Godson, R.
 Gooch, E. S.
 Gordon, Adm.
 Gore, W. O.
 Goring, C.
 Granby, Marquis of
 Greene, T.
 Gwyn, H.
 Haggitt, F. R.
 Hale, R. B.
 Halford, Sir H.
 Hall, Colonel
 Halsey, T. P.
 Hamilton, G. A.
 Harris, Hon. Captain
 Hayes, Sir E.
 Heald, J.
 Heathcote, Sir W.
 Henley, J. W.
 Hildyard, R. C.
 Hildyard, T. B. T.
 Hodgson, W. N.
 Hood, Sir A.
 Hope, Sir J.
 Hope, A.
 Hornby, J.
 Hotham, Lord
 Ingestre, Viscount
 Jolliffe, Sir W. G. H.
 Jones, Captain
 Kerrison, Sir E.
 Knightley, Sir C.
 Knox, Colonel
 Law, Hon. C. E.
 Leslie, C. P.
 Lindsay, Hon. Colonel
 Lowther, H.
 Lygon, Hon. Gen.
 Mackenzie, W. F.
 Macnaghten, Sir E.
 Mahon, Viscount
 Mandeville, Viscount
 Manners, Lord C. S.
 Manners, Lord G.
 March, Earl of
 Maunsell, T. P.
 Maxwell, Hon. J. P.
 Meux, Sir H.
 Miles, P. W. S.
 Miles, W.
 Moore, G. H.
 Morgan, O.
 Napier, J.
 Neeld, J.
 Newdegate, G. N.
 Newry & Morne, Viscount
 Ossulston, Lord
 Packe, C. W.
 Palmer, R.
 Patten, J. W.
 Peel, Colonel
 Plowden, W. H. C.
 Powell, Colonel
 Prime, R.
 Raphael, A.
 Reid, Colonel
 Rendlesham, Lord
 Richards, R.
 Rolleston, Colonel
 Ruffer, F.
 Rushout, Captain
 Scott, Hon. F.
 Seymer, H. K.
 Shirley, E. J.
 Sibthorp, Colonel
 Simeon, J.
 Smyth, Sir H.
 Somerset, Captain
 Somerton, Viscount
 Spooner, R.
 Stafford, A.
 Stephenson, R.
 Stuart, H.
 Stuart, J.
 Sturt, H. G.
 Thornhill, G.
 Tollemache, J.
 Trevor, Hon. G. R.
 Turner, G. J.
 Villiers, Viscount
 Villiers, Hon. F. W. C.
 Vyse, R. H. R. H.
 Waddington, H. S.
 Walpole, S. H.
 Walsh, Sir J. B.
 Welby, G. E.
 Wellesley, Lord C.
 Whitmore, T. C.
 Williams, T. P.
 Willoughby, Sir H.
 Worcester, Marquis of

TELLERS.

Thesiger, Sir F.
 Inglis, Sir R. H.

On the 5th of May, 1848, the Bill was brought up to the House of Lords, and, on the motion of the Marquess of Lansdowne, was read a first time.

On the 25th of May, 1848, the order of the day having been read, the Marquess of Lansdowne moved the second reading of the Jewish Disabilities Bill; and having observed that the motion had been delayed for some time, not from any indifference to the importance of the subject, but in order to meet the convenience of any Members of their Lordships' House justly entitled to take a part in the discussion,—and observing, also, that he introduced the question as one not so much of general political or party interest, founded on precedent or expediency, or fraught with any magnitude of dangers or apprehensions, but as one rather suggested by the still small voice of reason and justice,—his Lordship then proceeded:—

“ My Lords, in the outset of the observations with which I shall feel it necessary as briefly as possible to trouble your Lordships, I think I cannot do better than call your attention to the state of the law upon this subject. It is always convenient, as well as important, when we are about to make, or to consider the propriety of making, any change, that we should well understand what is that state of the law which it is proposed to alter. My Lords, you are not called upon to make any change in the constitutional law of the country. That constitutional law prescribes no disabilities whatever. It has been the characteristic of the constitution from its best times, and I trust will continue to be its distinguishing feature, that it abhors exclusion, it rejects

disability, it requires those who propose exclusion and disability to make good the grounds on which they make such a proposition. (Hear, hear.) For a long period of English history there was no exclusion whatever. *Take your great constitutional acts,—take your great constitutional proceedings from the very birth of that constitution—from Magna Charta downwards;—and you will find no enactment disqualifying any of the King's liege subjects from being elected or appointed to the stations which they were capable of filling.* But the time did come, when, not with the character of a permanent act, not with any pretence to make it a universal and permanent law, but for temporary causes and for temporary purposes, it was thought fit to enact temporary exclusions. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the first of these exclusions took place, and certain oaths were prescribed, which persons eligible to office or eligible to Parliament were required to take. Subsequently, *in the 7th year of His Majesty King James I, it was thought fit to introduce an Act of Parliament which prescribed an oath and declaration; and here it is to be observed that, not avowedly, not with any mention of the Jews, not with any reference to the situation in which either they or any persons assumed not to be Christians were placed in England, but for another distinct, specific, and, on the face of the Act of Parliament, avowed purpose, namely—to put down Popish recusants, an Act was passed in which these words were introduced, the effect of which for the first time—but, as I shall show, not uniformly since—was to exclude persons of the Jewish persuasion from Parliament and from office.*

“ That Act was passed under these circumstances : —Machinations had been recently discovered of a most portentous and alarming character, conspiracies which had for their object the subversion of the throne and religion of these realms. It was immediately after the Gunpowder Plot, when discoveries were made, in many of which persons of the Roman Catholic religion were implicated ; and it was known, at least it was imputed, to certain persons of the Roman Catholic faith at that time, that they were not easily bound by any common oath ; and it was, therefore, deemed desirable to frame such an Act of Parliament as should practically exclude them—prescribing an oath which would not admit of equivocation, and by which they would be ineligible to any office, unless they were prepared to swear in unequivocal terms their adherence to the Protestant throne and constitution of this country. For this purpose, without any mention of the Jews, without any allusion to such persons, those words were introduced which no one can doubt were intended as a filter or mesh, through which no equivocation could pass, and which should effectually exclude persons, not because they were bad religionists, but bad subjects of the realm. That was the ground on which the Act passed. This Act lived through the civil war ; but, after the Revolution, the very first thing that Parliament did, upon the establishment of King William and Queen Mary on the throne, was to consider the subject of oaths ; and the result of that consideration was, that the oaths prescribed were, in the language of the Act, ‘ hereby repealed, abrogated, and made void.’ That is to say,

the oaths, including that particular security which, it is contended by some persons, is a principle of the Constitution, calculated to exclude the Jews, were upon full consideration, in the very best time of our constitution, distinctly and in terms annulled and made void,—not by accident, not at a time when either political party or the Church slept; not in the heat of the moment when men's minds were diverted from the matter before them, and led to acquiesce in that which is dangerous, from the absence of the precaution and vigilance which point out where danger is; but, on the contrary, at a time when every constitutional and religious question was carefully weighed and balanced—when there was a great difference of political opinion—when there was a great difference of ecclesiastical opinion—when the differences between what was called the High Church and Low Church were at their utmost heat—upon due deliberation, Parliament came to the resolution that these oaths should be abrogated; and it occurred to nobody to state or think that, if those oaths were abrogated, certain persons not professing the Christian religion would get into Parliament. Such an apprehension was not stated, because such an apprehension was not felt.

“ For thirteen years, and those eminently and by distinction—if any distinction can be made—years in which the principles of the constitution were most weighed and most valued—Jews were admissible to Parliament. Undoubtedly this did not continue; but why did it not continue? Thirteen years afterwards, at the close of the reign of King William, and just

before the commencement of that of Queen Anne, at a very critical moment, it was thought expedient to revive the oath of abjuration. But let me ask those who look at the history of those times, is there the least vestige of an intention either to exclude Jews or any others, except Roman Catholic recusants and non-jurors? At that moment, the name of the Pretender being recognized in France, and Louis XIV then in the zenith of his power, and ready to promote by intrigue the interests of the Pretender in this country, it was thought, not unnaturally, to be a period when they should revive the oath of abjuration, for the purpose of excluding Roman Catholics from seats in this and the other House of Parliament; and that being the object—an object precisely analogous to what was held in view at the time the Act of James I was passed,—what could be more natural than to recur to that very temporary Act, and introduce the same words to exclude Roman Catholics? Accordingly, these very words were carefully copied and inserted in the Act; and thus we find the words revived, prescribing an oath, “on the true faith of a Christian.”

“Upon that ground, and upon no other—the accidental introduction of words of this description,—certain persons, particularly Jews, though not in name, were excluded from seats in Parliament.

“Such was the state of things till a very recent period, when, it will be in the recollection of all your Lordships, a petition was presented, I think in 1830, from the Jews resident in the metropolis, complaining of their exclusion, after your Lordships had admitted

the Roman Catholics and others, removing all impediments that stood in their way by the prescription of oaths and particular declarations they were required to take. That petition met with a favorable consideration; and a bill was brought into the other House of Parliament by certainly one of the most able, excellent, and religious men I ever knew, the late Sir Robert Grant. (Hear, hear.) That bill did not go through the other House of Parliament; but it was very favorably received at first. Two divisions took place upon it; in one the majority was for, in the other against the bill; but, in both these divisions, I find among the supporters of that bill the names of persons eminent for their attachment to religion and their great constitutional knowledge—among others, I find the name of the noble Lord opposite (Lord Stanley), who was then a member of the other House of Parliament. That bill was lost in the Commons. It was again introduced in the following session, and then it passed by a considerable majority in the other House of Parliament. It came up to this House, and was introduced by a noble Lord, who I regret is not now present, owing to his advanced years and infirmities—a nobleman whose high character entitled him to take a lead in questions of this nature, and whose eminent personal religion gave great weight to his advocacy of such a measure—I mean Lord Bexley. (Hear.) He moved the bill in this House, but it was lost. I have now, my Lords, stated what has passed on this question up to the present time. This bill is again sent up to your Lordships, having been carried in the other House of

Parliament by three successive and considerable majorities. Why, then, my Lords, I think I have at least made out a case for your Lordships giving a serious attention to this subject, and for your well considering whether you ought not to adopt a measure repeatedly brought before you, with the sanction of such names, the support of such authority, and the concurrence of so many circumstances in the state of the world, which should induce you to give a favourable consideration to any practicable removal of any existing disability whenever you can with safety. I say you are called upon—I must add, you will be called upon again and again—to take this particular course. (Hear, hear.) This, then, leads me to consider what are the objections to the present Bill; and great as I think the weight to be attached to any objection based on religious feeling, before dealing with what may be called considerations of expediency, I will not pass over the opinion entertained—more, I believe, by petitioners to your Lordships' House against the Bill, than by your Lordships who are about to vote upon it—that this is a religious question. (Hear, hear.) I contend that it is not so. I contend that there is no precept of religion, no declaration of the revealed will of God, that can in the slightest degree preclude your Lordships from taking, as you are about to take, a view of this question with reference to its being dangerous, or free from danger, or from settling this important question by agreeing to this measure. (Hear, hear.) Not only do I say there is no such precept—because if I could see any such precept, I believe honestly, far from

moving the second reading of this Bill, I should be the first to leave such a measure unnoticed on your table, if I did not myself move your Lordships immediately and distinctly to reject it;—but there being no such declaration of the Divine will—it being, on the contrary, manifest that, from the very beginning, Christianity had the character of adapting itself to existing institutions, although not of a Christian character, disclaiming every sort of interference, finding its strength, and recommending itself by the very fact that it did not interfere with political questions or political authorities,—I ask your Lordships who this people are, whom, I contend, we are not required by any precept of religion to refuse to admit to a participation in civil and political privileges?

“I have said that the Christian religion has made its conquests, not by any exclusions—not by forcible means—not by Acts of Parliament, but by the conviction that it was Divine—by the exhibition of its virtues—by the gentleness and benevolence of its teachings—by the holy and peaceful influences which it has exercised on all who came within its reach. I said, who are those people that we are called upon to exclude from the advantages possessed by Christians? Are they people with whom we Christians have no relations? Are they people, again I ask, between whom and Christianity there are no important relations in a religious sense, although they themselves are not Christians? Can we, my Lords, forget the connection between them and the religion in which we believe? (Hear, hear.) Can it be forgotten that theirs is a

nation whose religious laws you have adopted—a nation which for years and centuries has been the means of laying the foundation of your religion—a nation which for years and centuries have been favoured by the Almighty—that their religion has been the means of preserving, in the midst of superstition, barbarism, and idolatry, the knowledge of the Eternal—and that God has walked before that people with a pillar of fire, guiding their progress, teaching them to avoid the delusions and snares with which they were surrounded, and enabling them to hand down that state of things to posterity, upon which state of things your religion is based and founded? (Hear.) Is it necessary for me to remind your Lordships that the commandments of that religion, the laws of that people, are *your* laws and *your* commandments, engraven on the stones that are set above the altars of your religion, and engraven on the hearts of the congregations that worship at those altars? (Hear, hear.) Is this a people, then, whom *you* are entitled to despise as unfit and inadmissible to the rights of fellow-subjects, according to their ability to exercise those rights? On the contrary, they have filled an important situation in history; and *we are bound to recognise them.*

“ Formerly, indeed, it might be said of the Jews:—

‘ *Insula, dives opum, Priami dum regna manebant.*’

Though I fear we Christians must add:—

‘ *Nunc tantum sinus et statio malefida carinis.*’

“ Nevertheless, they are entitled to our best consideration. And, when I am told that there is no

relation between this people and ourselves—that we have no relations out of the pale of pure Christianity, I must take leave to dispute such a proposition as affecting a race so eminently distinguished for a brotherly love, that might be called a Christian love, for good feeling and humanity, and for the practice of charity and benevolence. (Hear, hear.) But the other day, I found, in a sermon by one of the most eloquent divines ever heard in this country, a passage remarkably applicable, in which the preacher was summing up a comparative view of Christian virtues as opposed to Pagan virtues; and I will beg your Lordships to hear but a very few lines.

The noble Marquess here read a passage from a sermon preached by the Rev. Robert Hall, which was to the following effect:—

“ ‘ That one of the most distinguishing characteristics of Christianity, as compared with the wisdom and humanity of Pagan philosophy, was, that the compassionate consideration for the poor inculcated by the former, formed no part of the lessons taught by the latter. It never thought of the blessedness of him who considereth the poor; that you might have traversed the Roman empire in the zenith of its power, and while you met with monuments of pride and trophies of war, not one asylum of the poor was to be seen; but that it remained for the religion, whose basis was humanity, and whose element was devotion, to proclaim to the world—

‘ Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.’

“ ‘ That description of Pagan virtue, as distinguished

from Christian virtue, could not apply to the Jews. Have they not distinguished themselves by mercy, and charity, and benevolence? Have they not exhibited those attributes described by Mr. Hall as characterizing Christian virtue in contradistinction to Pagan virtue? They are charitable, humane, and generous, supporting numerous hospitals and benevolent institutions; and if I be told that they are indebted to Christianity, and, though not Christians, have imbibed the virtues of Christianity, to that I reply—that if they have so imbibed the virtues of Christianity, it would be gross injustice not to concede to them the merit of those virtues which they exhibit, even if they have imbibed them from any source whatever. These, I maintain, are persons specially entitled to your Lordships' attention; and their claims are of a nature which deserve our greatest consideration. My Lords, I have shewn that they are not precluded from obtaining these political rights by any claims for the interests of religion. It is not any just regard for the interests of religion that prevents us from giving to them the political rights to which they are entitled. Where, then, is the danger to the Constitution, if we accede to their claims? Where is the danger to Christianity, if we admit them to an equality of political privileges with Christians?

“It has been alleged, that if you pass this measure, and Jews are admitted to seats in the Legislature, you will no longer be a Christian Parliament. My Lords, I deny it. (Hear.) You will be still a Christian Parliament, in the same sense that everybody may be

so called, considered with reference to that which is its general character and tendency. To enable anybody or anything to obtain a particular character, and for all useful purposes, it is not necessary that every particular of which it is composed should be homogeneous. You might as well say that the very standard which regulates your commercial transactions should not be called gold, because it contains certain other portions of matter which are not gold. Yet the gold so commingled or alloyed is the standard of value; it is gold to all intents and purposes of utility; its objects and usefulness are not impaired. How then can any person argue that the introduction of the Jews would so alter the character and tendency which the Parliament of this country always had, and I trust always will preserve, namely, to support and maintain, not only the existence, but the predominance of the Christian religion? I never was able to discover why, when a person was enabled to act in concurrence with a large body of other persons infinitely superior to himself in station and numbers, he should be considered more dangerous than while he exists only as a unit in a multitude, or in a separate and independent position. You have already, my Lords, placed the Jews in that independent position; and what use have they made of it? You have placed them in positions where they could be mischievous, if they were so inclined; and what harm have they inflicted on the Constitution? A Jew can be a High Sheriff, a Jurymen, a Magistrate; nay, more, he can be empowered to appoint, aye, and to swear in constables; and, during

the recent disturbance, at least two wards in the metropolis were under the magisterial charge of Jews ; and what evil has come of those powers which you have conferred upon them ? Suppose a Jew were to be brought to trial for High Treason ; if a Jewish High-Sheriff had the selection of the Jury, it may be said that he might possibly use his influence to save that dangerous character ; but, my Lords, we do not think such an occurrence is probable—we do not fear it ; and even the bare possibility of such a coincidence is no argument against a measure like this. A Jew may be Sheriff, Magistrate, or Juror, at present ; but it is said, that the admission of two or three Jews into Parliament, in an assembly so numerous, will have a serious effect upon the Christian character of the Legislature. Now, in my opinion, my Lords, it is more dangerous to admit many classes of professing Christians, than those two or three Jews. I say professing Christians, and I may add, persons believing themselves Christians. You will find Acts of the most objectionable character receiving the sanction of such persons ; and I think that persons of that description are infinitely more dangerous to a Christian Legislature, because they wear the garb of Christians, than if they came openly in another avowed character. (Hear, hear.) I will not multiply instances. You have throughout Europe instances of Jews admitted to, and Jews excluded from, participation in Legislation ; and I cannot see the difference as regards the safety of the Christian religion. In the last war in which Holland was engaged, many of the officers and men were Jews ;

but did any one, therefore, say that the army of Holland was not a Christian, but an infidel army? No one ever put forth such an assertion. You are acting with the grossest inconsistency. In many parts of her Majesty's dominions, Jews are at this moment sitting as members of the Legislature by the authority of the law. In Jamaica, or in Canada, a Jew may be a Representative in the Legislature; and by this day's post I have received a newspaper from Ceylon, which states that a Jew is a member of the Legislature of that island. Yet the bishops are safe in those colonies; and the religion of each colony is not affected by the fact that a Jew may be a member of the Legislature. Notwithstanding this, it is still thought by some, that to admit the Jews would be to contaminate the character of the Christian assembly into which they entered.

“All who have a fair claim to political rights should be allowed to possess them; and, as I have already observed, Christianity does not preclude them.

“My Lords, I am unwilling to detain your Lordships longer; but I will beg of you to look back at the true character of that religion which you profess, and of the law under which you live. I will beg of you to recollect that that religion was humble and lowly in its birth and origin—that its Divine Founder, in most emphatic and solemn words, says ‘My kingdom is not of this world;’ and that, by favor of Divine Providence, our religion, not by force and violence, but by gentleness, benignity, and persuasion, has extended its empire, and brought the nations of

the earth under the shadow of its authority. And I ask you, if that be the principle which presided over the birth of that religion and hallowed its progress, shall we now, in the maturity of its strength and power, refuse to admit within the pale of that Constitution, in which Christianity has been and ever must be the predominant portion, a body of persons who can show a fair claim as useful Citizens and as faithful Subjects for admission. *I believe that none should be excluded from the pale of the Constitution, unless disqualified in a political sense ; I think I have shown that none have ever so been ;* and I therefore have great pleasure in moving the second reading of this Bill,—believing as I do that it will add strength to the Constitution, instead of imparting weakness ; though believing, also, that the existence of the Constitution of this country is bound up with the predominance of Christianity—a predominance, however, which does not require for its support that we should exclude the Jews from those rights to which they are entitled by the fundamental rules of the Constitution—rules which were never suspended, unless by temporary Acts passed for temporary purposes.”—(Hear, hear.)

The Earl of Ellenborough said,—My Lords, I move that this Bill be read a second time this day six months. In doing so, I must say that I never recollect an instance of a measure being submitted to the Legislature, in which the smallness of the object bore so little proportion to the magnitude of the sacrifice by which it is to be obtained. The principle which this measure would proclaim, namely, that, whatever be the religion of a man, he would be entitled to be a member of Parliament, is destructive of the most im-

portant principles of the constitution. The Established Church is the creature of the State ; but Christianity is part and parcel of the Common Law of the land, identified with, and inseparable from, the State, and I foresee political dangers in this measure, arising from the national and social character of the Jews, who are citizens of the world, rather than citizens of England. It is quite true that they are not aliens, that they do not owe allegiance to another country ; but there are no people in the world who can transfer themselves to another country with the same facilities as the Jews. I take a most serious and, I think, not an exaggerated view of the great danger now impending on this country in its foreign and domestic concerns. It is impossible for me not to feel that we are in a great crisis of the fate of this country. It is impossible, from what we have witnessed, and what we now witness, not to come to this conclusion. We ourselves have had a warning in famine, a warning in general distress, a warning in pestilence, a warning in the divisions among our people, still threatening the dismemberment of the empire. When we look around us we see nations convulsed ; the most ancient and powerful dynasty in Europe crushed in one day ; the great empire of Austria broken to pieces, like the potter's vessel ; we see the disruption of some of the most ancient combinations of territory ; the formations of new combinations of territory ; nor have we the slightest power, reasoning from the past, to calculate in the smallest degree on the action, the policy, or the strength of the several new States which are rising out of the deep in which everything ancient has been absorbed. We see all the great landmarks of nations displaced ; we see upon the Continent society itself shaken to its centre ; we see the wildest schemes for its re-construction by men who, without the smallest reference to the experience of the past, seem to think they have all wisdom for the future government of mankind. How long are we to remain, separated only by a narrow channel, untouched by the contamination of these evils ? I trust your Lordships will apply yourselves to the only path by which the country can be saved ; that regarding all the great principles on which the happiness of nations rests in all times, you will forego legislating for private purposes ; that, whatever the temporary

interests of men or governments, you will take a large view of public affairs ; and, above all, that you will not deprive yourselves of all right to Heavenly aid, by decreeing this night the desecration of Parliament, and the destruction of the exclusive Christian character of the British Legislature.

The Duke of Cambridge said he entertained the very highest respect for many individuals of the Jewish persuasion, and willingly bore testimony to their benevolence and liberality. As the President of the Jewish Hospital, he was of course brought into communication with many members of the Jewish persuasion, and referred particularly to one eminent individual (Sir Moses Montefiore), who went to Jerusalem, and made great sacrifices for the protection of his Jewish brethren, as one of those for whom he felt very great respect. He had never hesitated to assist the Jews in obtaining privileges which he thought could be safely conceded to them ; but according to his conscientious opinion, as long as this country was a Christian country, it was impossible to admit Jews to sit in the Legislature.

Viscount Canning said the cause which the noble Earl (Ellenborough) had espoused so warmly, owed the greater part of its strength to the appeal he made to their Lordships' feelings, rather than to their calm and dispassionate judgment. The doors of the Legislature had been opened to the Catholics, who considered their faith a heresy, and to the Dissenters, who considered it credulity and superstition, and he believed he should be guilty of a political injustice, if he refused admission to the Jews. If it were alleged that the Jews were only traffickers and barterers, he would reply, that unless they could assert that, as a nation, they had never had a share in putting the Jews beyond the pale of society, it would be safer, and fairer, and more just, to refrain from pressing that argument. Allusion had been made to the public opinion entertained on this question out of doors. He would not discuss the relative number or amount of the petitions for or against this Bill, although a fair estimate of these petitions would not be unfavourable to the friends of the present measure. Nearly 100 years ago, a measure of concession had been granted to the Jews ; but no sooner had the law

been passed, than there arose from one end of the country to the other a feeling of alarm, and the Duke of Newcastle, the Minister of that day, immediately went down to Parliament and proposed that the law should be repealed. But this Bill had been six months before Parliament; it had not been hastily pushed forward; it had been deliberately discussed in the other House, and time had not been wanting for the opponents of it in the country to express their opinions. Certainly, within the last few days, a number of petitions had been presented against it, though he did not know that they more than counterbalanced those that had been presented in favour of it; but of public meetings, or that which went to public agitation on the subject, they had not heard one word. (Hear, hear!) There must be some explanation for that difference in public opinion, as compared with what it was in 1753, and he asked what it was? It had been freely said, that Baron Rothschild owed his election for the city of London to the influence of his purse. He knew not whether that was true or not: but he doubted whether any opponent of the measure would be bold enough to ascribe to that gentleman influence sufficient to bribe silence or indifference to this subject. Was it then that there was a greater indifference to religion and to Christianity in general, or that the Established Church had a less strong hold on the affections of the people now than in the last century? Quite the reverse. (Hear.) What, then, was the explanation? He believed it to be this,—that, with the increase of population and intelligence in this country, a class of the community differing from us in their religious opinions, and who a hundred years ago either had no existence, or were a small body, had sprung up into social and political importance, and that that had attracted the attention of all persons to the question whether it was just, expedient, or wise, for any class who would otherwise be entitled to their fair share of civic government and authority to be excluded from it. The course of legislation during the last twenty years had had the effect of confirming that feeling on the part of the people, by proving that religious tests and exclusion might be with safety and advantage relaxed; and he believed that those were the opinions not only of the Dissenting classes, which had benefited by such

relaxation, but were also the growing opinions of Churchmen themselves. (Hear, hear.) He believed that all classes were agreed, or nearly so, that truth had little to fear in collision with error, but that it had more to fear from being fenced in by factitious props and aids. (Hear, hear.) He had nothing more to add, than to thank their Lordships for the patience with which they had listened to the few observations he had made, and to state that since he had had the honour of sitting in that House, he had never given a vote with a stronger conviction of the justice and wise policy of any measure, than he cherished with respect to the Bill now before their Lordships.

The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Bird Sumner) said, he founded his objections to the Bill upon the inherent and peculiar character of the Jews in relation to Christianity, and because the measure was contemplated with conscientious dislike and dread by a large class of persons whom he regarded as the most valuable members of the community, and who considered it a sort of insult to the religion which they revered and honoured.

The Earl of Winchilsea said, he retained the warmest feelings of Christian charity towards the members of the Jewish persuasion, but they were a distinct and peculiar people, bearing their nationality of character in whatever part of the world they were dispersed. He was prepared to grant the Jews every toleration that was consistent with the maintenance of Christianity, but he could not admit them into Parliament. And he begged to tell the bench of Bishops, that if the Bill passed, the result would be, that within a year not one of their right reverend body would have a seat in the House. (Cheers from the Opposition.)

The Duke of Argyll said he was anxious to say a few words in explanation of the vote he meant to give upon this Bill; and as upon this, the first occasion he had had the honour of addressing their Lordships, the subject was of more than usual importance—a subject which divided the feelings, he believed, even more than the opinions of wise and good men, he trusted their Lordships would accept that as an additional claim upon that courtesy and indulgence which their Lordships were always ready to extend to those who addressed them for the first time. (Hear, hear.) He was not

ashamed to confess that in considering this subject and his own duty in regard to it, he had experienced feelings of difficulty and doubt ; but, after the best consideration he had been able to give it, he had come to the resolution to vote for the second reading of the Bill. He should do so, however, with feelings and opinions materially different from those which had, sometimes at least, been stated in support of the measure. The noble Earl who spoke second in the debate (the Earl of Ellenborough), whose address seemed to produce a lively impression on some of their Lordships, among other arguments said that the Jews were a nation within a nation, implying that they were something like aliens—aliens at least in their affections and habits. The noble Lord who spoke after him (Viscount Canning) had said that if Jews were really aliens in character and habits, we ourselves had been somewhat to blame for this, and their Lordships would surely acknowledge the force of that argument. (Hear.) During many hundred years they had been exposed to every sort of disability. We had prevented them from holding landed property, and from engaging in those other employments which were open to other classes of Her Majesty's subjects. But, besides this argument, there appeared to him to be another, worthy of notice. If there was no other objection to the admission of the Jews than that they were a nation within a nation—if there was no other objection to them than that they were so foreign in respect to this country that they were unable or incapacitated to represent the feelings of the people, was that any reason for the Legislature interposing to prevent each constituency from judging for themselves on this point ? (Hear, hear.) This argument had struck him very forcibly, and had had a great effect on his own determination. It might be true that the Jews were aliens ; it might be true that they would soon, in the fulfilment of prophecy, be still more aliens—God grant that it might be so—but so long as they lived in this country, so far as political disabilities were concerned, he must contend that each constituency was the best judge of the qualities of its own candidates. (Hear, hear.) There was another argument which had been used in the course of the debate. It had been alluded to by the right rev. prelate who spoke some little time ago (the Arch-

bishop of Canterbury), who contended that the admission of the Jews into Parliament would be attended with danger to the Church over which he so eminently presided. Now, so far as hostility to our ecclesiastical institutions was concerned, he (the Duke of Argyll) put it to their Lordships whether they had one tithe of the danger to fear from the Jew as from the Dissenter? (Hear, hear.) And if the apprehension of danger to our ecclesiastical institutions had not prevented the Legislature from introducing into Parliament Members of various denominations of hostile religious bodies, surely that could form no argument against the admission of the Jews? (Hear, hear.) There was but one argument, in truth, which had any force, and that was the religious argument which had been almost entirely dwelt upon by the noble Earl who had moved the rejection of the Bill—the argument that Christianity was part of the law and constitution of this country; and that it was an anomaly, if not a sin, for any man who was not a Christian to be admitted into the Legislature of this country. Now, he confessed that, in his opinion, that vague and nominal Christianity which they possessed in their character of legislators was not very much worth. (Hear.) But there was one field in which they might labour for the preservation of Christianity. They could use their best endeavours to heal the divisions among themselves, which more than any other cause operated to banish from the discussions in that and the other House of Parliament every question, every argument, and every topic which bore at all upon religion. (Hear.) Their Lordships would do him the justice to believe that he had not risen upon that occasion under any idea that anything he could say, that any argument he could urge would have any influence upon their Lordships or the vote of a single Member of that House; but if their Lordships could not separate their votes from the confession that Christianity had nothing to do with the legislation of the country, he did not wish—he could not wish, that any Member would vote in favour of the Bill. But there was a large and a wide field in which, as he had said, they could use their best endeavours for the preservation of Christianity; and he felt that this measure would offer no impediment to their proceeding in that direction. (Hear, hear.)

The Bishop of St. David's said, he had been anxious to rise immediately after the right rev. prelate (the Archbishop of Canterbury) had addressed the House ; but he must say that he did not now regret that it had fallen to his lot to follow, rather than precede, the noble Earl who then addressed the House (the Earl of Winchilsea). He was glad that he had not spoken before he had listened to the denunciations which that noble Earl had thought proper to throw out. It had been his fate on previous occasions to accept similar challenges thrown out by the noble Earl. He must confess he was not at all alive to the danger which he had threatened. He did not know to what extent it might be in the noble Earl's power to verify his own predictions ; but he would say, in the language of an infinitely greater man, on a much more momentous occasion, "The Lord's will be done ; I must do my duty." He should content himself with a single preliminary remark. If it were supposed that his vote on the present occasion must be governed by one which he had given several years ago, when a similar subject was brought under discussion, although he had never looked back on that vote, which happened to be the first he had the honour to give in their Lordship's House, with any feelings of regret,—still he wished it understood that he did not consider himself as bound in the slightest degree by the course which he had then thought it his duty to pursue. As he was not prepared to admit that by the vote he then gave he had pledged himself to take a step further in the same direction, so he would apply the same principle with respect to those who adopted an opposite conclusion from that at which he had arrived. As he conceived it right that they should not be fettered in their deliberations, so it gave him very sincere pleasure to observe that their Lordships were called on to act under no undue bias or external pressure which could prevent them from exercising their judgments with the most perfect freedom on the present question. The sense of the country, so far as expressed by the petitions laid on the table of their Lordships' House, had been expressed in a manner which removed the possibility of an appeal to any motive of a questionable nature. It had been asserted rashly, or at all events without the possibility of verifying the assertion, that this

measure proceeded from indifference to religion in those who proposed and supported it. Were they to assume that such was the case, the results presented to their observation would indeed be very singular ; looking at the various places throughout the country from which petitions had emanated, they should be obliged to suppose that the spirit of religion was very unequally diffused over the surface of the land ; that it was at the boiling point in some congregations, while it was at the freezing point in others. He felt no kind of confidence in the indications of such a religious thermometer as that. He thought it was not building on mere surmise to say, he saw the class of persons for whose relief this measure was proposed had not yet ceased to be objects of a very general, hereditary, unreasoning dislike among sections of the community. From what had happened in past times, it was morally impossible that such should not be the case. Looking at the persecution and oppression which that people had suffered in past ages, it was absolutely certain that, as such a state of things passed away, it must have left very deep traces in the habits and modes of thinking which prevailed among the people of this country. He did not presume to state whether any of their Lordships were influenced by such prejudices. All he ventured to say was this, that if it were the case that not one of their Lordships had been affected by it, then he must acknowledge he was the most prejudiced person in their Lordships' House ; for he acknowledged that he had a difficulty in this matter, which, however, he had felt it his duty to resist, and he would have been sorry if he had allowed it to have any weight so as to overcome his conviction in favour of the conclusion to which he had come. He made this remark not so much for its own sake as for the sake of a consideration of much greater import. Much as the subject had been debated, both in print and verbally, he did not conceive that due attention had been paid to this most important point. They were in the habit of hearing it assumed, without any contradiction, that it belonged to the very essence of the Jewish religion to entertain feelings of the utmost aversion and abhorrence towards that person whom they, as Christians, regarded as the object of supreme love and veneration. That opinion, their Lordships

would recollect, was the main point put forward in a petition presented by a noble Earl opposite, proceeding from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. That assertion had been the strongest argument on which the adversaries of this measure had grounded their opinions. It was adverted to by the most rev. prelate who had spoken on the present occasion. It had been put forward, as their Lordships would remember, by that most rev. prelate's predecessor, as the main ground on which he felt it impossible to consent to any such measure as that now proposed. With the most sincere feeling of respect towards those who were of that opinion, he must be permitted to say that he did not believe there was any adequate foundation for that argument. Feelings of bitterness most probably did prevail among persons of the Jewish nation ; but he wished to draw their Lordships' attention to this most important point—whether that feeling or doctrine was essentially connected with the Jewish religion or not, whether it was of its essence, or simply an accident ; such feeling or doctrine might be separated from the Jewish religion, so that the one might exist, as it had existed, and probably did exist, without the other. He should mention a few reasons which strongly inclined him to adopt that view. First, supposing such a feeling existed, the actual prevalence of the feeling might most easily be accounted for. It was nothing but the natural and inevitable consequence of those ages of fierce and furious controversy, and those of persecution and oppression, through which it had been the lot of the Jewish people to pass. However divided such an opinion might originally have been from their religion, it was but natural that under such circumstances it should have grown up. But the question was whether it was held among them as essential to their orthodoxy ? He knew no reason which could be alleged for thinking so, but one. He might be told that the Jews denied the claim of our Saviour to the divine character ; but where, in this respect, was the difference between the case of the Jews and that of the Unitarians ? Was it not equally true of the Unitarian that he denied that which we conceived to be according to the plain sense of Scripture, as the undoubted assertion of that Divine Person with regard to his own character ? He only

desired to place the Jews in this respect on the same footing as the Unitarians, whom they had already admitted.

He was aware that it might be thought inconclusive reasoning to argue for the adoption of a measure from a thing established; and therefore he came to another consideration, which had weighed most with his own mind in determining what course he should pursue on this question. He found a Jewish writer, in speaking of our blessed Lord, described him as the victim of a cabal and of popular outcry, raised under the influence of the Jewish priests and rulers, and condemned to an unjust punishment. He found in the writings of a Jewish philosopher, who was also most devotedly attached to the principles of his religion, our blessed Lord Christ spoken of as one who had asserted the claims of spiritual religion in opposition to the formality and hypocrisy which prevailed in high places. He found that Jewish philosopher assuming the possibility that the Jews might become Christians, and still remain as much as ever bound by the Mosaic law. All this surely justified the inference that the opinion in question was not an essential article of Jewish orthodoxy. It did not appear to him that the present question depended at all on the correctness or incorrectness of the views on which he had animadverted. Had it not been for the discussion which the subject had undergone, and the variety of arguments which had been raised, he certainly should have thought the question before their Lordships one of the simplest and plainest that could be submitted to their consideration. This measure was a measure of relief; it was a measure for removing disabilities imposed upon a class of Her Majesty's subjects. It was, therefore, a measure of that kind which was entitled to their Lordships' favour; and if they were called on to reject it, he apprehended that it must be on some very plain, clear, and solid grounds—that in such a case they would not be contented with any high, airy speculations, which they all knew might be easily thrown in with a show of substance and solidity, disguised in the form of ingenious sophistry or of eloquent declamation. Their Lordships had already been reminded that a great constituency had made choice of a Jew as their representative, and that the House of Commons had declared its willingness to remove the only bar which prevented the voice of that constituency from

being ratified and carried into effect. It remained now, therefore, for their Lordships to say whether they would tell that constituency that they should not have the representative of their choice, and the House of Commons that they should not acknowledge that choice as they desired. If such a measure were to be rejected, some strong ground of expediency must exist for taking such a course; there must be some plea of inconvenience or danger. But when he inquired what was that inconvenience or danger, he was really almost at a loss to imagine how either should be apprehended. They had been told that adopting this measure was inconsistent with Christianity. They were told it was a measure dangerous, and which might possibly be ruinous, to the interests of the Church. When they were told that they ought to reject the measure on the former ground, he should like to know in what consisted the danger to Christianity. Was it because it belonged to the conscience of the Legislature to regulate the Christian religion, that the state had power over the doctrines of their religion; or was it that there existed any ground for apprehension lest, under the influence which might be introduced into the Legislature by this Bill, Christianity might be proscribed and persecuted? Such notions only needed to be mentioned for their Lordships immediately to repudiate and reject them; and he conceived that such danger never for a moment could be seriously apprehended. But it certainly had been intimated that they would be exposing Christianity to the danger, if not of injury, at least of insult. Could it really be imagined that persons introduced under the operation of this measure into the House of Commons would be so indifferent to the feelings of those around them, and also to the feelings of the constituencies whom they represented, that they would be willing, if an opportunity presented itself, to offer insult to the Christian religion? There was another ground of objection which he would be loath to touch upon, though it was one on which the noble Lord had dwelt with considerable emphasis, namely, the danger to which they were exposing themselves in that noble Lord's opinion by showing a mark of respect to a people whom he said they ought to consider as remaining monuments of Divine wrath.

One might be disposed to treat such views with ridicule, were it

not for the risk lest a portion of that feeling with which the argument was regarded might by possibility be transferred to the sacred subjects on which it touched. If there were punishment in store, it might rather be for the crimes of which this nation had been guilty in times past against the ancestors of this people, than for any indulgence which might be given them. He was sure they had incurred heavy guilt in times past; he was not so sure that the debt had been duly acquitted. Then danger, it was said, threatened the Church of England from this measure. The question was, whether there was any new danger introduced by this Bill which did not exist before? He did not see that any new danger would be introduced by this measure. He would not, however, dwell upon this point. He had read a great many speeches and pamphlets on the opposite side of this question, but he had never read one without seeing the assertion that this was a question as much of expediency as of principle. Now he was far from underrating the importance of principle; but he must say, that if he were to estimate the value of principle by the sort of arguments with which its name had been connected in the course of the discussions on this measure, he should be inclined to think that principle must be something opposed to reason and experience; and if it was a thing of such a nature, that the more one was ignorant of the facts relating to a measure, the more likely he was to lay hold of the principle, then, most certainly, in the present case, he should say that principle did lie all on the other side of the question. But he could not attribute the dignity of principle to any of the arguments which he had seen used in opposition to this measure. With the utmost respect for the persons who had used them, he could not consider them as anything more than a tissue of ingenious sophisms and fallacies. Some of these, indeed, they had heard in the course of that debate, and he had no doubt they would hear a great many more. They had heard, for example, that this was a Bill which tended to un-Christianize the Legislature. Now, how often had it been observed, and how little had it been controverted, that the Legislature, after this measure was passed and carried into operation, would remain Christian, exactly to the same extent and precisely in the same proportion as

the country was Christian. (Hear.) They were not now for the first time un-Christianizing the Legislature. That was done some two hundred years ago; and he would ask their Lordships to remember by whom that was done. Perhaps they would permit him here to mention an anecdote that some of their Lordships might not be familiar with—one resting on the testimony of an eye-witness, Sir Paul Ricaut, and which was related in “Spence’s Anecdotes of Books and Men.” It was there mentioned, that a meeting took place between the Protector and a body of the clergy of London, whom he had called together to deliberate on the question as to who had the right of building a synagogue in London. It was stated that on that occasion the clergy inveighed against the Jews as a cruel and accursed race; but he asked them, in the first place, whether they did not hold the belief that the Jews were one day to be brought within the pale of the Christian Church? and, in the next, whether they did not think it was the duty of every Christian to promote that good end by all the means in his power? As might be supposed, the clergy answered both questions in the affirmative, and then he proceeded to ask if there was not a greater likelihood of such an object being attained, if the Jews were brought into a country where they would have the advantage of seeing the Christian religion professed and practised in its purest form, than if they were suffered to remain in other countries where it was disfigured by numberless corruptions. It was added, that “he silenced the clergy.” (Hear, hear.) He did not wish to say that there would be a dissimilar effect at this day with respect to this measure, nor did he quote the anecdote with such a view; but to point out to their Lordships how little it could have entered into the mind of that great man, that by the measure he was then desirous to introduce—though he must have known that he was about to settle in this country a body of persons who would remain to all time a constituent part of its population—notwithstanding that, how little it entered into his mind to suppose that he was taking a step that would have the effect of un-Christianizing the Legislature. If it was said that he did not give them all the privileges of Englishmen, all he would reply was, that, considering the difficulty he had in inducing

the clergy, and he might add, the merchants, to take the step that he proposed to them, it was morally impossible that the other question could have been concluded, and he therefore left it to posterity. But it was said, that when we admitted to the Legislature persons who did not profess the same religion with ourselves, we, to that extent, weakened the religious influence of the Legislature, and lessened the security on which the best interests of the community so much depended. He admitted that there could be no such security as that which rested on religious principle; and it had been argued, that this religious principle must be wanting in the Jew. Now no one could deny the importance of religion to the exercise of social duties. No one denied the influence of religion over a man's views of morality, and consequently over his practice. No doubt persons professing different kinds of religion from that we embraced—for example, the Jews—might take some views of morality different from those taken by a Christian; there might be a variance of view on many points; but after all that, would there not be a large common ground on which no difference would exist between the one and the other. Was it possible to contend that a conscientious Jew would be prevented by his religion from doing his duty towards the public in the capacity of a legislator? Was it possible to draw so fine a distinction as to say that the motives of that man with regard to public duty would be influenced by his religion in a way different from a Christian? Equally sophistical was all that had been said about this measure being an innovation upon the constitution of the country, because Christianity was held to be part and parcel of the constitution of the country. He would ask, what principle of Christianity in the constitution of the country it was that this measure was opposed to? He admitted that the old principle of the British constitution was one of absolute and exclusive intolerance. It not only proscribed and excluded from all places of authority and trust the Jew and the infidel, but likewise the heretic and the schismatic. But he need not say that that exclusive principle had been first relaxed, and then wholly discarded. It was not consistent with fact, with the actual state of the case, to represent this measure as an innovation. If anything was clear as regarded

this question, it was, that the barrier which now happened to oppose the admission of the Jews into the Legislature was the creature of mere accident. That barrier was not raised for the Jew, but was destined for another and a totally different party; and it now remained for the Legislature to decide whether that ought to remain to the exclusion of the Jews which was not intended for them. (Hear, hear.) If they rejected this measure, then they would be making the innovation, and they would be the parties who were really introducing a new principle into the constitution. (Hear, hear.) Another branch of this subject was that which related to the Jewish nationality. It had been said, using the language of Dr. Arnold, that a Jew had no more right to legislate for England, than a lodger had to take part in managing the affairs of the house in which he was harboured. This opinion of Dr. Arnold had evidently been formed on the analogy of the Greek and Roman States, rather than on a view of the actual circumstances of this country. He thought he had been misled by a comparison that it was not unnatural to draw betwixt the condition of the Jews in this country, and those persons who stood in a somewhat similar relation to the ancient States he had named. But another cause, operating still more strongly, had led Dr. Arnold's mind to the conclusion at which he had arrived, viz. the extreme opinions held by him with regard to the identification of Church and State. He thought that the admission of the Jews to the Legislature was inconsistent with this, his favorite theory; and to that source his political opinions on this subject might, he believed, be most distinctly traced. But not only was the origin of that opinion founded on a view of the subject to which their Lordships were not likely to subscribe, but it was carried to a length to which they would be still less prepared to go. He thought it would be no injustice if the Government of this country were to do to the Jews as the Spanish Government did with regard both to Jews and Morescoes, viz. to transport the whole mass of them to some other country; but an opinion derived from such an origin, and leading to such counsels, was not likely to have the weight that otherwise it might have derived from the name of so great and venerated a man. In the same way it had been asserted

that not only was the Jew an alien in the country, but that he was not capable of any of the ties that bound an Englishman to his home ; that his home must always be in a foreign land, and that his heart must always be towards the birthplace of his race—the land of Palestine. He believed there could be no doubt that the Jews ever lived in hope that, as a people, they would yet return to their country ; but how this hope was in the mean time to prevent their discharging their duties aright in their adopted country, and exerting themselves to promote the interests of that country in the same way as any other citizens, he could not comprehend. It was inferred that no Jew, as such—no truly religious Jew—could ever desire to be the object of this measure. It had been said, that, as a body, the Jews were indifferent to the measure, and that they did not regard it as a boon ; but if they were indifferent to it, it could only be on precisely the same principle, and in consequence of the same kind of religious associations, which they well knew prevented many men from taking an active part in public life, and who applied to their own case the language of the Apostle—“ Here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come.” Take away the religion of the Jew, and he should like to know what ground of opposition there was to this Bill. It was clear that, but for the difference of religion, a complete fusion of the Jews would have taken place with the people of other countries. It would, he believed, have been the same with the Jews as with the refugees who came to this country from the Continent after the Reformation. He hoped that, notwithstanding the denunciations of the noble Lord who had addressed the House from the opposite benches, we should long continue to enjoy the constitution which this country had enjoyed, even although the Jews should be admitted to Parliament. Although he had taken such an interest in this question as had induced him to prolong his remarks to perhaps an excessive length, he confessed he was not disposed to look forward to the result of this discussion with very great anxiety. He was a believer in the power of truth and justice (*Hear, hear*), and he was firmly convinced, that, in passing this measure, their Lordships would not only consult the interests of justice, but would also not impair the principles of the Christian religion, and would not

retard its final triumph. He believed, on the contrary, that by giving their assent to this Bill they would hasten the period when the veil would be taken away from the eyes of the Jewish people. By rejecting such measures, they would only weaken and impair the dignity of the Christian religion, and prevent for a brief period the accomplishment of its great mission, that of promoting the glory of God, by diffusing peace and good-will among men. (Hear, hear.)

The Bishop of Oxford said, that, in rising to address their Lordships upon this important subject, he felt in common with many others who, like him, were about to vote against the progress of this Bill, that he was filling a somewhat invidious position, by assuming the appearance of refusing to his fellow-citizens a right to which it was assumed they were entitled. The noble Marquis who moved the second reading of the Bill told their Lordships that he moved it as a right to which this portion of Her Majesty's subjects were entitled. There was something painful in even seeming to stand in the way of any rights belonging to any one of Her Majesty's subjects; but there was something more than this in the question under consideration. If the Jews had a right to be admitted into Parliament he should be prepared to do right, and, without regard to ulterior consequences, to throw them at once to the winds. But he contended that they had no such right. (Hear, hear, from the Opposition.) The right of admission to office was, strictly speaking, no right at all; a seat in the Legislature was given as a trust to those whom the nation at large believed would exercise it best for the interests, not of themselves alone, but of the community at large. The Jews of England, or their ancestors, had come to sojourn amongst us upon condition that they should not have political privileges; and, as far as he could understand, Jewish representatives were not necessary to any constituency in England, Scotland, or Ireland. No doubt there might have been in certain cases certain advantages derivable from the election of Jewish representatives. Far be it from him, however, to say that he knew any such instance. He professed to have no knowledge of those "secrets of the prison-house." (Hear, from a noble Lord on the Treasury Bench.) He repeated, for the information of the noble Marquess (Clanricarde)

that though he knew nothing about the secrets of the late election for the city of London (hear, hear), yet that he was not without some knowledge of the public history of that transaction. (Loud cheers.) It was pretty well known that it was because the Prime Minister at the head of the Government, finding himself hard put to it for his election, thought it convenient, in order to secure his success, to connect himself with a firm where one of the partners found the capital and the other the character. (Hear, hear.) Declarations in favour of removing Jewish disabilities might, under such circumstances, have been found exceedingly convenient. (Hear, hear.) He was quite free to admit that there might be, and doubtless there were, English constituencies which, influenced by peculiar reasons, very earnestly desired that a bill of this nature should pass into a law. He wished to remind their Lordships that Christianity was not a cold philosophy, but a heartfelt love and affection for the Son of God, the Saviour of the world, in whom it placed its hope and trust of eternal salvation; but between the Christian and the Jew there was a gulf as wide as eternity itself. If their Lordships passed the Bill, they would take the foundation from religion, and they would send a shock quivering through every institution of this country, which would not cease until it shivered them all into fragments. He besought their Lordships to think and pause—he besought them not to pass the Bill—he besought them to beware, lest, under the influence of kindly frailty, they did that which would lead sooner or later to the separation of Church and State.

The Earl of St. Germans said, with all deference for the right rev. prelate (the Bishop of Oxford), he should express his dissent from his arguments and the conclusions to which he had come. The degrees of citizenship spoken of by the right rev. prelate were distinctions known to the Roman law, but not recognised by the law of England. In England, all natural-born subjects were entitled to the same legal rights. The Bill did not propose to give a certain number of seats in Parliament to Jews, but to enable Christian constituencies to elect Jews as their representatives if they thought fit. It was true the Jews had been a separate and distinct nation, and that they also believed the day would come when their nationality

would be restored. But that day was not distinctly named, and the promise had no effect upon their feelings towards the country to which they at present belonged. In the United States, in France, in Holland, and in various other countries, they enjoyed the rights of citizenship; and, as the noble Marquess had told them, in Canada, Jamaica, and other British Colonies, the Jews were Members of the Legislature. There was, therefore, no reason for asserting that they were incapable of taking an interest in the affairs of the State to which they were subject, or of being useful legislators. As to the argument, that Parliament was bound to distinguish between religious truth and error, it had been already disposed of by a very right rev. prelate, whose absence he regretted (the Archbishop of Dublin); and his noble friend (Viscount Canning) had stated, with great truth, that when they admitted to seats in the Legislature persons who denied the doctrine of the Trinity, and yet refused such a privilege to the Jews, they were guilty of inconsistency. The allusion of the right rev. prelate to the affair of the election for the City of London was totally irrelevant*. But as to his argument relative to the connexion between Church and State, he entirely agreed in the sentiments expressed by him. No man could regret more than he (the Earl of St. Germans) the dissolution of that connexion. But he differed with the right rev. prelate as to the fear of such a consequence being the necessary effect of the present Bill. The right rev. prelate, in fact, expected to happen, in consequence of its passing, that which he (the Earl of St. Germans) feared would be rather the result of its rejection.

* It is proper to notice here that the Bishop of Oxford, previously to the closing of the debate, begged permission to explain some remark which fell from his Lordship during his speech; his Lordship said, "he was very sorry that he had been led, in the warmth of debate, to use an expression which had borne as it seemed an appearance of malice; but he really never meant any malice whatever. The expression had been brought out suddenly, by an expression used by the noble Marquess, by a word which had fallen from him. He took the most public opportunity of saying, that he never entertained the smallest idea that the noble Lord, the first Lord of the Treasury, had been privy to any bribery whatever, or that any other noble Lord, Member of the Government or otherwise, had been so; and he now begged leave to withdraw the words altogether." See *Hansard's Parl. Deb.* vol. XCVIII, p. 1405.

For if they refused that privilege to the Jews to which they had a right, merely because it would tend to weaken the connexion between Church and State, those who supported the Bill would be apt to say, that if that connexion were the only obstacle, it should be dissolved. There was no fear of opposition to the Church from the Jews. There was no idea on their parts of destroying the Church, and raising the synagogue on its ruins. There was far more danger to the Church from other Christian communities who were already admitted into Parliament. It was said, this is a Christian country, and that its Legislature ought to be Christian. Make the Jews eligible to seats in Parliament, and the number of Jews in Parliament would bear as small a proportion to the whole number of Members, as the number of Jews in this country to the whole population. The Legislature would still be as much a Christian Legislature, as this country was a Christian country. It was admitted on all hands that the Jews were a loyal, peaceable, and industrious body; and therefore he saw no reason why their civil rights should be withheld from them. The Jews were, he believed, an eminently charitable people, and their poor bore a very small proportion to their general numbers. As a body, they had never been suspected of conspiring against the State in any country in which they resided; and he trusted their Lordships would, by passing the Bill, sweep away the last remnant of a barbarous system of legislation.

The Earl of Eglintoun said, he considered the present question to be one rather of religious principle, than one involving matter of great political interest. It was for the sake of that religion which he revered, and that Saviour whom he worshipped, that he was prepared to give his opposition to the Bill. However excellent might be the lives and characters of the persons professing the Jewish religion, however peaceful and generous they might be in their social relations, and however useful they might be in their private capacity, he did not think it was for the good of this country that those who were aliens to it, that those who were always looking forward to a return to the land of which they had been deprived by the judgment of Heaven, and who called themselves a chosen race and a separate people should participate in the duties of Legislation

in a Christian country. It was true that the Jews believed in Moses and the Prophets; they had the same revelations, the same commandments, and the same Bible; but they denied that which crowned all their revelations—they denied the mission of our Saviour; and he (the Earl of Eglintoun) for one would never consent to admit those who believed that the sacrifice on Calvary was made in vain. The question was one, not only interesting to Protestants, but to the whole Christian community; and it was no argument, because they had committed one error—if the admission of Socinians or Unitarians were an error—that they should therefore commit another. He besought the House, in the utmost sincerity of heart, to pause well before they assented to the present measure, and to remember that they were legislating in the sight of the living God, and that they would have to answer for every act they did to the God whose name it was now proposed to strike out as unnecessary.

Lord Lyttleton said, he considered that it was quite necessary that they should endeavour to frame to their minds what was the precise meaning of the word "Christian." He must assume, for the purpose of the argument, that Socinians or Unitarians were not Christians. The Socinians denied the doctrine of atonement, but the Socinians and the Unitarians had been admitted. If it were admitted that the course was wrong, no one had proposed to disturb the arrangement—if any person did make such a proposition, he would be ready to meet them upon that question; but he did not believe that they could stop here.

The Earl of Harrowby said that they had been told by his noble friend who had just sat down, and by other noble Lords, that whilst they admitted Socinians they could not exclude the Jews; he could not agree to that inference, for they did not, in fact, admit Socinians as Socinians, but as Dissenters, who took the oath on the faith of a Christian. He could not venture to un-Christianize Parliament; and, as he feared that this measure would have that effect, and would also tend to lower the tone of that great Assembly, he should oppose the second reading of the Bill.

The Earl of Yarborough said, he had looked at the question with

great anxiety ; but the more he looked at it, the more thoroughly convinced was he that he was only doing his duty as a Christian, and preventing persecution, by voting for the admission of the Jews. If a person wished to get into Parliament, he must feel himself persecuted if he were prevented from doing so by his religious opinions. He felt, then, that if he opposed this on religious grounds, he should not be discharging his duty as a Christian ; and he thought it was but just, that if a Jew were selected by a constituency, and there was no civil or political objection to him, he should be permitted to take his seat.

The Earl of Desart said, their Lordships must wish to preserve the Christian character of that Assembly ; but if Jews were admitted into Parliament, and were sincere in their religious opinions, they must be anxious to destroy all Christian institutions. He received them with every feeling of hospitality ; but it did not follow that they should be admitted to any part in the management of our household. This was the only country that was not yet stained with anarchy, and this was not the time to give up our reliance on that Power which had preserved us amidst all the violence that had occurred elsewhere.

The Earl of Ellesmere said, if he could believe that this Bill would create an indifference towards religion, still more if it would un-Christianize the Legislature, no inducement should prevail upon him to support it ; but he could not believe that such a consequence would result from admitting a few Jews into Parliament.

What would be the result if this measure were to pass ? That a small number of persons of wealth and character, and acquirements, of a particular religion, might obtain seats in Parliament. If their Lordships considered who the parties were who were to be participators of the privilege sought, they would see that there was far less danger and far less inconvenience to be apprehended to the Church of England from the Jews, than from many Christian substitutes in the Lower House of Parliament. He had heard of denunciations of that Church from the conventicle, but he had never heard of any from the synagogue. And why did their Lordships admit any class of Christian Dissenters to the Legislature ? Was

it from any liking on the part of their Lordships to the doctrines entertained by those persons? No! It was because some of them considered it no longer just, and others no longer safe, to exclude from the common defence of the great interest of the nation those who had so large a share in them—that it was no longer right or safe to treat as aliens in the land those who, by their numbers, their rank, and their possessions, were rooted to the soil. Had the Jew in times of danger ever sheltered himself under the character of an Alien? On the contrary, was it not the fact, that in the wars against Napoleon they had fought side by side with their Christian brethren for the emancipation of Europe? He had also understood that in our Canadian colonies, when the standard of England was reluctantly upheld by many Christians, the Jews had rendered good service in behalf of this country. The success of this motion would shew that the British Legislature did not consider the Jewish nation as fit subjects for persecution or degradation in any shape. He gave the motion his humble support, because he thought it safe to the religious and political interests of the country, and just to the Jews, to give them a share in the making of those laws which they had obeyed so cheerfully, and in some respects administered so well.

Lord Stanley said, he could have been well satisfied to leave the decision of this question upon the able speech of the right reverend Prelate, the Bishop of Oxford, but he felt it imperative not to give a silent vote while any possible argument remained unstated.

Until a very recent period, previous to the time of Elizabeth, this country was not only exclusive on the ground of religious belief, but the uniformity of religious belief was secured by far more stringent laws than the refusal of a seat in the Legislature. At that period, so far from the Jew having a right to a seat in the Legislature, he had no right to set his foot on British soil. (Hear, hear.) It was quite true that the terms of the statute were addressed to the only class of Non-conformists in those days, viz. Popish recusants, and had nothing whatever to do with Jews. But it was said, that in the time of William and Mary, the statute was abrogated for 13 years, and that during that period there was no obstacle to the Jew being in Parliament. It was quite true there was no form of oath,

“on the true faith of a Christian,” during 13 years; but it was also true that, during those 13 years, there were no means by which the Jew could obtain letters of naturalization, which was a first preliminary to his obtaining a seat.

Lord Campbell.—It was not needed, if he were born in England.

Lord Stanley.—Well, suppose he had been born in this country, where was his power to hold freehold property, and where was his freehold qualification for a seat in Parliament? Was there not an oath, too, administered on the New Testament? And, although these absolute impediments existed, the noble Marquis told them, that, because for 13 years the words “on the true faith of a Christian” were removed, the Jews might have then sat in Parliament; a circumstance which it was absolutely impossible to conceive; because, as had already been said that night, if a Jew had presumed to offer himself as a candidate for any city, town, borough, or county in England, he might have got through his first sentence, but he would not have got through a second. (Hear.) He would not detain their Lordships, however, by entering on the historical points of the discussion; but what he did lay stress upon, was this—in which he entirely concurred with the right rev. Prelate—that a seat in Parliament was not a right to which every person was entitled, but a privilege which the State conferred upon those persons who were properly qualified. Then came the question, what were the proper qualifications for a legislator in a Christian country? If it were true, indeed, that it was an inherent right to which every British subject was entitled, then, he asked, what became of the pecuniary qualification—the law which required that Members should be a certain age—and the right to exclude women? (Hear, hear.) With the exception of the right rev. Prelates, who, he it observed, held seats in that house because it was a Christian assembly (Cheers)—with that exception, every clergyman in the Church became debarred from a seat in that House. (Hear, hear.) And why did these exclusions exist? Because they supposed that women and minors, and persons who had not the required property qualification, were not qualified for the task of legislation. He admitted that the property qualification was an arbitrary one; but it was assumed that persons who

had such qualifications had a stake in the country, and were likely to have received an education that would enable them to give a free, independent, and deliberate and conscientious verdict in respect to the affairs of Parliament. (Hear, hear.) But suppose the right were inherent in every British subject, this restriction was manifestly unjust; and yet no one disputed the right of the Legislature to affix that qualification. He would ask, then, was it not even still more fitting that they should demand the further qualification of a profession of Christianity from the representatives of a Christian assembly in a Christian country? A sincere Jew must desire to see our religion trodden in the dust. He did not speak of mere nominal Jews or Christians, whose religious opinions were like their garments, which they could take off and on at their pleasure, but in which their heart, judgment, and conscience had no part; but he spoke of the sincere followers of the law of Moses. He admitted that Judaism and Christianity had much in common. He admitted that the "law was our schoolmaster;" but he begged their Lordships to remember that it was "our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ." (Hear, hear.) But while he admitted the many divine precepts of the Mosaic law, which were held in common with Jews and Christians, he could not forget that of all crimes that was capable of being committed, that of attempting to put any created being upon the footing of the one indivisible God was the one which was visited with the greatest severity by the Jews. The Jew, therefore, must believe either that He whom we worship is, in truth, one with God—as himself God—is one of the persons of the adorable and blessed Trinity, or that he is a convicted malefactor, who was justly condemned by the laws of his offended country. (Hear, hear.) He (Lord Stanley) looked with veneration on the long history and the high literary character of the Jews; he regarded them with interest as the ancient repositories of a portion of the Word of Truth; he believed that many among them, particularly the educated Jews, were conscientious, charitable, well-disposed, and loyal; but he could not consent to place the Jew, with respect to his religious belief or social condition, either upon the footing of any denomination of Christian, or upon the footing of any other British subject.

It was said the opponents of the measure had cut the ground of argument beneath their feet by the admission of various denominations. The noble Lord had spoken of "the ambiguity of Christianity itself," and the right rev. Prelate had alluded to the subject in terms which he had heard with surprise. He did not understand the Unitarian's reading of Scripture. But if they were to tell him he was not a Christian, he would at once repudiate that imputation; he would say, that he looked on Christ as a Teacher sent from God, and that he received the Gospel as the Word of God, and placed in them his belief and his hopes of salvation. When the question was raised with respect to the Roman Catholics years ago, he remembered an appeal made on their behalf in the other House of Parliament:—"True it is, that on minor points, and some of them not unimportant, they differ from you,—they superadd to what you believe,—they put glosses on Scripture which you will not receive, but reject as fond things vainly imagined; yet remember that the Protestant and the Catholic, when they go to fight for the same country, go with the same belief in the same Saviour, and the same confidence in the same God. They go with the same belief in all the fundamental principles of their religion; and if it be the will of God that there and then they and you should die together, they hope for forgiveness for their sins; they hope their souls will rise to immortality through the same Gospel and the same Redeemer." These were sentiments in which every denomination of Christians concurred. The noble Marquis referred to a vote he (Lord Stanley) had given in 1830, for the removal of Jewish disabilities. Because that was a Bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities, and this was a Bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities, therefore the noble Marquis thought he had made out his case. But the noble Marquis did not state that no Jew could possess landed property, could act as a magistrate, could take part in the proceedings of municipal councils, or in the administration of the most ordinary transactions of social life. He (Lord Stanley) voted for the second reading of that Bill. The noble Marquis might have traced him to 1833 or 1834, when he gave a cordial vote for the Bill introduced by his noble and learned friend, then Lord Chancellor (Lord Brougham), for the removal of all the remaining

disabilities of the Jews, so far as their civil and social condition was concerned. But it was distinctly admitted at the time that the concession of all those social and civil rights could not give any ground for claiming admission to the Legislature.

The Marquess of Lansdowne.—I alluded to the first Bill

Lord Stanley.—The noble Lord seemed to have examined the matter very accurately. He would take the noble Lord's word for it. But he drew a distinction between enabling the Jew to act under the law and enabling him to take part in making the law. If he were a conscientious Jew, his conscience would give him a bias in legislation to what was not only hostile to the established church, but to the interests of Christianity. Then it had been argued that the right of giving the Jew admission to Parliament should reside in the constituencies; and allusion had been made to the return for the City of London. He (Lord Stanley) did not admit that on all occasions constituencies were the best judges as to who were fit representatives; but still less could he recognize the right of any constituency to fly in the face of the law and elect a person disqualified by law—(Hear, hear)—and then, on the fact of their election of a person so disqualified, to insist that the judgment of Parliament should be overruled. (Cheers.) The argument founded on the election in the City of London was one rather against than for the measure. If the City of London had elected a pauper, a minor, or a female, would it have been tolerated that the pauper, the minor, or the female should claim a right to sit in Parliament because elected by the City of London, each constituency knowing what was best for its own interests? and Parliament must therefore alter its whole course of legislation. The argument could not hold for a moment. *Practically, the Jews in this country were not of this country, but of a nation apart.* They were temporarily resident within this country, entitled to hospitality and protection, but having no special British interest any more than any special German or French interests. They had the interest of the Jews, they had not British interests; above all, they had not Christian interest. Supposing the individual, whom the City of London had returned had desired to exchange his title as a foreign baron for that of an English baron. Neither in name, nor in title, nor in un-

divided interest, was Baron Rothschild to be considered a British subject; and, with all respect to that gentleman, his introduction there would considerably interfere with the deliberations in their Lordships' House. Were they not permitted to speak in strong terms of their adherence to their natural religion, of their determination to uphold the Christian institutions of this country? What a contradiction in terms—to uphold the Christian character of the Legislature, and yet admit a person to whom any word said in its favour was a direct affront and offence. He (Lord Stanley) apprehended no immediate danger from the admission of three or four, five or six Jews into the other House of Parliament. God forbid they should see them there. (Hear, hear, and a laugh). But a small minority might turn the scale in favour of a minister; he would feel bound to acknowledge the service. On the other hand, what great object would be gained by admitting two or three rich Jews into a Legislature which for centuries had laboured to maintain the Christian religion? The question their Lordships had to solve was, whether they would preserve the Christian character of that and the other House of Parliament? If they decided in the negative, a deep and painful effect would be produced on the minds of the people, and, above all, on the minds of the soundest, most reflecting, and most religious portion of the community. They would alienate the hearts of the people from the Legislature, and destroy that confidence which the country placed in the deliberations of the Houses of Parliament as at present constituted. He rejoiced to learn from the speech of the noble Marquess that he had no considerable apprehensions as to the result. The noble Marquess had thought it right to warn the House that the Bill would be brought forward again and again. He (Lord Stanley) hailed that as an indication that the decision of that night would not be in favour of the Bill, that again and again it would be submitted to the consideration of their Lordships, and that again and again they would reject the Bill. (Loud cheers.)

Lord Brougham had to express the great satisfaction which he felt in common with all their Lordships at the temperate, and, generally speaking, though not without exception, the fair, candid, and

charitable spirit which had prevailed throughout the debate. No personal matter had, generally speaking, been mixed up with it; nothing slanderous or offensive had, generally speaking, been introduced. So far he concurred with the noble Lord in commending the spirit which had prevailed in that debate; and so far, therefore, the more deeply did he lament that the debate should not have closed without a great and glaring exception, the more glaring and the more to be deplored because it proceeded from the bench of right reverend Prelates. It was not reserved for the most rev. Prelate, who showed himself a worthy representative of the established church, at the head of which he had recently and most properly been placed, and who had declared his views with feelings of charity, forbearance, and meekness, truly becoming a Christian divine, and a Prelate at the head of the Christian Established Church. But when the right rev. Prelate followed on the same bench, then were their Lordships' fated, and, as for reasons, personal as well as hereditary, he had himself felt it most deeply, then was he doomed to suffer from the departure of that tone of Christian charity, meekness, and forbearance with which all others had treated a question of mixed religious and political controversy; then it was they were told of slanders which had prevailed in public, and not privately, and which it was said they might learn from the public prints. (No, no). That was not all. But a partnership had been formed to which the introduction of this measure into the other House of Parliament by the Prime Minister was ascribed. It was slanderously said; and, if a Prelate had not said it, he should have said it was false. (Laughter and cheers). When the reverse of the truth was stated as the truth, — when that which was groundless was said, when that which was utterly without foundation was imputed, then he was entitled to say it was a slander-monger that thus attacked, and that the slander was false. The fact was this—and he challenged denial—it was not true that this Bill originated in a job with the City of London. It was not true that Lord John Russell owed his election to Baron Rothschild. It was not true, but the contrary, that he was under obligations to Baron Rothschild. (Hear, hear). But it was true, and

his written letter remained to prove it, that he refused at first to be a party to this election. And on what grounds? Because of a contest. And what caused the contest? The standing of Baron Rothschild. (Hear, hear). So that, instead of being under any obligation to Baron Rothschild and the Jews, he was injured by the Baron being brought forward (laughter); and it was only in deference to the strongly expressed opinion of his friends in the City that he withdrew his refusal, and consented to be a party to this election. It had been said—for slander had no end, and though they put it down, and endeavoured to destroy it, it was ever at “its dirty work again”,—it had been said that it was through Baron Rothschild that Lord John Russell got at the head of the poll. (Laughter). He would say, if it was so, that Christian charity, and Christian loving-kindness to our neighbour was never exceeded by that shown by this Baron Rothschild (a laugh); for he was not satisfied with having got Lord John in, but he got him above the Baron himself. Nay, the Baron, the suicidal Baron (laughter), who saw nothing in this contest but the interest of Lord John, pushed him to the top of the poll, while he placed himself last but one on the poll of his friends. (Laughter). Now, he meant to bring no accusation against his right rev. friend of being actuated by any malignant feeling in this matter. He was led by that which was the cause of many things being said—the love of an epigram and a cheer—to tell them of the delusion under which they laboured as to the cause of Lord John being at the head of the poll. (A laugh.) But now as to the question before the House. He never thought the worse of any question on account of such occurrences as these. He did not think the worse of the abolition of slavery by the Provisional Government, because that Provisional Government thought fit to pass that provisional measure to get popularity with the anti-slavery party. Even so, however interested, however impure might have been the origin of this measure, he would think nothing the worse of the measure itself. At the same time he must declare that there was no law to disqualify the Jew from sitting in Parliament. They had been going on the whole evening, on both sides, arguing as if

the law of the land was that the Jew should not sit in Parliament, and that it excluded him to show that it was a Christian Parliament. There was not the shadow of such a law. There was not even a declaration required from the Jew that he was a Christian. Before taking his seat he would be required to abjure the right of the Pretender, to declare his belief that the heirs of the Electress Sophia were entitled to the throne, and to swear allegiance to the Queen; and, having done so, to add that he swore "on the true faith of a Christian." But that was not calling on him to declare he was a Christian. He was not asked to swear to the truth of certain words and doctrines, but simply to make a declaration, such as he had described, in a particular form of words. Then came the argument, with which he would not say they were nauseated, but of which they had had enough, that if they passed this Bill, the Legislature would be unchristianized; and they were asked on this ground to reject the Bill. Now he need not say to their Lordships that they were not yet come to the point of being unchristianized; but what was become of the House of Commons? Why they were unchristianized already. (Laughter). Would the Commons come to the bar of that House by message, or in any other way, and by their words, acts, or desires, pretend to call themselves a Christian assembly? (A laugh). He did not know what would become of them, but assuredly it was not to be denied that we had a motley sort of Legislation, half infidel, half Christian. (Laughter). Of Her Majesty, he would only say, might God long preserve her in her Christian character to reign over a tolerant and enlightened people. As for the Ministry, they were undoubtedly nearly as unchristian as the Commons. (Laughter). So that he was afraid they must stand before the world as half Christian, half Pagan—a Pagan House of Commons, and a perfectly Christian House of Lords. (Laughter.) He saw little use, therefore, of so much argument about unchristianizing the Legislature. He must observe that the present state of the law was very clumsily adapted to the purposes of keeping a Christian Legislature. One would think that the way to keep the Legislature Christians was to admit nobody into it but those who were Christians. But the test which

was employed for this object had the fault and incurable frailty of all tests, that it kept out the honest man and let in the knave. For the man who would swallow an oath because he had an object to gain, the doors of the Christian Parliament flew open; and while the Jew was excluded, the follower of Juggernaut himself was admitted. But then, the right rev. Prelate said that the moment a Jew was admitted into Parliament, nothing must be said in favour of Christianity in the House of Commons. Why, one would think that the experience of the last nineteen years had been entirely thrown away on the right rev. Prelate. Had there been nothing said in favour of a Protestant establishment in the House of Commons since Catholic emancipation was granted? Why he had himself not only spoken against the Catholic clergy, when he thought their conduct deserved it, but even against the dogmas of the Catholic Church, and he had never heard that any offence had been taken at this freedom of speech. A greater chimera was never imagined than the notion, that because Jews were admitted into Parliament, Members of it were bound to abstain from all freedom of speech in favour of Christianity. He was most anxious that the Church should not be severed from the State; for he thought such a separation would be mischievous to the Church and to the State also. But could it be supposed that there was any risk incurred of such a severance in consequence of the admission of a Jew or two into Parliament? He was convinced that no more safe or politic course could be taken, than to open the doors of the constitution to all. Even as the law at present stood, there was more than one Jew a member of the bar, and he might become Lord Chancellor.

There was no office whatever which a Jew might not fill in Parliament. *It was the doctrine of our law and constitution, that all the rights of the subject, and all the privileges of the subject, and all the enjoyments of the subject, and all the prerogatives of the subject, and all the powers of the subject, ought to be accessible to all subjects who were not debarred by personal disabilities; and that no one was to be debarred from them by the personal disability of happening to have a conscience to which he appealed in matters of the high importance of religious faith.* Did

he, in saying this, consider that it was of no importance that Parliament should henceforth be a Christian body? Did he consider that the Christian character of the Legislature was a matter of indifference? No such thing. He declared that Parliament had been Christian and would continue to be Christian, notwithstanding it meted out justice to the Jews,—just as it had remained Christian after having done justice to the Dissenters and the Roman Catholics. This was propounded to him as a measure which he felt bound to support, in consistency with the principles which he had ever entertained. (Hear, hear.)

The Marquess of Lansdowne replied :—He had not misrepresented the noble Lord (Stanley) when he said that he had voted for a Bill for the admission of the Jews. He voted for such a Bill in 1830, that Bill distinctly relating to seats in Parliament, as well as to other privileges, and he had not accompanied that vote with any intimation of a wish to see that provision altered in Committee; but he now saw cause for changing his opinions. With reference to the statement which he made as to the rights of the Jews, the right rev. Prelate (the Bishop of Oxford) had misunderstood his meaning. What he stated was, *that the Jew, as well as every other subject of the Queen, when he became Her subject, had a right to be eligible to Parliament, if there was no sufficient reason shown to the contrary.* And although the right rev. Prelate made light of the injury done to constituencies by the refusal of the House to receive the person whom they had chosen, he could assure him it was no slight grievance: the exercise of the right was one of those constitutional privileges which were dear to the people of this country, and had been the subject of controversy which had raised a flame from one end of the country to the other. He need not refer him to the Middlesex election; in that case the House of Commons were obliged to rescind the resolution by which they had endeavoured, for a quarter of a century, to deprive the country of this privilege. With reference to the London election, he could assure the House that not one shilling of the expenses of Lord John Russell in that election were paid out of any other pocket than that of Lord J. Russell; and that it was the anxious desire of his noble

friend, during that election, to keep himself entirely separate from Baron Rothschild. In contending for the civil rights of his fellow-subjects, the last consideration of his noble friend, the Member for the City of London, would be one for his own personal advantage. The whole history of his life bore him out in that assertion; and it would be well, if every person in that House, or elsewhere, would imitate his example. And the proof of the approval he had gained by his consistent efforts, was to be found in the fact of his election by the Citizens of London, who had conferred on him the greatest honor which it was in their power to bestow.

Their Lordships then divided; the numbers were—

Content: Present.....	96
Proxies.....	32
	—128
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*Division on the Second Reading of the Jewish Disabilities Bill,
House of Lords, May 25th, 1848.*

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St. Alban's	Fortescue	Granville
Leeds	Spencer	Yarborough
Cleveland	Shrewsbury	Leicester
Argyll	Huntingdon	Zetland
Roxburgh	Suffolk	Auckland
Leinster	Essex	Fitzhardinge
MARQUESESSES.	Scarborough	Stafford
Lansdowne	Fitzwilliam	Bruce
Anglesey	Charlemont	Besborough
Hertford	Craven	Rosebery
Breadalbane	Chichester	Fingal
Londonderry	Grey	Sefton
Donegal	Minto	Ellesmere
Sligo	St. Germans	Kenmare
Claricarde	Morley	Glasgow

VICOUNTS.

Bolingbroke
Exmouth
Canning
Hardinge

BISHOPS.

St. David's
Worcester
Manchester
Hereford

BARONS.

Hastings
Dacre
Camoyo
Beaumont
Vaux
Say and Sele

BARONS.

Arundel
Byron
Montfort
Foley
Suffield
Lyttelton
Wodehouse
Erskine
Manners
Wharncliffe
Brougham
Kinnaird
Poltimore
Dinorben
Denman

BARONS.

Portman
De Mauley
Wrottesley
Sudeley
Stuart de Decies
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Monteagle
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Somerset
Brandon
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Sutherland
Grafton

MARQUESSSES.

Westmeath
Normanby
Headfort

EARLS.

Derby
Thanet

EARLS.

Gosford
Cowper
Cork
Kingston

VICOUNTS.

Melbourne
Falkland

BARONS.

Stourton
Lovatt
Dunalley
Wenlock

BARONS.

Abercromby
Acheson
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Genelg
Carew
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Mostyn
Monson
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Canterbury
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DUKES

Wellington
Athol
Beaufort
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Manchester
Newcastle
Northumberland
Richmond
Buckingham

MARQUESSSES.

Camden
Cholmondeley
Exeter
Downshire
Drogheda
Salisbury
Winchester

EARLS.

Abergavenny
Aberdeen

EARLS.

Eglintoun
Aylesford
Bandon
Bathurst
Beauchamp
Brownlow
Cardigan
Cadogan
Cathcart
Cawdor
Charleville
Clanwilliam
Devon
Dartmouth
Delawarr
Desart
Digby
Ellenborough
Effingham
Erne
Falmouth
Clare
Limerick
Glengall

EARLS.

Hardwicke
Harrowby
Harewood
Kinnoul
Howe
Jersey
Lonsdale
Egmont
Lucan
Malmesbury
Mansfield
Manvers
Mountcashel
Munster
Nelson
Pomfret
Powis
Galloway
Selkirk
Verulam
Wilton
Waldegrave
Winchilsca
Romney

VICOUNTS.

Combermere
Hereford
Hill
Maynard
Strangford
Sidmouth

BISHOPS.

Bangor
Bath and Wells
Carlisle
Chichester
Ely
Exeter
Gloucester
Lichfield
Lincoln
Llandaff
Oxford
Rochester

BISHOPS.

Salisbury
Winchester

BARONS.

Abinger
Bayning
Bolton
Boston
Braybrooke
Crewe
Castlemaine
Churchill
Clinton
Colchester
Crofton
De Tabley
De Ros
Delamere
Farnham
Feversham

BARONS.

Forester
Godolphin
Gray
Hawarden
Kenyon
Lilford
Middleton
Polwarth
Rayleigh
Redesdale
Rollo
Sheffield
Sydney
Skelmersdale
Sondes
Southampton
Stanley
Templemore
Tenterden
Wynford

PROXIES.

DUKE.

Rutland

MARQUESS.

Ely

EARLS.

Mayo
Beverley
Morton
Airlie
Caledon
Stanhope
Leven
Somers
Warwick
Chesterfield
Shannon

EARLS.

Orford
Abingdon
Guildford
Onslow
Courtown
Pembroke
Denbigh

VICOUNTS.

Strathallan
Beresford
O'Neill

BISHOPS.

London
Ripon

BARONS.

Colville
Sherborne
Sinclair
Saltoun
Northwick
De Saumerez
St. John
Grantley
Blayney
Rivers
Carteret
De Lisle

PAIRS FOR THE NIGHT.

Earl of Sandwich
Earl of Haddington
Marquess of Ailsa
Earl of Lauderdale
Earl of Shaftesbury
Lord Clonbrook
Earl of Ranfurley
Duke of Cambridge
Earl of Orkney
Earl of Eldon
Viscount Lake
Earl of Enniskillen
Earl of Rosslyn
Marquess of Ailesbury
Earl of Longford

Lord Elphinstone
Lord Carrington
Lord Willoughby de Eresby
Lord Belhaven
Lord Beauvale
Lord Rossmore
Lord De Freyne
Lord Stafford
Duke of Bedford
Lord Talbot de Malahide
Bishop of Durham
Earl of Radnor
Earl of Lovelace
Lord Langdale
Viscount Exmouth

It will be seen, from the foregoing summary of the Debates on the Jewish Disabilities Bill, that many objections urged against the right of our Jewish fellow-subjects to participate in the privileges of the British Constitution were ably answered in both Houses of Parliament by several of the noble and honorable Members who supported Lord John Russell's measure.

As there are some objections, however, which were brought more prominently forward by the opponents of the Jews, and which have not been so fully answered as might be desired, we may, now that the Bill has been rejected by the House of Lords, dispassionately review those objections.

1. It has been said that "the name Jew shews that all Jews are of a distinct and peculiar nation or country."

2. That "all Jews, like Turks and Infidels, are perpetual enemies of Christians."

3. That "all Jews are aliens."

4. That "all Jews are serfs or bond-men of the Sovereign."

5. That "the Jews have no fixed residence in any Christian country; but, relying on the Prophecies, live in expectation of ultimately returning to Jerusalem."

That some of these opinions are false and groundless, while others of them are at least doubtful and uncertain, is clearly demonstrable.

1 It has been said that the Jews are a distinct or peculiar nation; but the truth is (as Mr. G. C. Lewis justly observed), that "They merely form a separate

race*." Molloy says "A Jew is a name of profession and *not* of country." (*De Jure Maritimo*, p. 282, *Joseph Scaliger ex quo Casaubon, adv. Baron*, p. 191.) And that there were Jews of Antioch, Cyprus, Cyrene, and various other places, we learn from the writings of many eminent men: indeed the Gospels themselves inform us that "there were dwelling at Jerusalem Jews, devout men, out of every nation under Heaven." (*Acts*, chap. ii. v. 5.)

2. We have high authority, also, to prove that Jews ought not to be regarded in the light of perpetual enemies of the Christians. Lord Keeper Lyttleton says—"Turks and Infidels are not *perpetui inimici*, nor is there a particular enmity between them and us; but this is a common error founded on a groundless opinion; for though there be a difference between our religion and theirs, that does not oblige us to be enemies to their persons; they are the creatures of God, and of the same kind as we are, and it would be a sin in us to hurt them." (*Lord K. Lyttleton's Reading on the 27, E. 3. 17. MS.*) And in a case which occurred, 36th, Charles the Second, being an action brought by a Jew against a Christian, the defendant pleaded that *the plaintiff was a Jew, and that all Jews were perpetual enemies of the King and our religion*; but the Court overruled the plea in favor of the plaintiff. (*Lilly's Pract. Reg. v. 11, p. 4†.*)

* Speech of Mr. G. C. Lewis on the Jewish Disabilities Bill. (*Parl. Deb. House of Commons, May 4th, 1848.*)

† "A work of great authority, and can be relied on."—*Ch. Justice Willes.*

3. That all Jews are not aliens, is equally evident. Lord Coke has defined an alien to be “one born in a strange country, and out of the ligeance of the Sovereign.” (1 *Co. Litt.* sec. 198. 7 *Co.* 18, *Calvin’s case.*) Another great legal commentator, Blackstone, has declared a similar opinion. (1 *Comm.* 374.) Professor Wooddeson distinctly lays it down, that “the issue of an alien, born within the realm, are accounted natural subjects.” (*View of the Laws of England*, vol. 1, p. 386.) And the *Statute 11 and 12, Wm. III*, cap. 6, enacts, in most comprehensive terms, that “natural-born subjects may derive a title to lands by descent through their parents, *or any other ancestor or ancestors, either lineal or collateral, though such ancestors were aliens**.” It is quite manifest, therefore, that, according to the present law of England, members of the Jewish persuasion, who are natural-born subjects of the Crown of England, may inherit and hold land: *foreign Jews*, however, are in this country on the same footing as aliens; and cannot, unless naturalized, hold land against the Sovereign (*see Foudron v. Cowdry*, 3 *Mylne and Keen’s Ch. Repts.* 385); although such persons may hold *personal* estate. In the case of *De Hourmelin v. Shelton*, that eminent Equity Judge, Lord Langdale, said—“*Aliens may take land*, although *they cannot hold it* against the Sovereign; and it has been considered to be in conformity with the policy of

* This Act, as well as some others, seems to have been totally overlooked by the opponents of the Jewish Disabilities Bill.

the law that aliens should be interested in the English Stocks or Funds." (*Vide 1 Bevan's Reports in the Rolls Court, tempo Ld. Langdale, p. 91*.*) The erudite judgment of Lord Langdale decided in this case that, "where *real estate* is vested in trustees by a testator and directed to be sold, the legatees, *although aliens*, will be held entitled to their share of the purchase money." (See also the judgment of his Lordship in the more recent case of *Masters v. the Marquis de Croismaire, Rolls Court, 12th of June, 1848.*) Consequently the Jews of the present day, who are the children or grand-children of natural-born English subjects, cannot be deemed aliens.

4. It is asserted that anciently all Jews in England were villeins or bond-men—that they and all that belonged to them were the King's—and that the Jews of the present day should be considered as holding a similar position; but this opinion is likewise erroneous. We admit that in former days a great portion of the English people were not more free than serfs; for it is generally agreed by historical and legal writers that more than half the lands of England were anciently held in villenage, and the greater part of the inhabitants were consequently in a state of

* The Court of Chancery also possesses authority over the property which foreigners have in the English Funds, and will exercise control over it, although the owners are out of the jurisdiction of the Court. (*Vide Atkyn's Cas. in Chancery, p. 18.*)

vassalage* ;—and it is clear that this condition existed down to a late period ; for in the reign of Henry the Eighth (A.D. 1514) we find that this king manumitted two of his villeins, who were native subjects born in Cornwall ; and in Rymer there is a commission of Queen Elizabeth (A.D. 1574) to Lord Burghley and Sir Walter Mildmay, for enquiring into the lands, tenements, goods and chattels of all Her Majesty's bond-men and bond-women in Cornwall, Devon, Somersetshire, and Gloucester, such as were by blood in a *slavish* condition, by *being born in any of Her Majesty's manors*, and to compound with all or any such bond-men or bond-women for their freedom†. A villein could acquire no property either in lands or goods. A villein could not be vouched or be a witness‡ ; and villeins were not protected by Magna Charta ; *nullus liber homo capiatur vel imprisonetur, &c.* was cautiously expressed to exclude the poor villein :—for, as Lord Coke tells us, the lord may beat his villein, and if it be even without cause, he cannot have any remedy or redress§. Hence it would appear that in remote times serfdom appertained to the native-born subjects of England, and not to aliens.

In the earlier times, all the Jews in England were

* Glanville, Bracton, Spelman.

† Barrington's Obs. on Stat. 1, Richard II.

‡ Glanville, Bracton, Viner's Abr. v. xxii, p. 67.

§ In the 15th year of Richard II, the Barons petitioned the King that "No villeyne should send his son to school ;" to which the King gave the proper answer of *s'avisera*, which is a denial. (See *Barrington on the Ancient Statutes*, p. 190.)

aliens; and we have already shewn that Jews could purchase and convey land—could appear as witnesses—act as jurors—and were even recognized as creditors by Magna Charta; consequently their condition was not that of villeins. And surely it cannot be maintained that, because the Jews were in barbarous times subjected to great extortions on the part of the Crown, we should consider they were bond-men;—for history but too fully testifies that our early Sovereigns oppressed, according to their royal pleasure, their own subjects, as well as the subjects of foreign Princes.

King John, says our historians, devoured the revenues of the Church, the peers, and the poor together. When the monks of Canterbury had displeased him about the election of their Archbishop, he made that a pretext for seizing on all their goods and converting them to his own use; and presently after this, upon the like displeasure, he deputed many bishopricks, abbeys, and priories into the hands of lay-men, and confiscated all their revenues*. Whenever, too, the Barons murmured at his exactions, he required from them as proofs of their allegiance the surrender of their children as hostages; and in the ancient Rolls there are documents proving that these young nobles were compelled to wait as menials at Windsor and Winchester, and serve the Queen at her meals; some of these noble children were also placed in confinement and starved to death; which acts clearly prove

* Baker's Chron.

that in those times Sovereigns considered all their subjects and all that belonged to them to be positively their property* ; and without multiplying instances of this kind, we may observe generally that many of our early princes treated their subjects in a similar manner†. It is, therefore, not surprising (to use the language of Rabbi Elias) that those Princes, who destroyed their own natural subjects, would not spare the Jews ; but yet this affords no argument whatever in support of the assertion—that the Jews in England were serfs or bond-men.

5. It appears evident from the interpretations put on the Prophecies by the most erudite commentators, that the idea alleged to be entertained by the Jews respecting their eventual return to Jerusalem, is far too doubtful for any Christian to advance as an argument against the admission of our Jewish fellow-subjects to the full enjoyment of their temporal rights.

In the book of Genesis (*chap. XLIX, v. 10*) it is written that—“The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law given from between his feet, until Shiloh come ; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.” Upon this Prophecy, the learned Bishop Patrick says—“Wagenseil, after the examination of every particular word in the verse, thus sums up the sense of it—The royal power and authority which shall be established in the posterity of Judah, shall not

* Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. II.

† “The confirmation of Magna Charta by Edward I was occasioned by his having rifled all the monasteries in that year.” (*Camel. Ang. Norm.* p. 165.)

be taken from them until the coming of the Messiah ; but when He is come, there shall be no distinction between the Jews and other nations who shall be obedient to the Messiah. And after that, the posterity of Judah shall have neither king nor ruler of their own." (*See Confut. Carm. R. Lipman, p. 29.*) And another learned ecclesiastical commentator and dignitary of our Church remarks, that—" We so find this verse interpreted in the *Jerusalem Targum*, as well as in the *Targums of Rabbi Jonathan Ben Uzziel*, and of *Onkelos*, than which there is not better authority among any of the Jewish writers." (*Bishop Clayton's "Enquiry into the time of the Coming of the Messiah and the Restoration of the Jews," p. 89*.*)

Dr. Nathaniel Lardner, who also deeply investigated this subject, says—"Some imagine that, upon their general conversion to the Christian faith, the Jews will be established again in the land of Judea, and that Jerusalem, with its temples, will be rebuilt with great splendour and magnificence; but that supposition is liable to many difficulties and objections†. The

* The word *Targum* signifies an *Interpretation*; and these works are so called, from being a collection of those interpretations, which were given to the Scriptures of the Hebrew Bible by the most learned Doctors or Rabbins of the Jewish nation. The two most famous *Targums* that have come down to our times are those of Jonathan and Onkelos. It is supposed that R. Jonathan Ben Uzziel, who was bred in the school of Hillel, lived under the reign of Herod the Great; and that the *Targum* of Onkelos is the older of the two. And, according to the opinion of some Rabbins, the reason why Jonathan paraphrased only the Prophets, was because that Onkelos had executed his *Targum* on Pentateuch with so much success as to render any further paraphrase needless.

† See the sentiments of Origen, Chrysostom, and others, in Grotius upon Luke **xxi**, 24; and Eusebe's on Psalm 105, al. 106, p. 690. (*Edit. Montf.*)

Gospel revelation does not encourage such a state of things; moreover, our Lord plainly declared that all distinctions of place should cease under the Gospel; and that worship would no longer be peculiarly acceptable at Jerusalem or any other city." (*Vide Dr. Lardner's "Christian Religion confirmed by the Estate of the Jews."*)

Now, as the structure of the Christian faith is founded on the veracity of the Jewish Scriptures, it is incumbent upon all those who call themselves Christians, to uphold their own system, rather than assist (as too frequently has been the case) in circulating erroneous opinions which may be entertained on this subject by others than Christians. In the debate on the Jewish Disabilities Bill, it was said that "the marvellous, the miraculous peculiarity of the Jewish race, was, that they looked forward to the time when they should be called together by God, *and when their religion should be the religion of the whole world**." But assuredly that is not the construction put upon the Prophecies even by the Jewish interpreters themselves, if we may believe our own authorities, the *Targums*: neither is it the construction put upon the prophetic portions of the sacred writings, as regards their restoration to God's favour, by the Jewish writers of the *Talmud*†. In that part of the *Talmud* entitled *Shanedrim*, section

* Speech of Sir F. Thesiger. (*Parl. Deb. House of Commons, May 4th, 1848.*)

† The word *Talmud* signifies the same thing as *Doctrine* or *Discipline*; and therefore the work which goes under this title contains a collection of all the traditions of the Jews, which relate either to their Doctrine or Discipline,

Helec, Rabbi Abba declares, that the city mentioned in *Ezekiel*, ch. XLVIII, v. 30, ought to be *spiritually* understood of *that city which is in the presence of God*: and the Gloss of *R. Solomon* saith that the city mentioned towards the end of *Ezekiel* is to be understood of *that Jerusalem* which is above*.

Our own Christian commentators, guided by the light of the New Testament, with still greater fulness demonstrate the views of the Hebrew Rabbins on the restoration of the Jews. “Under the Gospel,” says that profound Hebraist, Dr. Lightfoot, “there is no distinction of Jew and Gentile;” and the same learned Divine, in commenting on the words of St. Luke, chap. XXI, v. 24, “And Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled,” says, “Not that Jerusalem should be built again when the fulness of the Gentiles is come in; for how often does the Gospel gainsay such distinctiveness and peculiarity?”

In another place, the same erudite writer observes—“The calling of the Jews shall be in the places of their residence among Christians, *and their calling shall not cause them to change place*; but *condition*: and multitudes of those places of the Old Testament that are applied to the people of the Jews, and their *earthly* prosperity, do purposely intend the Church of the Gentiles and their spiritual happiness†.” Fleury observes—“The heritage which Christ purchased with his blood

* See Revelations, chap. XXI.

† Lightfoot's Works, vol. I.

is his Church collected from all nations, and the land which he promised is the *heavenly country**." And Fuller, in his "*Pisgaah Sight of Palestine*," says:—"More probable, therefore, is it, that the Jews shall not come back to their land, but their land shall come back to them; I mean those several places in Europe, Asia, and Africa, wherein they reside, shall on their conversion become as comfortable unto them as ever the land of Canaan was to their ancestors." The inference therefore to be drawn from those passages and opinions, is not that the Jewish religion should become the religion of the whole world, but that when the rest or the greater portion of the world has become converted to Christianity, "when the fullness of the Gentiles is come in," then the Jews also will become converts to Christianity, "and so all Israel shall be saved." Rom. XI, v. 26. "The words of Rom. ch. XI, v. 26, are so plainly positive," says Heylin, "that they need no commentary; or if they did, we have the general consent of the ancients, besides the constant current of modern writers, who cherish the glad hope of the conversion of the Jews to the Gospel which the Apostle there doth aim at—*Origin, Athanasius, Hierome, Augustine, Chrysostome*, for the primitive times: *Beda* and *Hugo Cardinalis*, in the times succeeding; *Gorram* and *Thomas Aquinas*, for those of Rome: *Calvin, Beza, Bullinger*, and *Peter Martyr*, for the Reformed

* In this sense the celebrated philosopher, Lock, also seems to have understood the words of St. Paul; for he says: "And so Israel shall be converted to the Christian faith, and the whole nation become the people of God."

Churches, and divers others of great note, so expound that text*.”

We are not unaware that, from a tradition to be found in the Talmud, under the head *Rosch Haschana*, some Jewish authorities are of opinion that the coming of the Messiah would take place six thousand years after the creation of the world ; and indeed some Christian Divines, from the interpretation they put upon the vision of Daniel, chap. vii, have entertained a similar opinion respecting the coming of the Messiah in his state of exaltation and glory ; but who of mortals can venture to say how near at hand the time may be, when the Prophecies foreshadowing the restoration of the Jews shall be fulfilled ? That knowledge is one of the counsels of God, which is not to be penetrated into by man : “it is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power,” was the saying of our Lord himself. Acts, ch. i, v. 7. One thing is quite certain : as the course of time must bring us nearer to the termination of our worldly existence, the time when “all Israel shall be saved” must now be nearer by many ages than when those Prophecies were first announced ; for “the world hath lost its youth,” saith Esdras, “and the times begin to wax old†.”

* Heylin's *Cosmographia*, p. 763 ; and see Dr. Willet's “*De generali et novissima judæorum vocatione.*”

† “The History of Prophecy,” says Lord Bacon, “consists of two relatives, the prophecy and the accomplishment ; whence the nature of it requires that every scripture prophecy be compared with the event, through all the ages of the world, for the better confirmation of the faith, and the better information of the church

That the veil which obscures the spiritual vision of the Hebrews will ultimately be removed, and that the darkness which enshrouds them will be eventually turned to marvellous light, the Scriptures give us the strongest grounds for confident hope and expectation; He, whose counsels of old are faithfulness and truth, hath spoken it, that—"He will destroy the veil that is spread over all nations, will wipe away tears from off all faces; and the rebuke of his people shall he take away from off all the earth." The promises respecting the restoration of the Jews to Divine favour, declared in Holy Writ, are both numerous and remarkable; but, in our humble opinion, one of the most striking (but one of those promises which does not seem to have been heretofore adverted to, as applying more particularly to their conversion in Christian lands) is that afforded by the Prophet *Zechariah*, chap. x—"I will strengthen the house of Judah, and I will save the house of Joseph; for I have mercy upon them; *and they shall be as though I had not cast them off*; For I am the Lord their God, and will hear them." "And *I will sow them among the people*; and they shall remember me *in far countries*; *and they shall live with their children, and turn*

with regard to the interpretation of prophecy not yet fulfilled. But here we must allow the latitude which is peculiar and familiar to divine prophecies; which have their completion not only at stated times, but in succession, as participating of the nature of their author, with whom a thousand years are but as one day, and therefore not fulfilled punctually at once, but have a growing accomplishment through many ages; though the height or fullness of them may refer to a single age or moment." (*De Augmentis Scientiarum.*)

again.” “And I will strengthen them in the Lord; and they shall walk up and down in his name, saith the Lord.” And on these passages commentators are of opinion that—“God speaks here, not of himself, but concerning Christ.”

When, indeed, we contemplate the great spread of the Gospel which has of late years taken place throughout almost all lands, when we reflect that the Word of God has found admission into nations the most remote, and the gates of which were, until within a few years, almost hermetically sealed against its introduction (as China, for instance, and Japan), who can say how near we may be to that time when the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in, and *when all Israel shall be saved*. To speculate concerning the manner in which the Jews shall be converted (says a talented writer), and to be minutely particular as to every circumstance which will accompany their return, is unwarranted alike by reason and by revelation, and tends to throw discredit on the Scriptures, by mixing such sick man’s dreams with the oracles of truth. *But every active exertion in favour of either the temporal or spiritual condition of the Jews is truly Christian*, and is according to the mind of the Apostles.—*Douglas’s Advancement of Society and Knowledge in Religion*, p. 160. Religion cannot flourish (says another able writer) where religious liberty is not enjoyed. The want of religious liberty, in nearly all countries of the world, is the grand hindrance of the propagation of the Gospel at this day. *Memoirs of Dr. Bogue by*

Dr. Bennett, p. 169; and see *Bishop Jeremy Taylor on Toleration*. “From all these things we may learn,” says Dr. A. Clarke, that “*the Church which tolerates, encourages, and practises persecution, under the pretence of concern for the purity of the faith, and zeal for God’s glory, is not the Church of Christ*; and that no man can be of such Church, without endangering his salvation. *Let it ever be the glory of the Protestant Church, and especially of the Church of England, that it discountenances and abhors all persecution on a religious account; and that it has diffused the same benign temper through that State with which it is associated.*” The opinions, therefore, of both Jewish and Christian Commentators shew there are strong grounds for concluding that the return of the Jews to *Jerusalem of old* is an erroneous idea; the Jerusalem to which they will be gathered being, most probably, the New Jerusalem which John saw—“that great city, the Holy Jerusalem.” Rev. xxi. 23. Again, when we reflect that the Jews scattered throughout the nations are resident chiefly in Christian lands, and that in Christian lands most of their children are born, surely we may indulge a hope that the conversion of the Jews will, as our ablest Commentators infer, take place in those Christian countries wherein they may have settled. And assuredly we should not cling to that narrow-minded and unchristian policy which would induce us to deprive our Jewish fellow-subjects of a just participation in those immunities of citizenship which we ourselves, under our free Constitution, so happily

enjoy. Should we not, on the contrary, seriously consider whether, by withholding from the Jews things *temporal*, we may not be retarding their acquisition of things *spiritual*? Who can tell whether there may not be Hebrews amongst us who believe in, although they make no open confession of, the truth of the Gospel? for is there not reason to conclude that at an early period of Christianity there were some who believed, although they did not avow their belief? * England stands confessedly pre-eminent amongst the nations of the earth for the zealous and successful exertions which she has made, not only in establishing and sustaining the Christian religion in all its apostolic purity at home, but also for extending its benign influence abroad, by the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures; and how additionally favoured would she prove, should she ultimately be found to be one of those "*far countries*" where the Jews shall remember the Lord, where they shall live with their *Christian* children, *turn again to their God*, and walk up and down in his name †. We may further observe, that there are others, also, among the opponents of the Jews, who allege, that on account of the ancient disobedience of that nation, we moderns should punish their children's children; but surely, even if the offended King of

* "Nevertheless, among the chief Rulers also, *many believed on Him*; but because of the Pharisees, *they did not confess Him*, lest they should be put out of the synagogue." (*John*, chap. XII. v. 42.)

† "They forget a main point of the Church's glory," says Dr. Leighton, "that do not daily pray for the conversion of the Jews."—Archbishop Leighton's Sermon on *Isaiah*, chap. LX. v. 1.

Heaven hath declared that he would visit the iniquity of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation, the feeble, unauthorised creature has no right to express even a desire to visit, with a severity more unbending than the wrath of God himself, the sins of gone-by generations on their latest descendants to the end of time itself, forgetting that our Heavenly Father has promised that “he will not always chide, nor will he keep his anger for ever.” For such a course of severity we most assuredly have no warrant; as the Scriptures, on the contrary, strongly inculcate—line upon line, and precept upon precept throughout—charity and good-will towards all men, to the entire exclusion of revenge. “Avenge not yourselves,” says St. Paul, (*Rom.* XII. 19.) “but rather give place unto wrath; for it is written, vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord.” That we are expressly forbidden to condemn one another in spiritual matters, is unreservedly declared in the 14th chapter of the same Epistle, where the Apostle is rebuking the zealously-exclusive spirit of some of the Roman converts:—“Who art thou that judgest another man’s servant?—To his own master he standeth or falleth.” Again, the same Apostle, with all his desire to preach Christ and Him crucified, is yet forced to acknowledge the high position which the Jews held in God’s favour, and their consequent title to high respect from the nations, so different from the obloquy and oppression under which they have suffered in modern times. St. Paul opens the third chapter of the above epistle with the following very

remarkable words :—“ What advantage then hath the Jew, or what profit is there of circumcision ? Much every way, because that unto them were committed the oracles of God.”—And again, at the ninth verse—“ What then ? are we better than they ? No, in no wise : for we have before proved both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin.”—All of which goes to demonstrate, that Gentile converts or Christians, like ourselves, are in nowise better or superior to those people who, in ancient times, enjoyed the high honour of being in charge of the oracles of God ; but rather that they possess great advantages every way, and are at least, as the most ancient and highly favoured of God’s people, fully entitled to the respect and sympathy of those who profess pure and reformed Christianity. It was, indeed, the inscrutable will of God that the Jews should be scattered over the earth, and their temple and city destroyed, as our Saviour had predicted, many years before the event ; but in no part of the Sacred Writings has it been said that this ancient people should not be received kindly by other nations, protected from wrong, or admitted as subjects ;—nay, on the contrary, the inference is, that they should be received, and suffered to dwell in peace amongst the strangers, possessing property, intermarrying, and participating in the rights of citizenship. And on this point we have the express testimony of Jeremiah :—“ Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, unto all that are carried away captives from Jerusalem unto Babylon. Build ye houses, *and dwell in them* ; and plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them : Take

ye wives, and beget sons and daughters; and take wives for your sons, and give your daughters to husbands, that they may bear sons and daughters; that ye may be increased there, and not diminished. And seek the peace of the city, and pray unto the Lord for it: for in the peace thereof ye shall have peace*.”

The most accredited authorities inform us, that, from the earliest times, the Jews were not only kindly received into, and protected and honoured by, many of the most celebrated civilized nations, but that they were also allowed to acquire property, and enjoy the same privileges as the native-born subjects of the States into which they were admitted. That they were treated with deference under the Assyrian and Persian empires, appears from the cases of Jehoiachin, and many more in Babylon (*Jer.* chap. LII.); and Daniel, Mordecai, and others, as we learn from the books of Daniel and Esther. In Babylon and Media, Alexander permitted them to observe their own laws and customs. In acknowledgment of the services they had done him against the Egyptians, *he made them free of the City of Alexandria*, granting them all

* One of the questions submitted to the celebrated *Sanhedrim*, assembled at Paris in the year 1806, was, “Can a Jewess marry a Christian, and a Jew a Christian woman?” and the answer given was—“The Law does not say that a Jewess cannot marry a Christian, nor a Jew a Christian woman.” (*Vide Tama's Transactions of the Paris Sanhedrim*, p. 155.) We find a very early instance of the marriages of Hebrews with others than persons of their own nation and belief, in the cases of Joseph, who in Egypt married Aseuah; and Moses, who married Zipporah, the Midian. And it is stated in an ably conducted and (as regards all matters relative to the interest of the Jewish people) authoritative publication, that “At Hesse-Cassel, the Chamber of Deputies accepted a motion of the Deputy Pfeiffer, by which *intermarriges between Jews and Christians* are granted.” (See *The Jewish Chronicle*, vol. IV. p. 645.)

manner of privileges in common with the Greeks themselves, and allowed them to call themselves Macedonians.—(*Josephus*, book II. ch. 18.)

The kings who succeeded Alexander, as Seleucus, and many of the Ptolemies, followed the same liberal course. (Vide *Prideaux*, book VIII.) And Josephus, speaking of Ptolemy Soter, states that “ he carried away a great many captives out of the mountainous part of Judea, from about Jerusalem and Samaria, which he transported into Egypt ; *and as he knew that the Jews* (proved by their fidelity to Darius) were *most faithful in the observance of oaths and covenants*, he distributed many of them into garrisons and places of trust, on their oath of fidelity to him, granting them also immunities and privileges in Alexandria, in common with the citizens of Macedonia.” The Romans likewise held the Jews in high consideration, and on many of them conferred the honor of knighthood ; and by the Kings of Asia also they were greatly esteemed and honoured, both for their good faith, and skill in military matters : for Josephus further informs us, that Seleucus Nicator *made them citizens in all the cities he built in Asia, and in the Lower Syria, and even in the metropolis of Antioch, and invested them with privileges equal to those enjoyed by the Macedonians and Greeks*. It appears also, that, even in more recent times, Jews have been received and protected by Gentile nations. The Venetians, then the most commercial State extant, received them with kindness ; and on the occasion of their having been abused and ill-treated, owing to the circulation of one of those false

reports so frequently promulgated against them by “the bigots of the iron time,” the Doge and Senate made a memorable and creditable decree for their future protection.*

And the Tuscan Princes (those unequalled judges and patrons of the arts and of commerce) not only naturalized them, and empowered them to purchase estates, but even granted them the rights of franchise, and the benefits of Courts of Judicature, and it was in consequence of those prudential concessions to the Jews, that Leghorn flourished and became the most prosperous commercial city in all Italy.†

That the Jews sought and obtained a refuge in Poland, at a very remote period, is shewn by the writings of Grabowski, Vincent Kadlubek, Stanislas Hugo, and Carmoly. In that country they were also hospitably received and protected, and the Polish Princes conferred on them many important privileges; and we likewise find it testified by letters patent of the thirteenth century (A. D. 1203 and 1207) that the Jews could then hold landed property, for those ordinances recognize them as possessors of villages *by hereditary right*. In 1264, Boleslas, Prince of Great Poland, granted various privileges to the Israelites,

* This Decree, endorsed *Data in nostro Ducali Palatio, Die Aprilis Indicatione 8, 1475*, is amongst the Archives of the Pretorial Chancery at Padua, Roll. 118, Reg. M.

† Article XXIX of the Privileges granted to the Jews by the Grand Duke of Tuscany (Ferdinand I), A. D. 1593, is as follows:—“*We grant you all privileges, power, and favours, that our Christian subjects of the cities of Florence and Pisa enjoy.*”

and those immunities were afterwards increased by Casimer the Great.* “ It was owing to the wise laws of this great Prince, over the execution of which he carefully watched, that the Jews, decimated as they were in Germany, and persecuted throughout the whole of Europe, came to seek an asylum on the borders of the Vistula. *There they founded colonies and cities, established factories, and enriched themselves, at the same time enriching the country. It was the Jews exclusively who occupied themselves with the establishment of manufactories, and the carrying on of all trades, finding both the money and the raw materials.*

This was the period when the Jews established immense storehouses, called ‘*Kazimierz*,’ from the name of their royal benefactor ; and of which the ruins are yet to be seen between Cracovy and Lublin. The stupendous building at Cracovy, which bears the name of ‘*Sukiennica*,’ because there cloth was manufactured for the whole kingdom, claims the admiration of the traveller for its magnificence, and bears testimony to the noble generosity of the wise king†.

And Czacki asserts, that the capital requisite for the erection of seventy towns, which Casimir founded, was furnished to him by Polish and foreign Jews. “ During this worthy monarch’s reign,” says the same writer, “ the Christians did not despise the Jews ; they all prospered under the protective wing of liberty,

* This Prince was surnamed the Great, not more for his military exploits than for his great love of peace ; his magnificence in founding churches and hospitals ; and rendering to every one impartial justice.

† Vide Hollænderski’s “ *Les Israelites le Pologne.*”

they praised and thanked their Creator, *the Christian in his church, and the Jew in his synagogue*, for the happiness they enjoyed of living in the same country, and being ruled by the same justice.* ”

In France, also, the Jews enjoyed many privileges, particularly the right of purchasing land. By an ordinance of Henry II (1550), they were declared capable of purchasing, inheriting, and enjoying, in that Sovereign's dominions, real estates, *come de vrais Regnicoles et Sujets du Roy*. In 1574, Henry III, in 1656, Louis XIV, and in 1723 and 1728, Louis XV, renewed and confirmed these privileges, and also exempted the Jews from procuring patents of naturalization ; and, through this politic course, Bourdeaux, the chief residence of the Israelites, became one of the most important commercial ports in the French dominions.

In Holland, Belgium, and America—indeed, in almost all civilized States—the Jews, as we have before observed, have been not only permitted to reside, but have also enjoyed many important immunities. In fact, in whatever countries the Jews have been encouraged to settle, and have been kindly treated, their residence has tended to improve commerce ; and, on the other hand, we apprehend there would be but little difficulty in shewing, that every country wherein they have been cruelly treated, subsequently suffered the severest visitations—verifying, as it were, the words of Zechariah, that “ he who toucheth them, toucheth the apple of his eye.”

* Czachi's Dissertation on the Jews, “ *Rozprawa o Zydach*.”

We have already shewn that *in England the Jews have had, from the most remote period, greater privileges conferred on them than any other class of strangers*; and, however much ordinary readers may differ on the point, it will be admitted at all events by every sound lawyer, that Jews, the liege-subjects of the British Sovereign, are capable of purchasing, inheriting, and conveying real as well as personal estate.

Throughout the recent Debates on the Jewish Disabilities' Bill, it was acknowledged that the native-born Jews of England may become solicitors, magistrates, sheriffs, aldermen, mayors, barristers, and recorders; so, also, they may be plaintiffs or defendants at law or in equity—are qualified to act as jurors—and consequently deemed competent, by the Law of England, to decide questions affecting the interests, liberties, or even the lives, of their fellow-subjects, or questions affecting the rights and prerogatives of the Crown—and are likewise entitled to vote at vestries, and present to advowsons.* In addition to these important privileges, Jews may exercise the right of franchise, and freely give their votes for Parliamentary representatives;—nay, they may even be

* In *Edenborough v. The Archbishop of Canterbury*, Lord Chancellor Eldon was of opinion, that *Jews* were entitled to vote in the election of a Vicar, although *Roman Catholics* were not. And at the next election, votes were *admitted or rejected*, in accordance with the opinion of that great Judge.—(Vide *Russell's Chancery Reports*, vol. II, p. 111). And in *Israel v. Simmonds*, which was an Action respecting a Jewish Synagogue, it was objected for the defendant, that such an establishment was altogether *unlawful*; but Lord Chief Justice Tenterden held, that a Synagogue was a *lawful* religious establishment, and *overruled* the objection. (See 2 *Starkie*, p. 356.)

themselves elected Members of Parliament, there being no ordinance, statute, or legal decision to the contrary. In the face of all this, and notwithstanding all these conceded privileges, so clearly given by the laws and constitution of England to the native-born Jews, it is still argued, that a British subject, because he happens to be of the Jewish persuasion, cannot take his seat in our Legislature. It will naturally be asked how is this? The answer is, that as the Oath of Abjuration is directed to be taken by all Members of Parliament,—as that Oath concludes with the words “on the true faith of a Christian,”—and as these words cannot be subscribed to by a Member of the Jewish persuasion, and cannot be omitted in administering the oath—consequently no Jew can be admitted into Parliament. We consider, however, that this opinion is erroneous, and that the specific words might, with great propriety, be omitted, in administering the oath to a Jew, and for the following reasons:—“The concluding words of the Oath of Abjuration, “on the true faith of a Christian,” are but *formal words*, and should be adapted to the religious persuasion of the party taking the oath; the rule in such cases being, that the party taking the Oath is to be sworn according to his own manner, form, and religious belief (subscribing of course to the substance of the oath), and that words which are repugnant to his religious tenets may be omitted. On this point there are many high authorities to be found amongst the *Jurisperitii*.

“The absurdity is manifest,” says Puffendorf, “of swearing by any thing which we do not look upon as

Divine ;” and again, when speaking of the *formal part of an oath*, he says:—“ That part of *the form in oaths* under which God is invoked as a witness, or as an avenger, *is to be accommodated to the religious persuasion which the swearer entertains of God* ; it being vain and insignificant to compel a man to swear by a God whom he doth not believe, and therefore doth not revere. No one, indeed, thinks himself bound to the Divine Majesty in any other words, or under any other titles, than what are agreeable to the doctrines of his own religion ; which, in his judgment, is the only true mode of worship.” And to show that accepting an oath in such a form does not implicate the conscience of a party requiring or administering it, the same eminent Legist says : “ Yet, when a person requiring an oath from another, accepts it under a form agreeable to that worship which the swearer holds for true, and he himself for false, he cannot in the least be said thereby to approve of that worship. Thus, a *Christian*, when he admits of the *oath of a Jew*, doth on no account subscribe to his opinion.”—*Puffendorf’s Law of Nature and Nations*, Book iv.

Here we have the opinion of one of the most learned and famous civilians ; and this opinion has met the concurrence of the most celebrated theologians and lawyers of modern times. That eminent Divine, Dr. Saunderson, in his Lectures delivered to the University of Oxford, on the Nature and Obligation of Oaths, says, “ *It is a grievous sin unduly to exact an oath of another.*—And he certainly *unduly* exacts an oath, who urges by authority or induces another *to take an*

oath which he knows to be contrary to the dictates of his conscience." Lord Hardwicke said, "*It has been the wisdom of all nations to administer such oaths as are agreeable to the notion of the persons taking the oath, and this does not at all affect the conscience of the person administering, nor does it in any respect adopt such religion.*"—1 *Atk. Cha. Cas.* p. 50.

And another eminent Judge (Chief Baron Smith), when treating of the legal competency of parties with reference to their religious belief, observes—“A Gentoo’s belief possessing the requisites to create competency, he accordingly is permitted to be sworn. *But God forbid that we should not shrink from the impiety of swearing him on the Gospels.* A Mahometan believes in God; in an hereafter of reward and punishment; and in the sanction of an oath; he may be sworn, but *not upon the Gospels*; conformably, therefore, to the position of Lord Mansfield, that “persons not of the Christian persuasion are to be sworn according to their own form.” (1 *Atk.* 32.) The tenor of a Moor’s oath in Spain was, “As he hoped to be saved by the contents of the Koran* ;” and in the case of *Fachina v. Sabine*, it was held at the Council, in the presence of the two Chief Justices, that a Turk might give evidence, and ought to be sworn on the Koran.†

Judaism approximates much more closely than Mahomedanism to Christian Truth ;—“for the Jew ac-

* Selden, tom. II. p. 1470.

† Strange’s Reports, 1104. Morgan’s Case, Leach, 59, 64.

knowledges the same Jehovah, the great I AM, whom we ourselves adore; he looks for the triumphant coming of a *Messiah* as we do also: but, blind to the Prophecies, he comprehends not the promises of an all-sufficient atonement therein announced. One of this persuasion, accordingly, may not be sworn upon the Gospels;—for to adjure the God of the New Testament would be an act of Christian worship, and a dereliction of the Jewish faith. The law does not require orthodoxy, as a *sine quá non*, for the admission of testimony to be given *tactis Evangeliiis*. On the contrary, theory will admit, and a sound discretion of practice may require, considerable indulgence and laxity in this respect.*”

Why is not a Turk permitted to be sworn on the Gospels? “Because,” says Sir Matthew Hale, “he possibly might think himself under no obligation, if so sworn.”—(2 *Pleas of the Crown*, 279.) And, “it would be absurd,” observed Lord Chief Justice Willes, “for one to swear according to the Christian oath, which he does not believe; and therefore, out of necessity, he must be allowed to swear according to his own notion of an oath.”—(1 *Atk.* 46.)

Similar opinions were entertained and acted upon by the Judges in the case of *Lopez v. Nunnes*, (cited 1 *Atk.*); for the Commission which issued out of the

* “Tracts on Legal and other Subjects,” by the late Chief Baron Sir W. C. Smith, Bart.

Exchequer directed that *if any of the parties were Jews*, they should be sworn *supra Vetus Testamentum* only. Indeed it is obvious, that no Christian magistrate can, with safety to his own conscience, administer an oath to any person contrary to such person's religious belief; for the sin would be as heinous on the party administering the oath, as on the party taking the obligation: no mistaken sense of duty could justify any officer administering an oath under such circumstances; "for what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?"*

Such are the principles which have been acted on by the most civilized nations, and by our own more particularly, as regards the Jews. We have already shewn that as early as the reigns of Richard the First and King John, as well as in subsequent reigns, whenever a Jew was permitted to take an oath, he was allowed to do so according to his own religious *form and belief*. And we have high legal authority also to show, that the Jews from the earliest period were not only sworn on the Old Testament, but that such *formal words* of the oath, *as were not in accordance with their religious persuasion*, were actually *omitted, and other words substituted*, in administering the oath

* Our Judicial Records fully prove that the learned Judges of the Law and Equity Courts, have invariably deferred to the religious tenets of the parties to whom oaths have been administered, and surely there is no valid reason for pursuing a different course in administering Oaths to Members of Parliament.

to members of the Jewish persuasion. Selden, an unquestionable authority on all matters relating to the laws and customs of the Jews, recites, from a Roll in the Tower, that "In the 9th of Edward the First (A. D. 1281), a release or acquittance was tried before the Sheriff at Norwich, by a Jury of six citizens of the city of Norwich, and *six Jews*, and found to have been the deed of one Genta, a Jewess of Gloucester : and similar trials are there also recorded in the cases of one Eustace of Peckham, in Kent, of Salomon Bensalomon, in Hampshire, and divers others: whereby it *also seems that the Jews of the Jury* were charged by oath *taken upon the Books of Moses*, and by the name of the God of Israel, *and with formal additions of words which the Jews use, as Christians do upon the Evangelists.*" And Rabbi Moses Mikotzi, who lived previously (*tempo Henry 3rd*), says that this was the usual form of oath then taken by his countrymen.*

We have proof also, much more recently, that objectionable words in an oath may be varied, or totally omitted, as appears from the decision given by Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, in *Ramkissenseat v. Barker*. In that case, the application was to empower Com-

* From a judicial precedent yet remaining of Constantine Porphyrogenetus, who lived much earlier than Mikotzi, it would seem that the Jews, in swearing, held the Books of Moses in their arms, and used various other ceremonies on taking an oath.

missioners in the East Indies to take the answer of a defendant, and that the words "*Corporal*" and "*upon the Holy Evangelist*" might be left out, and that some other proper words agreeable to the circumstances of the case (the defendant not being a Christian) might be inserted in their room."

Lord Hardwicke said, "the general rule is, that all persons who believe in a God are capable of an oath; and what is universally understood by an oath is, that the person who takes it imprecates the vengeance of God upon him, if the oath he takes is false. *It has been on this principle that the Judges admit the Jews who believe a God to swear upon the Old Testament.*" And Lord Hale very justly observes, "that it is a wise rule in the kingdom of Spain that a heathen should be sworn upon what he thinks is the most sacred part of his religion. If a Jew should be indicted for perjury, and it is laid in the indictment that he swore *tactis sacro-sanctis Dei Evangeliiis*; yet, according to Hale, the word *evangeliiis* in the indictment may be answered by the Old Testament, which is the *evangelium* of the Jews. And, in order to remove the difficulties in this case, *I shall direct that the words 'upon the Holy Evangelists' may be left out.**"

But, notwithstanding all these authorities, it has been said that no case can be adduced where words

* 1 *Atk.* p. 20.

have been omitted in administering a test oath. Such, however, is not the fact; for a precedent on that point is to be found in our Parliamentary annals.

The celebrated Sir Edward Coke (having been returned Member of Parliament for Norfolk) was selected by the Crown as Sheriff of Buckinghamshire. On the oath of a Sheriff having been tendered to him by the Privy Council, the great lawyer refused to take the obligation, on the ground that it contained objectionable words, viz. "to destroy and eradicate all heresies;" such an obligation, he maintained, no British subject could be compelled to take, it being contrary to his conscientious principles; and the Council, admitting the force and justice of his reasons, administered the oath, *omitting the objectionable words*. —*Sir Edward Coke's Case, Parl. Hist.*

We have now shown that all the objections advanced against the admission of British-born Jews into Parliament are refutable by indisputable precedents. It seems, however, that the time has not yet arrived when the stumbling-block shall be taken away from before our brethren of the elder branch; nevertheless, the period is not far distant when every obstacle shall be removed which now precludes our Jewish fellow-subjects from fully enjoying, in common with ourselves, all civil and political rights.

In conclusion, it is hoped that we may be considered to have proved, by our observations, that ancient English usage, prior to the latter Plantagenets, does not authorize the prejudices still prevailing against the Hebrew nation in certain quarters, and

among certain political parties ;—that they are opposed also by the opinions of the soundest lawyers, from the earliest date to the present day, and that they are so nearly exploded, that the most enlightened men of all parties are uniting to carry a measure which is only a mere matter of justice to a limited but influential class of society, a measure which—opposed and battled against as it may be—must still in a short time become the law of this country. It is no false liberality that supports the just claims of the Jews, no political partizanship, no mighty sectional interest. The cause depends for support on its own intrinsic justice and truthfulness ;—and we are confident, that if the justice and truthfulness of the claim had not been apparent to such great statesmen as Lords Harding, Bexley, Wharncliffe, &c., Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. D’Israeli, and Lord George Bentinck, not to mention those eminent Statesmen on what is termed the liberal side of each House, the result would not have been as it now is. The future destinies of the Jews in England may now be said to be virtually settled ; the Bill for the removal of Jewish Disabilities will unquestionably be brought again, and at no remote period, under the consideration of the Legislature, and it doubtless will eventually become the law of the land : for it has been well said by one who was justly considered a sound lawyer and a sage politician, that “ *It is an observation proved by a great number of precedents, that never any good Bill was preferred, or good motion made in Parliament, whereof any memorial was made in the Journal-book or*

otherwise, though sometime it succeeded not at the first, yet hath it never died, but at one time or other hath taken effect: And this should be a great encouragement to worthy and industrious attempts."*

• Vide Lord Coke's 4th Institute.

THE END.

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“In the absence of the president of the society (Sir B. Hall, Bart.) C. Egan, Esq. was called to the chair. After the preliminary business of the evening had been gone through, he addressed the meeting and dwelt on the utility of forming societies of this kind. The learned gentleman observed, that the necessity for, and the advantages derivable from, the establishment of these associations, were so obvious, as not to require lengthened comment; they were morally and socially beneficial, because they tended to engender provident and economical habits among the middle and humbler classes; enabled them to obtain property, and to participate in many other advantages acquirable in a wealthy and well-regulated state. Various associations had been formed from time to time, to effect the abolition of grievances; but what grievance, he would ask, was more general, more urgent, more galling (Hear, hear) than that of being permanently liable to the payment of high, exorbitant, oppressive rents? Take the case of the humble and industrious man, who, after having duly discharged his tenural obligations for years, has been overtaken by disease or other calamity, his rent being in arrear, he is summarily driven from his tenement, his wife and children are cast, houseless and homeless, on the wide world, “doomed in scanty poverty to roam,” and himself probably incarcerated in a prison, for the non-payment of the law-expenses attendant upon his contumelious ejection. These associations prove a safeguard against such disasters; they enable the prudent man, by the payment of a small sum periodically, to secure for himself the sole possession of a property, and frequently for a less sum than he would have had to pay in the same time for the rent of a *temporary* holding; enable him to obtain possession of property on which he could raise money with facility in cases of emergency; and which property, if unencumbered, might, in the event of his death, afford a provision for his mourning widow and sorrowing orphans. To leaseholders also, are not these associations of vital import? Is it not of great moment to such parties, paying a heavy rental, either generally or in shape of ground-rents, that they should acquire the unrestricted dominion over that property which they hold under a limited demise? The advantages, therefore, of being enabled, by a prudent and economic course, to obtain the sole ownership of property, of raising money upon it, or of leaving it as a provision for their families, must be too apparent to the minds of all thinking men to require any depth of argument to demonstrate. When we add to these the additional advantage, the glorious privilege of being entitled to exercise the right of franchise, to have a voice in the choice of those legislative representatives who are to make the laws by which all classes of society are to be governed, no man can doubt the value of the immunities derivable from a parti-

icipation in the benefits of these associations. (Hear, hear.) Those advantages, great and desirable though they be, cannot be secured without the exercise of prudence and vigilance on the part of the members themselves. Prudence, in selecting individuals of character and known worth as their directors; and persons of ability and probity as their managers, referees, and other officers. Vigilance, in not voting away their funds incautiously, and taking care, when so voted, that they are not deflected from their legitimate purposes. The amelioration of the condition, and the general improvement of the industrial classes, are dictated alike by prudence as well as benevolence; and therefore it is not surprising to find, that in this enlightened age, in this, one of the most civilized nations in the world, a wise and paternal government have, by a special enactment (the Stat. 6 and 7 Wm. IV. cap. 32), held out an inducement to the industrious and the prudent to acquire the possession of property suitable to their respective conditions, and which enactment also affords them *a legal protection* for the enjoyment of that property, when so acquired." (Cheers.)—*Monmouthshire Merlin*.

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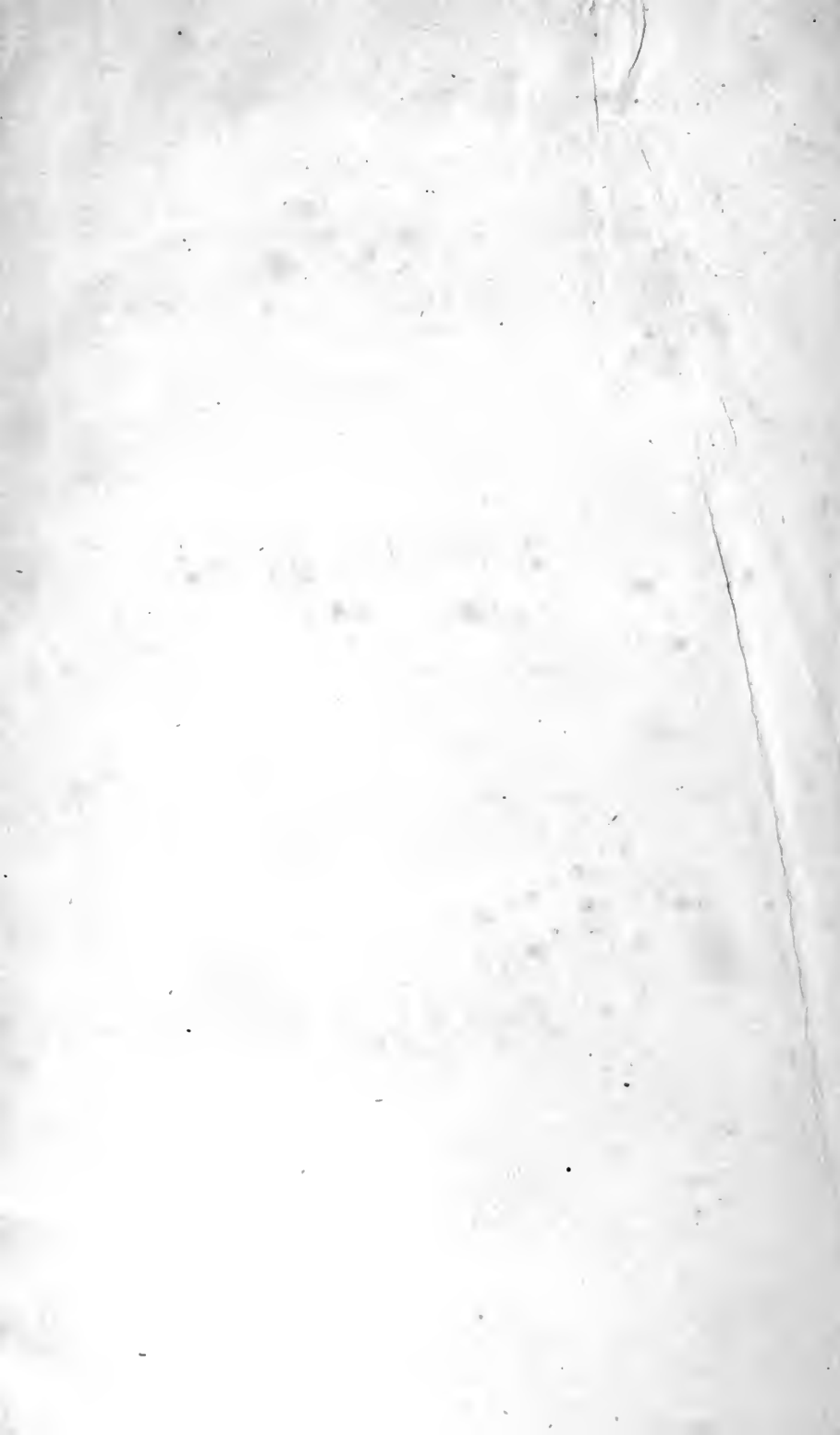
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