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PERCEVAL'S
ECCLESIASTICAL TOUR
IN
HOLLAND
AND
NORTHERN GERMANY.

46.

1318.







RESULTS
OF AN
ECCLESIASTICAL TOUR
IN
HOLLAND
AND
NORTHERN GERMANY.



BY THE
HON. & REV. A. P. PERCEVAL, B.C.L.

“ For from you sounded forth the word of the Lord not only in Macedonia and Achaia,
but also in every place your faith to God-ward is spread abroad.”—1 THESS. i. 8.

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TO

MY DEAR WIFE,

IN TOKEN OF MY SENSE OF HER

UNREMITTING AFFECTION AND ATTENTION,

THESE PAGES

ARE AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.



CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
On the spiritual destitution of the Members of the British Communion in Northern Europe - - - - -	7

CHAPTER II.

On the spiritual danger of the Members of the British Communion in Northern Europe - - - - -	9
----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	---

CHAPTER III.

On the position of the British Churches in regard to the Foreign Communions - - - - -	24
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER IV.

On the favourable indication towards the British Communion in Germany - - - - -	34
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER V.

On the institution of a Bishop for the British in Northern Europe	40
-------------------------------------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER VI.

On the state of the Foreign Episcopate in Northern Europe -	51
-------------------------------------------------------------	----

CONTENTS.

APPENDIX I.

	PAGE
Concerning Lübec - - - - -	57

APPENDIX II.

On Jesuitism - - - - -	59
------------------------	----

APPENDIX III.

Conversations with British Roman Catholics at home and abroad	82
---------------------------------------------------------------	----

RESULTS
OF AN
ECCLESIASTICAL TOUR,
&c.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE SPIRITUAL DESTITUTION OF THE MEMBERS OF
THE BRITISH COMMUNION IN NORTHERN EUROPE.

A VISIT to Holland, Germany, and Denmark, in 1845, afforded me an opportunity of inquiring into the spiritual condition of the members of the British communion in those parts; and also of ascertaining our ecclesiastical position as respects the foreign communions.

The result of my inquiry, as to the former, has been a conviction that the spiritual destitution of the members of our communion in northern Europe is to the full as great as that of their brethren in Canada is represented to be, and that their spiritual danger, arising from the irreligion, scepticism, and superstition with which they are surrounded, is far greater.

Of their spiritual destitution the following in-

stances may suffice:—I found in Holland members of our communion glad and thankful to attend our service, and earnestly pressing for a renewal of the opportunity; provided, indeed, with Prayer-books, but, from long disuse, quite unable to follow the service in them, not knowing where to look to find the proper places; and obliged to take their children for baptism to the Calvinist ministers of the country. I found at Cologne, where on any given Sunday in the season I was assured that at least 200 British could be found in the different hotels, the British communion had never been administered, nor the British service celebrated, within the memory of man. The same I found at Weimar, at Brunswick, and at Lübec, all places of residence for the British; Weimar being seldom without British families, as well as young men studying the language; and Lübec having as many as thirty students, besides a few resident families. The tears of joy and thankfulness with which the holy communion was received at Weimar can never be effaced from my memory; nor the anxious and desponding fear that was expressed, that no other opportunity would ever again be presented. In the absence of any bishop of their communion, or means of access to one, they are constrained to go through what I must needs consider the mockery of confirmation at the hands of the Lutheran superintendent, or at the hands of the ordinary ministers, to whom (as in Denmark) the superintendents (there called bishops) delegate the

performance of this ceremony. I say compelled, because in most Lutheran countries civil privileges are annexed to the reception of this rite, which renders it in a manner compulsory. In the interment of their dead, again, they meet with obstructions and difficulties (especially at Copenhagen), very painful to the individuals, and very degrading to our communion. The wish for a better order of things is universal; and the most hearty and earnest desire exists among our clergy in these countries for the support, comfort, authority, and direction of a bishop.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE SPIRITUAL DANGER OF THE BRITISH IN NORTHERN EUROPE.

OF the extent of the spiritual danger to which our people in Germany are exposed from irreligion, scepticism, and superstition, some judgment may be formed by the following notices:—

1st, Of Irreligion. This is carried to so fearful an extent among the Protestants, that even in thickly-populated cities, as Brunswick, the churches are opened only once on the Lord's day, and then miserably attended; and, awful to relate, the *Lord's supper*, rarely received by any above once in the year, has ceased to be a communion; the poor receiving it in church on Sundays, the wealthy classes on a

week-day in the vestry. Their celebration of divine service, as far as fell under my inspection, was of the most painfully-chilling description. At the thriving city of Hesse-Cassel and in the principal church, it consisted almost exclusively of wretchedly-discordant singing of charity children, in which not one of the adult congregation joined. At Hildesheim the men joined in the singing, and when the Gospel was read the women stood up: with these exceptions, there was no outward appearance of taking part in what was going on: all sat immovably fixed to their seats; and, except during the singing, the snuff-boxes were being opened and handed about. For the place of worship, for the house of prayer, which is called by God's name, no reverence whatever is felt. Among the Calvinists in Holland, who thronged the cathedral of Haarlem on Sunday, my head was the only one uncovered. Nor is the case different among the Lutherans. And the act of being uncovered is regarded not as an act of homage to the Most High, but as a mark of civility to those present. "Pray, Sir, be covered," said a Lutheran minister, himself wearing his cap, and who was kindly showing me his church. "Not in the house of God," was the reply. Nor was it without effect. The Lutheran minister said nothing, but immediately himself likewise became bareheaded. When, commenting upon the non-public celebration of baptism, upon the scanty eucharists, and awful separation of rich and poor at the holy communion, I observed, "these

things ought not so to be," the Lutheran shook his head in sadness, while he assented to the remark. "The fault rests with the ministers," I added; "the amendment must be effected by them." The Lutheran shrugged his shoulders, and cast a look of despairing helplessness. "Be of good cheer," continued I; "twelve years ago things were almost as bad in England; but we set our shoulders to the wheel, and, with God's blessing, a great change for the better has been effected. I trust it may be the same with you." A fervent pressure of the hand, with a "God bless you," showed how earnestly the Lutheran coincided in the *wish*; but I was grieved at my inability to trace in his countenance a single ray of *hope*. From many incidents it struck me, that (however ready in both countries men may be to enter the lists of discussion upon the subject, or to treat the doctrine with real or pretended contempt) *the want of the Apostolic Commission is felt* among the Lutherans in Germany, as sensibly as I am confident it is by many of the dissenters in Britain; and that a sense of that want weighs down the hearts of both these classes of ministers, and paralyzes their exertions for good.

2nd, Of Scepticism. This abounds to such a degree, not only among the laity, but among the ministers of the Lutherans, that it may probably, without fear of contradiction, be affirmed, that not one in five hundred of the Lutheran ministers believes one item of the mysteries of the Christian

religion. Belief in the incarnation, atonement, and intercession of the Son of God is represented to be so exploded, that the avowal, or suspicion, of a firm retention of it would draw forth only a smile of pity or contempt from the generality of their dignitaries and theological professors. In committing these fearful sentences to paper, I simply record the conclusion to which I was led by all the information I could gather upon the subject. If it be true, no apology can be due to any one from me for stating it; and if it be not true, and an indignant burst of denial from all parts of Germany should be the result of my statement, gladly as I will hail that attestation to the truth of the Gospel from such quarters, and readily and thankfully as I will withdraw the statement, still I shall offer no apology for having made it; but simply ask the deniers, calmly within their own breasts to consider how defective must the exercise of their ministry in preaching the word of truth, the Gospel of salvation, have been, when through all classes of their hearers the above was the impression left! To be brief: the present aspect of Lutheranism may be summed up thus: churches without prayer; fonts without baptism; creeds without faith; Lord's tables without communion; and ministers without orders. I will only say upon this,—God grant that so fearful a state of things may speedily pass away!

3rd, Of Superstition. Among the Roman Catholics, (who alone, apparently, have retained the truths

of the Gospel, and with them fervour and devotion in worship,) the remarkable instance of "Dumb Mass" may be quoted. On the occasion of Dumb Mass (which the priests themselves told me was not unfrequent) the priest goes through the whole service, but with his *eyes only*; his lips do not utter a sound from beginning to end: and the only opportunity of *joining* in public worship afforded to the people, is when the consecrated wafer is elevated, and the bell rings to summon all present to fall down and worship it¹. And yet with all this, there is such intense reverence and devotion exhibited, as, joined with their firm maintenance of every article of the Catholic creeds, and the frank and engaging manners of their priests, who are devoted to their calling, might well tempt many a pious mind, revolting at the heartless indifference and infidelity of the Protestants, to overlook the corruptions of the Roman system, and to seek to join that communion before those corruptions have been removed.

¹ *Per contra*, I am bound to notice one circumstance which gave me great pleasure; namely, to find at one of the churches in Cologne, where I attended vespers and complines, or, as they say, complets, (which two services are now united in a manner, and celebrated without intervening space, at about five o'clock in the afternoon,) that a large portion of the service, versicles and prayers, was in the German language, in their responses to which the people joined as heartily and devoutly as in our best English congregations. It was at St. Cunibert's, where the service was performed by a young and intelligent priest, with whom I had an interesting, but rather sparring encounter, as we walked to his lodgings after service.

It may probably be here objected, and from an incident that occurred, (see Appendix II.) I have reason to fear, not without truth, that I was fortunate in the persons with whom I came in contact: and that in other parts of Germany the Roman priesthood is stamped with the same marked features which are observable in the generality of their class in Britain; and which would enable an observant person, conversant with the matter, to point them out in any crowd, and under almost any disguise. But I must needs speak of the German clergy, at present under the Italian yoke, as I found them: men of open countenance, frank and engaging manners, bearing every stamp of sincerity and integrity; respectful of antiquity; honest in debate, and candid in argument. Men whose friendship I count an honour, and would hope to carry with me to the grave. "I love from my heart," said the principal of one of their colleges, "one who sincerely seeks the truth: especially if he seeks it in antiquity; for you know, as Cicero says, antiquity was nearest to God." On one occasion I was in earnest and friendly discussion with three of them for upwards of five hours. When I made them acquainted with the facts of the Churches of Ireland and Wales having been free from Papal bondage until the middle of the twelfth century, they admitted at once the weight due to such facts as regards the papal claim to jurisdiction over us. But I omitted, unfortunately, to point out the consequence: namely, that if the mother Church (of Britain) was justly free from Rome, the daughter

Churches (of Holland, Belgium, and Germany) must of right be free also. When I propounded to them the case of a Church divided, the bishops, with one or two exceptions, and a large portion of the clergy and laity on one side, and the remainder of the clergy and laity, on the other, calling in bishops from other places: and asked them with which party the style and rights of the "Church" would remain: they admitted at once the ecclesiastical principle, "ecclesia est in episcopo;" "ubi episcopus, ibi ecclesia;" and, without hesitation, acknowledged it to be with the former. And when I showed them that such was the case of Ireland, they did not attempt to deny the importance of such a fact, as concerns the light in which the Italian intruders into the Irish dioceses deserve to be regarded. When I dwelt upon the facts of the British Churches professing, without diminution, the three Catholic creeds, receiving the six general councils, and appealing to the testimony of the primitive Church as the best criterion for determining the scriptural truth of doctrine, they acknowledged the affection and respect with which such a Church deserves to be regarded. When I reminded them of the British origin of their own Church, and of the time when our bishops and theirs took counsel together, as at the Great Council of Francfort, in opposition to Roman superstition and the image-worshipping decrees of the Deutero-Nicene Council, they did not attempt to disguise their sympathy. When I called their attention to the fearful Decree of Trent

concerning the canon of Scripture, by which the vast bulk of the Catholic Fathers, (who "being dead, yet speak,") and the Lord of Glory Himself, ("the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever,") stand unavoidably excommunicated and anathematized¹; in the guilt of which, they, by assenting to that decree were involved; and, when upon turning to the books, the truth of my position (of which they did not seem previously aware) was brought home to them, they did not conceal their uneasiness, but attempted to draw some little comfort from the omission of the word "canon" before the decree, which, they seemed to think, made it somewhat less stringent than it would otherwise have been. And when I contrasted our relative positions, I being at liberty in the British Church to admit them to Christian hospitality in the Holy Communion on the strength of their profession of the Catholic faith, being allowed by our Church to regard their opinions

¹ The only possible way by which this could be avoided as regards our Lord, would be, if it could be shown, that, after all, the whole Christian world has been mistaken upon the subject, and that the Jewish Church did receive and account as canonical those books which almost every writer to the present time has agreed in saying she did not. This is the discovery, by means of which I found a Roman Catholic Professor of Theology, at Bonn, solacing himself against the stamp of heresy, which (he apparently could not conceal from himself) but for this, that Tridentine decree must bear. With what success he has made this bold attempt, I was unable, unhappily, to form an estimate; his book upon this subject, which he kindly offered to present to me, being in German, with which language I am at present unacquainted.

on the points in dispute as erroneous indeed, and more or less injurious, but still as not obliging actual excommunication; while they were prohibited by Rome from admitting me to the same hospitality and communion, for no other cause but my refusal to subscribe to decrees which they could not deny to have the *appearance* of evil, they were much disconcerted, and wholly at a loss for a reply. Only the expression, which one and all, again and again, made use of, repeating it as a pledge every time we drank wine at their hospitable but frugal board, "That we all may be one!" (to which the answer, as constantly, was: "Yes, brothers, by your restoration to a purer standard,") showed what was working in their hearts; and how readily they will welcome any means which shall enable them, without scruple, to be "not almost but altogether, such as" we are, "except" our "bonds." Let me not be supposed to represent that on all the numerous points which came under review, the advantage was as manifestly on my side, as (I conceive) it must, on all hands, be admitted to have been in those here cited. But the tone which pervaded these friendly antagonists may be best estimated by the speech which the head of the fraternity made to me on the following morning, when I called to return thanks for their kind and hospitable reception, and to take leave. "Perhaps," said he, "you think that in our discussion yesterday the advantage was on your side; perhaps we think it was on ours; perhaps it was neither: but I will tell you when it will be on both, namely,

when we both arrive at the truth." They are, then, searchers after truth, seeking for it in antiquity, and willing to receive assistance in their search at the hands of those whom they have hitherto been taught to believe it to be necessary to their eternal salvation to anathematize. And what more can any man, what more can the strongest "Protestant,"—if men will persist in glorying in a term so fearfully abused and misunderstood as this has been, and continues to be; and the greatest glory of which may be claimed successively by the Socinian, the Sceptic, the Deist, and the Atheist—what more, I repeat, can the strongest Protestant, who really desires *truth*, require of any men: or consider a more hopeful state from which good may be expected to arise?

Few things could be more striking than the difference of manner in which I was addressed by these good men, according as my position was estimated. Upon my presenting myself to them, and addressing them in Latin, and describing myself as a Catholic priest of the diocese of Canterbury, I was at first, not unnaturally, supposed to be of their own communion, and cordially greeted with hospitable welcome, on a footing of perfect equality. When they found out their mistake, the idea next entertained was, that I was one of the waverers in the British communion come to learn my religion from them: the supercilious contempt with which their manner then became charged, mixed with an air of patronage, was enough to make the most insensate wince. But when this also was found to

be a mistake, and one of the party, with unfeigned astonishment, asked me, "For what purpose, then, are you come? If you think the British communion so perfect and primitive, why are you come here? Is it to teach us?" and I answered, "For no other purpose. I am come to seek Christian peace and the restoration of Catholic communion, by leading you to a purer and sounder faith:" all trace of contempt disappeared, and their former cordiality returned; only marked respect was substituted for the tone of equality with which it had before been tendered.

With respect to Ronge's movement, of the so-styled German Catholic Church, from which much has been expected in England, I had the opportunity of ascertaining its real position and tendency from the lips of one of its leaders, the Rev. C. Kerbler, who came to Erfurt during my residence at Weimar, and upon whom I waited: when, after I had introduced myself as a clergyman of the Church of England, the following conversation ensued:

Mr. K. What is your object in seeking an interview with me?

Mr. P. To ascertain from your own mouth the views of your party; of which I hear such different accounts. Before I left England, I was in hopes that your movement was one in which the Church of England could sympathise, and deserving our prayers and co-operation. But if what I have heard from all quarters in Germany be true, there is an end of

all such hope. I hear it reported, not so strongly indeed of you and Mr. Czerski, as of Mr. Ronge¹—

Mr. K. (interrupting) Rest assured there is no difference between us: we are all of one mind.

Mr. P. I am sorry to hear it, if the report I have received be correct. It is said, that you have renounced the Catholic faith.

Mr. K. No: we have not renounced it.

Mr. P. Do you profess it?

No answer.

Mr. P. To be plain: do you profess the Nicene Creed?

Mr. K. No.

Mr. P. Do you profess the Apostles' Creed?

Mr. K. No.

Mr. P. Then, I presume, not that of S. Athanasius?

Mr. K. No.

Mr. P. How then can you be Catholics, who have laid aside all the Catholic creeds?

Mr. K. We are not afraid. What need to profess those creeds, when we have one of our own?

Mr. P. Excuse me: but if you have not changed your faith, what need to change the profession of it?

No answer.

Mr. P. I wish to ascertain your views on another point. What is your regard for the episcopate?

Mr. K. We have neither pope nor bishop.

¹ These names are pronounced respectively as we in English would pronounce Tcherzky and Rongay.

Mr. P. Then I see not how you can be a Church at all; for the received maxim of the primitive ages was, that without a bishop a Church could not exist.

Mr. Kerbler, at my request, then placed in my hands a paper, entitled "The General Principles of the German Catholic Church, according to the Resolutions of the Synod holden at Leipsig, at Easter, 1845;" the nature of which will be sufficiently demonstrated by the following extracts. I, in return, placed in his a copy of "The Churchman's Manual," and, with mutual salutations, we parted.

"Concerning the Doctrine of Faith.

"1. . . . The comprehension and interpretation of the Scriptures is freely committed to our reason, penetrated and animated by Christian sentiment.

"8. We impose upon the Church, and upon each individual member of it, the duty of bringing before the world the substance of our doctrine of faith, by a living exhibition of it, *harmonising with the present feelings of the age.*

"9. We allow ourselves, *however* (!) full freedom of conscience, free inquiry, and free interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, limited by no external authority. We utterly abhor all compulsion, all hypocrisy and lies, and hence (?) we see no ground for separation from, or condemnation of those who understand or explain differently from ourselves the substance of our doctrines of faith."

“Concerning the outward form of Divine Service and the Cure of Souls.

“22. The posture and general demeanour in Church . . . shall be left free to every one, that only being forbidden which leads to superstition.”

“All these resolutions are not, however, to be considered permanently established, but *may and must be altered* by the congregations *according to the existing temper of the times.*”

The reader will observe, that in all these resolutions it is assumed that the spirit of the age is the leaven with which it is the wish of the Almighty that his divine religion should be leavened: whereas from our Lord’s words (Matt. v. 13,) all Christians save these, had hitherto supposed Christianity itself to be the salt by which it is His design that the world, or the spirit of the age, should be preserved from corruption. The reader will also observe, that while care is taken in the worship of the Almighty to guard against every thing savouring of superstition; against irreverence in any of its varied forms, to which none can deny the unrestricted freedom of man (in these resolutions so strongly advocated) to be only too liable, no precaution whatever has been adopted.

Many persons seem willing to draw a great distinction between Ronge and Kerbler on one side, and Czerski on the other, who has, at length, (as is reported,) separated from the former. But when I consider that Czerski was a consenting party to these resolutions, and also took an active part in the amal-

gamation of the (soi-disant) "German Catholics" with "the Friends of Light;" it is not the mere wish to retain the Apostles' Creed, upon the strength of which his separation from the other is reported to have taken place, that can entitle him at present to our confidence; although it may reasonably afford room for hope, that eventually, under God's blessing, he and his may take up a position on which we may safely ask a blessing, and on the strength of it establish ecclesiastical relationship with them. They who see ground for entertaining and expressing confidence in M. Czerski will do well to give a proof of their confidence, which will cost them little, and serve at the same time to test the grounds of that confidence; namely, by sending to M. Czerski some copies of the British Liturgy in the German language, and prevailing with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to allow him, free of cost, as many as he shall think fit to demand. It is my firm opinion, that the distribution of our Liturgy throughout Germany, and the presence of one of our bishops in that country, would do more to uphold the tottering thrones of Germany¹, to arrest the progress of revolutionary

¹ There is only one sovereign house in Northern Germany, as far as I could learn, rooted in the affections of all classes of its subjects, and this I found respected far beyond the limits of their own border; indeed in all parts of Germany. The only reason, as far as I could make out, for this, is the credit given to them for sincere regard to religion, evinced by the moral and religious conduct of that family: the eldest daughter of which, whose praise was in every mouth, is married to a prince also much beloved.

opinions there, and to save it from horrors unutterable, and so to preserve the peace of Europe, than any measures which the wisdom of the wisest at Vienna, Berlin, Wirtemberg, or Baden can suggest. And if M. Czerski is the man he is believed by some in England to be, he seems to be the very instrument marked out by the hand of God for effecting these blessed objects. But I must confess myself, that I heard little in Germany to warrant this exceeding confidence in M. Czerski's integrity or firmness of purpose: and even since the foregoing lines have been in type, I have read in the public papers an announcement from Silesia, only too confirmatory of the distrust I have expressed: namely, that he and M. Ronge have had another conference, and are again united on terms out-latitude-ianising, if that be possible, those which I have just cited.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE POSITION OF THE BRITISH CHURCH IN REGARD TO THE FOREIGN COMMUNION.

THAT I might have the best opportunities of ascertaining exactly our ecclesiastical relationship to the foreign communions, I determined previously,—1st,

never to officiate in any but a fitting place of worship, until all proper application for the use of one should have been tried in vain; 2ndly, in places where there might be a bishop exercising legitimate and canonical authority, not to officiate until (if he were accessible) I had made application to him for his formal permission to do so; founding my application upon the ninth of the canons, which pass under the name of the fourth Lateran Council, and are received by the Roman Church, in which it is ordered, that where there are in one place persons professing the same faith, but of divers rites and languages, the bishops of these places shall provide clergy to administer the sacred offices according to the diversities of language and of rites. For I considered, that as the British Churches profess all the creeds received by any portion of the Catholic Church at the time of the passing that decree, 1215, no refusal could be canonical unless it were based on personal exceptions against myself; and was therefore quite prepared to consider and treat a refusal founded upon our non-recognition of the Italian usurpation, or non-reception of the heretical decrees of the Tridentine Council, as having no claim upon my canonical obedience. My clerical character in the British Church was attested by my letters of orders, which I carried with me and exhibited; while my passport proclaimed my office of chaplain to the British crown. I took with me surplice, scarf, and hood for the decent celebration

of divine worship according to our customs: but failed to take (which I mention as a caution to others) a portable service of communion vessels, which I had great occasion to regret. The results were as follows:—

1. At Haarlem, when I asked for the use of the cathedral for our people there, the Calvinist ministers, who have the charge of it, received the request courteously; but professed their inability to return an answer until the consistory should have been consulted, which the time did not permit. I begged them to lay the case before the consistory, that, in the event of a renewal of the application, they might be prepared with a definite answer. This they undertook to do, with many expressions of good-will. I am sorry that I have, as yet, had no means of ascertaining the result.

2. Before the Bishop of Haarlem first, and then before the Archbishop of Utrecht (who, with the Bishop of Deventer, form the remnant of the old Dutch episcopate, having the succession and canonical authority,—Jansenists, still adhering to the Pope, though rejected and excommunicated by him, who sends into their dioceses, as he does into ours, schismatical bishops *in partibus*), I laid the case, as to episcopal permission, according to the provisions of the fourth Lateran. Happily (I think) I was not obliged to lay it otherwise than hypothetically; for as I did not purpose remaining in Holland another Sunday, there was no need to ask, on the sudden,

an absolute reply. The Bishop of Haarlem, apparently, entered readily into my views, and seemed very well disposed to favour them; but referred me to the Archbishop of Utrecht, without whom he could not act. I accordingly waited on the latter, and having duly asked and received his episcopal blessing, I made the hypothetical request. I found that though, upon examination, satisfied in every other respect, still he was prepared, at that time, to refuse my request, on the grounds above-named; namely, our non-recognition of the papal authority and non-reception of the decrees of Trent. I thereupon told him that I was thankful the circumstances did not require an immediate answer, as that would allow time for his reconsidering the matter; for that if the refusal on those grounds were absolute, as it would be in direct violation of the decrees of the Catholic Church, so must it needs be destitute of all claim upon my canonical respect. The hearty good-will with which the Jansenists received me was evinced by more than profession. The Bishop of Haarlem, who resides in Amsterdam, kindly presented me with a pastoral letter in French which he had lately published; and at Utrecht, after three hours' and upwards discussion on theological matters with the hale and venerable archbishop, and the theological professor of the Jansenist university at Amersfort, the latter courteously exchanged his silver pencil-case for mine.

3. At Cologne I waited upon the Archbishop of

Iconium (*in partibus*), who, under the authority of the Bishop of Rome, was discharging the functions of the Archbishop of Cologne (since dead); the latter, in consequence of some disputes with the civil authorities of Prussia, being under suspension. Having first taken care to ascertain from him that he had the full licence of the Archbishop of Cologne, I applied to him for his permission to officiate within his jurisdiction to the members of the British communion, according to the aforesaid provisions of the fourth Lateran Council. Nothing could be more gracious than his reception of me; but at first he seemed surprised at the request, saying, that if I had the licence of my own diocesan it was all that I need require, and that he had no wish to interfere to prevent my acting. But when I represented to him that this would not fulfil the requisitions of the primitive and catholic discipline, nor avail anything towards that which all faithful Christians must desire, namely, the restoration of catholic intercourse and communion, he admitted the force of my observation. Before, however, we could enter further upon the subject, we were interrupted by other visitors; and I took my leave, purposing at that time to proceed on my journey the next day, Saturday. But when I heard that the number of English who might be expected in Cologne on any Sunday in the season was as great as before-mentioned, I determined to stay over the Sunday, and to write to the archbishop. In my

letter I reminded him that Cologne had received Christianity from Britain; that there were in Cologne several churches dedicated to British saints (St. Alban's, St. Cunibert's, and St. Columba's); and, for Christian charity's sake, I prayed him to grant the use of one of these for the British "professing the catholic faith, but using their own rites and language;" taking care to assure him, that if the request were granted, I would carefully abstain in my discourse from all points in dispute between Rome and Britain; and only treat of those on which we are at entire agreement. My messenger returned with the promise that an answer should be sent; but none ever reached me.

4. At Hildesheim I waited on the bishop, and having sought and duly received his blessing, proposed for his consideration hypothetically (for there were no members of our communion there, to make it incumbent upon me to press for a definitive answer) the application for licence to discharge ministerial functions according to the British rites and language. But he seemed to consider that our non-recognition of the authority of the Bishop of Rome would be a sufficient and insuperable objection to his complying with such request. Though, when I pressed him for grounds, either from the Scriptures or ecclesiastical antiquity, to warrant his refusal, weak indeed, and insufficient, were those which he alleged for the purpose.

5. Finding at Weimar, where I purposed staying

two Sundays, a small number of our communion wholly destitute of ecclesiastical ministry, I determined to celebrate divine service on the first Sunday, and to administer the holy communion on that which followed. But what building to seek for the purpose was a matter of some consideration. There are in Weimar two Lutheran churches; one Greek chapel, attached to the palace of her imperial highness the Grand Duchess of Weimar; and a Roman chapel. After the little encouragement I had received from the Romans in Holland and at Cologne, I was not inclined to renew an attempt for the latter edifice; more especially as the Bishop of Fulda (without whose permission the Roman priest would not have felt warranted in acting) was not at hand to be consulted. It remained, therefore, in making application, to choose between the Greek chapel and the Lutheran churches. Of these, I considered that the Greek chapel was most suited in size to the numbers of our people; and that the propinquity between the British and Russian churches is far greater than between us and the Lutherans. I considered further, that as I was myself a chaplain to the British crown, and that in the palace of my sovereign place is provided for Lutheran worship, there could be no impropriety in my applying at the court of a Lutheran sovereign for the use of a chapel in his palace for the worship of British subjects. Upon the strength of these considerations, I determined to make application for the use of the

Russian chapel ; but before doing so, that no reasonable precaution might be omitted, I made inquiry of a British resident, who expressed his conviction that the court of Weimar would be gratified by the application. I accordingly called on the Greek priest, who received me most kindly, and expressed the greatest alacrity in allowing the use of the chapel ; but added, that it would be proper that I should wait also on the Russian Chargé d'Affaires. This I did, when an abrupt and peremptory "Impossible" was the only answer I received ; and when I expressed both regret and surprise, by reason of the friendly relations existing between the British and Oriental Churches, as well as between our two courts, acquainting him also with my being one of the chaplains of the British crown, a repetition of the abrupt "Impossible" was all that I could elicit.

Failing in the Greek chapel, I next attempted to obtain the use of one of the Lutheran churches ; and for this purpose called upon Mr. Rohr, the Lutheran superintendent. He is one of the ultra leaders of the rationalist school. To prevent, therefore, room for any idea that, either as an individual, or as a minister of the British Church, I regarded his views with indifference, I judged it right to put into his hand a copy of "The Churchman's Manual," the last chapter of which is directed against those errors. Mr. Rohr received me kindly ; expressed himself as entertaining no objection, and seeing no difficulty in our obtaining the use of one of the churches ; but

stated that it would be necessary for him to take advice before he could speak positively. The result of that advice (it was understood to be from the Minister of the Interior) was a peremptory refusal ; and I was constrained to make use of a school-room for our service. For the ordinary service I was not so much concerned ; but having promised the administration of the Communion, and given notice accordingly, I determined to make another effort to obtain a more fitting place for it. I therefore renewed my application, stating how grievous an insult I should consider it to our Church, and how inhospitable it would be to strangers, if, not even for the celebration of the Eucharist, a fitting place were conceded. This coming to the knowledge of the hereditary Grand Duke, who is well-affected towards the English, he made great exertions to obtain one of the churches for us ; and though suffering from indisposition at his country seat, he was at the trouble of coming into Weimar to use his personal influence in our favour ; but that influence, though generally esteemed to be paramount, was unavailing in this case. And the subjects and fellow-communicants of the sovereign of the British empire at Weimar, for receiving the most sacred rites of their religion, were only allowed a school-room in such a state of dirt that the charge for cleaning it out for each Sunday amounted to six shillings sterling, equivalent, according to the difference of prices, to eighteen shillings in England ; and this cost, as

well as that of the maintenance of two policemen for each day, was actually saddled upon us. The only thing approaching to civility towards our communion was the permission, reluctantly conceded, to use their vessels for the communion, for which I had made request when I asked for the building. But I thought it better, after such treatment, not to be beholden to them in such a matter at all; and therefore purchased new every thing necessary, from the very tables down to the kneeling mats, which I left in safe charge at Weimar, for the use of any of our clergy who may have the charity to afford to our people there another opportunity of pure and catholic worship.

That impartial persons may be better able to form a correct judgment of these extraordinary proceedings, it is right that I should state, that in addition to all the customary marks of respect to the local authorities expected of strangers arriving at Weimar, *e. g.* waiting on H. R. H. the Grand Duke at his levee, and at dinner upon H. I. H. the Grand Duchess, I had sought to propitiate good-will by making presents of books to the grand ducal library; and that with a view to leave behind as favourable an impression as might be, the whole of the collection at the offertory, after deducting the expenses of cleaning the room and of the police, was paid over to the proper authorities for the benefit of the poor of the place; though I believe I am speaking correctly when I say, that had it been applied to defray

the cost of the tables and vessels necessary for the service, it would have been more strictly in accordance with the intention of the offerers, who (I believe) enlarged their offerings with that view.

I may not quit the subject without publicly acknowledging the great courtesy and attention which both our Church and myself personally received at the hands of Doctor Weissenborn, who, though not a member of our communion, was unremitting in his endeavours to procure one of the churches for us; and when he found the difficulty about proper vessels, freely offered a handsome Hungarian cup which had never been used; and when he found that both from its material (being glass), and from its large size, it would not be desirable for that purpose, pressed it on me individually as a token of his good-will.

CHAPTER IV.

ON THE FAVOURABLE INCLINATIONS AMONG THE GERMANS TOWARDS THE BRITISH.

To these particular details respecting the two main objects of my inquiry, it will not be without interest to subjoin some account of the general state of

ecclesiastical or religious feeling in Germany, as far as fell under my observation.

1. I found among respectable people, of all classes and all communions, a very intense and painful apprehension of some impending fearful revolution, the atrocities of which, they seemed to expect, would cast those of France into the shade. Infidelity, they said, had eaten into the very heart of the people, and there would be nothing whatever to restrain them if ever they should get power into their hands, which, from the Prussian system of training every man in the kingdom to the exercise of arms, they anticipated could not much longer be delayed.

Few things can show more strongly the alienation at present subsisting between the different classes of society in Germany, and the extent of the oppression under which the lower orders groan, than the simple fact that a mere act of justice on the part of the King of Hanover, in punishing a gross act of cruel oppression, committed by an officer in high rank in the army, was spoken of as a wonderful event, not merely in Hanover, but in all places. The king's conduct in the affair, it was said, had alienated the affections of the upper orders; but it had won for him the love and confidence of the rest of his people, who were beginning to see that "old Ernest," as he is commonly called, might have had their interests at heart when he refused the project of "Reform" presented to him on his accession,

which the world, in general, at that time, when the Reform mania was at its height, regarded as unprincipled despotism. Why that noble king and his son (he being also chancellor of the University of Dublin) should have thought it necessary to secede from the communion of the Church of England, and not only themselves pretend a conversion to Lutheranism, but consign the infant heir to Lutheran baptism and Lutheran sponsors, it is hard to conceive. To ascribe to a son and grandson of George the Third that indifference to religion, which induces some to change their profession of it, as men change their coats, to serve a temporary purpose, is a thought not lightly to be entertained: and yet one has only (apparently) to choose between supposing them to have acted according to the old adage, "when you are at Rome you must do as they do at Rome:" or, supposing that after due examination and conviction they have preferred the miserable nothingness of Lutheranism to the sterling reality of the pure Catholic worship and doctrines maintained by the British Churches: and of the two, the last is a more difficult supposition than the first. Let not these illustrious persons, should they ever be made acquainted with what has been here written, be offended with the writer, who being bound to their interests by hereditary attachment of many generations, and being connected by no common link to the children of George the Third, would be deserving of worse emotions at their hands than those of anger, if he could witness

such conduct unconcerned: or "refrain to speak when there is occasion to do good."

2. I found the beneficial effect of the unobtrusive piety of the better class of English travellers, telling upon persons in ranks of life upon whom it would not at first seem likely that such an impression would be made. The landlords and waiters at the hotels, for instance, recounted with admiration, and apparently sincere gratitude, the traits of piety they had noted in the English; the books they used; their reference to the Supreme Being in cases of illness; their private devotion; their religious observance of the Lord's day; their unexceptionable morality; all tending to dispose them in the most favourable way towards our Church and nation.

3. I found the religious among the upper classes teaching their children English, for this especial purpose, that they might have the benefit of the works of piety and devotion with which the press in our happy land teems. Of the affectionate and confiding character of the German children the following anecdote affords a pleasing instance:—I was visiting one of the churches in Hildesheim, where the office of porterness was performed by a girl of about eleven or twelve years of age, with a face and manner of such extreme sweetness, that I could not forbear as I entered the church laying my hand upon her fair-haired and uncovered head. A smile of extreme delight showed what great gratification she had received from so simple an act. And the

way in which the little janitress evinced her sense of obligation was very winning. When I had inspected the church and was preparing to depart, my little cicerone was no where in sight; nor did she answer when called. At last, after peering about, I discovered her ensconced in the corner of a dark gallery whither she had retreated; her apparent object in so doing being to avoid receiving the little gratuity usually offered; for when, upon being discovered, she came down, nothing would induce her to take the little present that was offered, so that all that I had left was again to lay my hand upon her head, which she received most gladly, and then tripped off to her home, apparently happier than the gayest dress or costliest gift could have made her.

4. I found the memory of the British missionaries, by whom the whole of that country was converted to the Christian faith, still held and cherished among all classes. The poorest peasantry in the neighbourhood of St. Suibert's shrine could tell me that he came from Britain. All these circumstances concur in disposing the religiously-inclined among them very favourably towards us and our Church: so that when I broached, as I did among all classes and all communions, the idea that was ever present to my mind, namely, that as the German Church was built at the first by Britons, and their episcopate derived from us, so now their episcopate would be renewed and their Church re-

built from the same quarter; and that this would give religious peace to Germany, and stave off the horrors of the sanguinary revolution at the expectation of which they trembled; not the remotest offence seemed taken, certainly none was expressed by any. Some, as the hospitable R. C. Dean of ———, considered it far from improbable; others, like the venerable R. C. Dean of ———, (whom I found superintending the repairs of his beautiful cathedral, the cost of which was defrayed he told me, “*ex rebus valde exiguis*” of his chapter,) regarded it as a prospect too blessed to be realized.

5. Further, I found that at Amsterdam, where our Liturgy had been performed in the Dutch language in a spacious church holding several thousand persons, the building had been crowded, and the utmost attention manifested. And both here and elsewhere found that a very large proportion, if not the majority, of the communicants in our congregations was composed of persons who had joined us from some of the foreign communions, and whom, in the absence of any bishop,—for even an occasional visit of one of which order request had been repeatedly and earnestly made in vain,—our clergy in those places are compelled, much to their own uneasiness, to admit to communion without episcopal imposition of hands.

From all these circumstances it seems not unreasonable to entertain the hope, that the measure which the religious destitution of our own people in

those countries renders it imperative in us to adopt, for their sakes only, may, under the Divine blessing, be attended indirectly with the happiest results upon the Germans themselves, in allaying their now restless religious agitation; in arresting the progress of sanguinary and unprincipled revolution; in drawing together with the surest bonds nations of kindred race; and, ulteriorly, in rebuilding the shattered fabric of the Christian Church, and restoring religious peace and re-establishing catholic communion throughout the world.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE INSTITUTION OF A BRITISH BISHOP FOR NORTHERN EUROPE.

FOR the present it will be enough for us to fix our views on the relief of the spiritual destitution and spiritual danger of the members of our own communion, now scattered, like sheep without a shepherd, among the wolves of irreligion, scepticism, and superstition.

In order to this it is indispensable that a bishop be appointed to have the overcharge of the congregations; for the title of whose see, if the civil authorities offer no objection, the island of Heli-

goland, belonging to the British crown, offers an unexceptionable designation, there being nothing in the terms of capitulation on which that possession was ceded to us by Denmark to interfere with such an arrangement. For the residence of such a bishop, if his charge is to extend (as is desirable) over Holland and Belgium, northern Germany, and the shores of the Baltic, including St. Petersburg, the free town of Lübec offers advantages not to be met with elsewhere:—

1. In having ready access to Hamburg on the one side, whence there is steam communication to Holland and all northern Germany; and on the other to Travemunde, whence there is steam navigation to Copenhagen, Stockholm, St. Petersburg, and the whole of the Baltic.

2. In being a free town, of which the bishop would immediately become a member.

3. In its very healthy air.

4. In the extreme moderation of the cost of maintenance.

5. In the character of the inhabitants; the lower orders being remarkable for cheerful industry, cleanly habits, and great courtesy; while among the upper, society is stated to be extremely good, and on the best footing.

6. In the regard paid to sacred buildings, which distinguishes this city from all the rest of Germany that fell under my observation. They have more churches than their present population requires, but

instead of desecrating them, they preserve them with religious care.

7. In the not unreasonable prospect, that, if proper application were made, one of these beautiful churches might be obtained for the use of our bishop and the members of our communion.

8. In the fact, that though it is the ancient see of a bishop, it is, and has been for centuries, destitute of a bishop, so that there would be no danger of conflicting claims of jurisdiction.

9. The situation is beautiful: the city, to all appearance, like an English cathedral town; and possessing, for ecclesiastical architects and antiquarians, stores of grèater interest than, perhaps, any other town on the Continent, Rome and Venice excepted.

For the institution of such a bishop, a fund has been opened at the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: the British factories in Europe having been one of the objects for the provision of which that Society was at the first employed. And the countenance and approval of the members of our communion, the prayers of all, and the alms of those who have it in their power to bestow them, are humbly requested for a work which, not only aims at, but, under the Divine blessing, seems reasonably to promise the effecting so great good to our own people, and to the cause of the Christian religion. Should the appeal meet with the response which is confidently antici-

pated, and means for establishing two bishops be provided, it would be well to appoint a coadjutor to the Bishop of Heligoland, to have his residence in the free town of Francfort on the Maine, (a place memorable as the scene where the British, Gallican, Milanese, and German bishops met to condemn the image-worshipping decrees of the Deutero-Nicene Council,) and to superintend the congregations of the British communion in South Germany, Switzerland, and the dominions of the Emperor of Austria. At present, for want of a proper bishop, the consuls and civil employés of the British crown are sometimes in a manner obliged to exercise the functions of a sort of lay-episcopate; a position which must needs be as painful to every right-minded and well-informed person among them, as it is plainly subversive of the first principles of our ecclesiastical polity.

This present year, 1846, is the three hundredth anniversary of that which witnessed the promulgation of the Decree of Trent concerning the Sacred Scriptures, of which something has been said above. Rome is preparing to celebrate it, on the very spot where the iniquity was perpetrated, with empty fanfaronade and display. Let Britain also prepare to celebrate it, even by introducing into the country which was polluted by that decree, the germ of a free episcopacy; and by extensively promulgating, in the native language of the same, the pure compendium of Primitive and Catholic worship, which is to be found in the Book of Common Prayer, according

to the rites of the British Churches, in the excellent edition lately published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

This year is also remarkable as being the three hundredth anniversary of the death of one concerning whom it may well be asked, whether his method of opposing the errors of Rome has not occasioned more vital injury to Christianity in the countries which have adopted his principles, than the very corruptions against which he bore his earnest and painful testimony.

The natural and necessary progress of Lutheranism, from the first principles broached by the founder of the same to the full "development" of infidelity by which the face of once Christian Germany has been overspread, and which has in this very month been celebrated with rejoicings by the followers of that extraordinary man, has been traced in a manner only too convincing by Mr. Dewar¹, the present British chaplain at Hamburgh.

If those of the clergy and theological students at our two great Universities, who purpose taking recreation on the Continent in the course of the present year, would divide Germany between them, Oxford taking the North, where one of her members has already broken ground, and Cambridge the South: each University arranging that every portion of its allotted field should be visited; the missionaries

¹ Dewar on German Protestantism. Rivingtons.

taking with them copies of our Liturgy, in German, for general distribution, and seeking out in every place the heads of religious communions or communities with whom to enter into frank and affectionate, *respectful*, but unflinching communication on religious subjects, they would find throughout a soil in a fit preparation to receive the good seed which they might sow: and might look, under the Divine blessing, to behold its produce at the day of the great harvest, and “rejoice therein for ever with joy unspeakable and full of glory.” Let it plainly be put to the simple Germans, whether they are willing to receive at our hands anew that pure doctrine which our British fathers in the faith, St. Wilibrord, St. Suibert, and St. Boniface, whose shrines are to be found respectively at Utrecht, Kaiserswerth, and Fulda, once proclaimed, and in behalf of which the black and white Hewalds, and many others were content to shed their blood upon the plains of Germany, and leave their bones to enrich her soil; and who that knows the noble character of that nation can doubt the hearty and generous response which, at such an appeal, would ring through all their borders, from a people as much disgusted with the infidelity of the Rationalists, as they are with the (mis-called holy) frauds of the Papists: and who only have erred from the faith through want of true and faithful guides? The Cambridge men will probably find ample exercise for their clear heads among the keen Jesuits of Bavaria, while,

among the un-Jesuitized Romanists of Silesia the Oxonians would meet with men of fervent piety, like their own, well qualified both to receive and to repay the utmost exertions they might use. Let this be Britain's mode of celebrating the ter-centenary of the blasphemous Tridentine Decree concerning the sacred Scriptures, and of the death of the Rationalizing Luther, and who can tell how vast a progress one single year may witness towards the restoration of religious peace and of Catholic communion throughout Europe, and throughout the world! For the kingdom of heaven is not like those of earth, of every one of which it may be said, as we say of Rome, that it "was not built in a day;" concerning It the prophet has foretold her instantaneous growth, saying, "Who hath heard such a thing? Who hath seen such things? Shall the earth be made to bring forth in one day? or shall a nation be born at once? For as soon as Zion travailed, she brought forth her children." Is. lxvi. 8.

Let those who would undertake this work, 1st, Make themselves masters of all the points of controversy likely to arise in discussion, either with the Lutherans or with the Italians. 2nd, Next let them have a clear perception of the real position of the British Church, and of its principles in regard at once to appeals both to Scripture and ecclesiastical antiquity. 3rd, Next let them have well weighed the difference between conciliation, and compromise or concession; and let them remember, that while

the former is to be carried to the utmost, the latter is to be utterly repudiated: that they have *nothing to concede*: the principles on which the British Churches rest, are, *in profession*, common to all three. Both the Italians and the Lutherans *profess* the three Catholic Creeds: both *profess* regard to the Scriptures and ecclesiastical antiquity; both (as the confession of Augsburg, on the part of the latter, sufficiently denotes) *profess* regard to apostolic or episcopal order. But the Latins have so intermingled corrupt traditions with those which are Catholic, that they are unable in their present state, without assistance, to distinguish truth from falsehood, and consequently are in imminent danger, as the present course of Ronge's movement shows, of casting off the former together with the latter, when aroused to think and act for themselves. While the Lutherans, in casting aside the apostolic or episcopal order, upon the insufficient plea of necessity (at all times questionable, and which it has been for a long time merely ridiculous to allege), have cast away their claim to a share in that promise made only to the Apostles in person, and therefore which can only be claimed by the Church in subordination to that order, "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world:" without Whose presence it is not reasonable to expect that truth can be maintained. 4th, Let our missionaries neither ask nor receive money from those among whom they go, except such offerings as may be

made at the communion from those whom, after the receipt of due episcopal confirmation, they shall think fit to admit to the holy Eucharist : but let them remember the words of our Lord, "It is more blessed to give than to receive," that all may see that we seek not theirs, but them. 5th, If they know German, or can acquire that language before they set out, so much the better. If not, let not the want of it discourage them. Latin alone will suffice for every purpose of their mission, which is not (let them well remember) to increase the divisions in that distracted country, by setting the people against those who exercise the office of pastors among them, a course tending at once to the violation of the fifth commandment, and upon which, consequently, no blessing can be asked or expected from above, as the experience of some unhappy attempts of the kind, of late, has served to show ; but their object is, to assist the pastors, whether Lutheran or Roman, to *realize* the principles which they *profess*, and so win both them, and their people with them, to a restoration of confidence, and communion with themselves. 6th, Let them, lastly, cast off at once all expectation, and all wish for any assistance from the civil powers in the different states, beyond the barest permission of unmolested ingress and egress. The victory we seek to win can only be accomplished, "not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts." The co-operation of the civil powers in Germany,

in the position which they occupy at the present moment, would only weaken our exertions for good. These authorities have it not in their power to help us, even if they had the will: I fear there is no reason at present to suppose the existence of this, in sincerity. In the expectation that our exertions may, for the moment, be useful to themselves, it is not unlikely that the civil powers of Germany might, for the present, give us a few honeyed words, as the Conservative statesmen did, in 1833, when the preservation of their body, and their own return to power, depended, humanly speaking, only on the results of the movement which Oxford then made. But beneath those honeyed words there will be, in Germany, until her civil rulers become better imbued with Christian principle than it is to be feared they are at present, as there was in Britain, jealousy and hatred ill-disguised; and whenever they have the power to do so, they will pursue against us, as the others have done, that course of neglect, contumely, and unremitting persecution which the Churches in Britain have had to endure from the Conservatives until this very hour. But what then? This is no more than our knowledge of human nature, unsanctified by the grace of God, would lead us ever to expect from those who, in their public lives, have cast aside the fear of God, and openly adopted that juggling casuistry regarding the consciences and religious obligations of public men, which has twice received archiepiscopal sanc-

tion in Britain: once from Archbishop William, of York, to promote the murder of Lord Strafford; and, in our own times, from Archbishop Whately, of Dublin, to promote the destruction of the ten Irish bishoprics. And how can the servants of the Crucified expect, or even wish for favour at the hands of those, at whose hands, if their Master Himself were upon earth, He would receive no better treatment?

“Methinks, men’s wisdom guides amiss,
To seek on earth a Christian’s bliss.”

No: labour, and trouble, and endurance, in some kind and degree, is in this world the appointed lot of all the children of Adam, from which the purchase of the Redeemer of their souls was not intended to deliver them. In the next, there will be rest, and peace, and glory, for those who, in belief of that redemption, have sought to fulfil their duties to their Redeemer and His redeemed.

Let the nations of the world stand by and see, whether the application of the principles, which in 1833, under God’s blessing, arrested in mid career the course of democratic revolution, united anew the severed bonds of society, and so preserved the throne and the institutions of Britain, will not be available, under the same blessing, to produce a like effect in Germany. We go to *give*, not to receive, support¹.

¹ The following (I quote from memory) was inscribed in two volumes which I presented to the public library at Hamburgh:—

CHAPTER VI.

ON THE STATE OF THE EPISCOPATE IN NORTHERN EUROPE.

It may be desirable to add the following information respecting the episcopates in the countries in which for the British congregations the foregoing provision is sought.

1. Holland.—The Dutch episcopate is legitimately and canonically exercised by the Archbishop of Utrecht, and the Bishops of Haarlem and Deventer; by whom the succession is carefully maintained. Rome, as above stated, sends in her own bishops (*in*

“ Presented by the Author to the library of the free town of Hamburgh, under the conviction,—

“ 1st. That nothing, humanly speaking, can give religious peace to Germany, but the introduction of a genuine episcopate, teaching the pure Catholic faith, alike free from the corruptions and dominion of Rome.

“ 2nd. That as the Church of Germany was built at the first from Britain, it is not unreasonable to think it likely that it will be rebuilt from the same quarter, by the introduction of such an episcopate. ,

“ 3rd. That as the free towns of Germany were the instruments, under Divine Providence, for conferring commercial prosperity upon Germany six hundred years ago: it is not improbable, that at the present time they may be designed, under the same Providence, to be the instruments for conferring religious peace.”

partibus infidelium) to set up schismatical altars and jurisdiction.

2. Belgium.—There is no Belgian episcopate. The Belgian sees are not filled up. Episcopal functions are exercised there by Roman bishops *in partibus infidelium*. Such at least is the information I received in Germany, and such the statement I read in an Italian almanack: at the same time, it is so extraordinary, that I can hardly persuade myself but that I must have been misinformed.

3. Northern Germany.—The sees here have for the most part never been filled up since the sixteenth century. I speak under correction, but I believe truly, when I say that in the whole of Germany Proper, north of Meningen, only the following bishops are to be found:—Cologne, archbishopric; Fulda, Hildesheim, and Munster, bishoprics. The sees of Minden, Erfurt, Helmstadt, Meissen, Merseberg, Magdeburg, Hamburgh, Bremen, Lübec, Schwerin, and (I believe) many others, are, and have long been, vacant. Even Saxony, where the king is of the Roman communion, has no canonical bishops. Episcopal functions for the Saxons being discharged by another Roman bishop *in partibus*.

4. Denmark.—There are no canonical bishops in Denmark. The Lutheran superintendents, who bear the titles of the Danish sees, derive their orders from the presbyter Bügenhagen: who acted in Denmark

the part which Calvin, Knox, and Luther did in Switzerland, Scotland, and Germany in the sixteenth century; and which Wesley pursued in later times in England.

5. Sweden.—Whether there is a valid episcopate in Sweden or not, is very doubtful. Some among the Swedish writers seem firmly to believe that it exists, and have sought to establish the claim, as having derived their orders from Laurence Peters, archbishop of Upsala, from 1531 to 1573. Others among the Swedes treat the whole idea with ridicule. If the succession has been preserved at all, which is perhaps doubtful, there seems too much reason to fear that it has the irregularity of having been, in many instances, only by a single thread, and that without any necessity to justify such a course. For I have certain information, that on the consecration of their bishops, it is a matter of indifference whether the archbishop is assisted by bishops or by presbyters. Another point worthy of notice in the Swedish consecrations is, that the archbishop speaks of the “commission” by which he acts, as “given to him *by* the congregation:” thus conceding, apparently, the very principle contended for by the Brownists, Independents, or Congregationalists, among ourselves¹.

¹ In thus stating to the world the result of my own inquiries on this point up till now, let me assure any Swedish writer, that if he can show that I am in error, and that their succession and

6. *Russia*.—The episcopate in Russia is legitimate and canonical; and being understood to be very friendly towards the British Church, is more likely to welcome with satisfaction the presence of a British bishop to superintend the members of our communion, with whom they have no wish to interfere, than to regard it with the remotest feelings of jealousy.

The following Table contains a list of the Episcopal sees formerly existing in the following countries :—

Belgium.

(Including what now forms part of Northern France and Holland.)

Archbishopric of *TREVES* : having for its suffragans the Bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun.

Archbishopric of *RHEIMS* : with Amiens, Beauvais, Boulogne, Chalons, Laon, Noyon, Senlis, and Soissons.

Archbishopric of *CAMBRAY* : with Arras, St. Omer, Namur, and Tournay.

Archbishopric of *MALINES* : with Bruges, Gand, Ipres, Ruremonde, and Bois-le-duc.

Archbishopric of *UTRECHT* : with Deventer, Haarlem, *Groningen*, *Louwarden*, and *Middlebourg*.

consecrations rest on surer grounds than have been here stated, none will receive the information more thankfully than myself.

Germany.

Archbishopric of MAYENCE: with Strasbourg, Coustance, Spiers, Worms, Augsburg, Munich, Chur or Croire, Friburg, Limburg, Aichstadt, *Halberstadt*, Wirtzbourg, Fulda, Hildesheim, Paderborn, Ferden, *Erfurt*, and Bamburg.

Archbishopric of COLOGNE: with Liege, *Minden*, Munster, and *Osnabruck*.

Archbishopric of SALTSBURG: with Brixen, Chiems, Frisingen, Goritz, Lavenmonde, Passau, Ratisbon, Seckau, Laybach, Neustadt, and Vienna.

Archbishopric of PRAGUE: with Litomissel, and Olmutz.

Archbishopric of MAGDEBURG: with *Brandenburgh*, *Havelburg*, *Merseburg*, *Meissen*, and *Naumburg*.

Archbishopric of BREMEN or HAMBURGH: with *Lübec*, *Ratzenburg*, *Schwerin*, *Aldenburg*, *Soleswick*, and *Cammin*.

Archbishopric of RIGA: with Dorpat, Revel, Oisel, Culm, Marienburg, Pozen, Ellingen, and Konisberg.

Archbishopric of BESANÇON: with Basle, Bellay, *Geneva*, *Lausanne*, *Ododurus* (Brigg?) and Sion.

Sweden.

Archbishopric of UPSALA: with Calmar, Carlstadt, Gothland, Götheborg, Hernosand, Lund, Linköping,

Skara, Strengnöes, Westeras, Wexio: Orebro and Bergo. The two last being now under the Dominion of Russia.

Norway.

Bishoprics of Christiana, Christiansand, Bergen, Drontheim, and Nordland.

Denmark.

Bishoprics of Seeland, Laaland, Aalborg, Aarhus, Als, Funen, Ribe, and Viborg: with Rejkjavich in Iceland

APPENDIX I.

CONCERNING LÜBEC.

It may, perhaps, be interesting to some of my readers that I should say something more in detail of the attractions which Lübec possesses: and it will afford me great satisfaction, if by so doing, I may be the means of making the members of our Church and nation better acquainted with a people, so deserving of their regard as the Lübecians appear to be: whose gracious motto, "Concordia domi, pax foris:" "Agreement at home, and peace abroad," seems truly to express their character and position. Lübec is remarkable for, and may rival the world in the following items: brick churches, monumental sarcophagi, monumental brasses, wooden carving, civic architecture, and beauty of situation and appearance. Let those in whose minds the idea of a brick church only recalls associations of meanness and unsightliness, go to Lübec, and see the beauty of her churches wholly composed of that material, windows, and columns, and arches, and all: excepting only the capitals of the columns. To my mind the interior of St. Mary's, at Lübec, is the most impressive I ever entered; chiefly I believe from its exceeding height, and the graceful proportion of its clustered columns of *brick-work*. Let our monumental sculptors repair to Lübec, to study the beautiful, costly, and varied sarcophagi of its merchant princes.

Let the lovers of ecclesiastical brasses resort to Lübec, where they will find them elaborately worked, and of sizes, eight, ten, twelve feet in length, all of one piece, such as probably they have never seen before. In wooden carving Lübec is wonderfully rich, not merely in ornamental paneling, and ends of seats, &c. but in scenic representations of passages of Sacred History, a collection of which of very ancient date, and of extreme curiosity, (not devoid of the ludicrous,) will be found in the upper division of the chancel of St. Catharine's. Concerning civic architecture there is one (with very few exceptions) uniform frontage to all the houses in Lübec, of the indented pyramidal form (with which the eye is attracted by a few instances at Cologne and Paderborn) of all sizes and degrees of ornament and costliness. By the way, I may mention that the colossal bronze figures of two magnificent lions in front of one of the merchant's houses, are almost, in themselves, worth a voyage to Lübec. As to the beauty of the city with its great and graceful "five spires," (by which name it passes,) and innumerable smaller ones, standing in bold relief against its clear sky, and ever varying in cluster as one passes through its rich and well-wooded water-meadows in the steamer to Travemünde, no words can express the charm. Oxford and Dresden are both beautiful in the same way: but in extreme gracefulness, I think, they must both yield the palm to Lübec. The scene I am speaking of is the terrestrial paradise of the Russians, whose writers seem wholly at a loss for words adequately to convey to others their own pleasing impressions. While I am thus inviting the attention of our tourists to a spot, which, though possessing so many attractions, is almost unknown to our countrymen: let me suggest to them, instead of pursuing over and over again the accustomed route, to direct their steps to the towns of Iserlohn, of Soeste, of Erfurt, of Paderborn, of Magdeburg,

of Halberstadt, of Quedlinburgh, and Hildesheim. All these towns will well repay a rest of a few days to study their numerous churches and varied architecture. Nor will the tour be without other interest, more important than that of architecture. If those of our countrymen, who think it right to idolize Lutheranism, for no other reason but because it is nominally opposed to popery, will go to the Lutheran churches in these towns, and observe how, together with the revolting scepticism and rationalism in which they glory, they have entwined some of the most offensive features of papal irreverent superstition, they will perhaps return from their travels disappointed, but wiser men; and may be led to consider whether Lutheranism has not just reason to complain, when the "mystery of iniquity" is applied exclusively to Rome. I refer to the revolting extent to which the use and abuse of images is carried in the Lutheran churches.

APPENDIX II.

ON JESUITISM.

THE following incident is that to which I allude in the text [p. 14]. I was conversing at Gera, one of the southernmost towns I touched in my route, upon religious topics. The views and positions which I expressed and maintained arrested the attention of my companion so much, that he earnestly expressed a desire to know who and what I was. "A Catholic priest," I answered, "of the English Church." "Impossible," was his reply. "Nay, friend," I said, "I am indeed." "Impossible," he said again. "Well," said I, "all I can say is, I hope that I am, and should be very sorry to think otherwise. May I ask what makes you so

confidently assert that I am not?" "Because, if you were," he answered, "you would never look me in the face as you do." "Oh, I suppose," I said, assuming the Jesuit eye and glance, "I should look so." "Exactly," he replied, "they (the Roman clergy) have such bad consciences, they can never look you in the face." My companion's intercourse (I apprehend) had been with those of the Roman clergy who have been more or less under Jesuit teaching or influence; while mine (among the Germans) had been with those who were (with perhaps two slight exceptions) free from that poison. If the information I have gleaned respecting Southern Germany and Belgium is correct, the Jesuit influence is in the ascendant in both those countries: especially in Bavaria. The most highly-gifted of the Papal champions in Germany were represented to me to be two Jesuit professors of theology at Munich, whom I much regretted that I was unable, for want of time, to seek out.

At Munich, if I mistake not, the Jesuit Möhler first took the course which one of the most conspicuous of the new Papal converts in Britain (Mr. Newman) has since adopted: viz. that of unfurling, in the midst of the Roman camp, the banner of Rationalism, under the term of Development; under which banner, at this very moment, Ronge and Kerbler are spreading among their countrymen, who, together with Papal corruptions, had retained inviolate the essential truths of our religion, those tares of scepticism and infidelity, which have already, among the Lutherans, choked the good wheat of Christian faith which the piety of our British forefathers first planted in that country. The disgust and horror which the unjesuitized members of the Church of Rome abroad expressed at such a course, was as great as that which has been felt by every sincere and consistent communicant in the British Churches.

Truth requires it to be left on record, (and as it is not probable that I shall find any more fitting opportunity for doing so than this, I should be wrong not to avail myself of it,) that as far back as 1844, so monstrous and heretical, even in matters affecting the very fundamentals of all religion, and in respect of which there is no dispute between the Churches of Italy and Britain, did the teaching of Mr. Newman appear to some members of the British communion, that an attempt was made to cause the office of the judge to be promoted against him in the ecclesiastical courts on account of the same. The attempt was overruled by high ecclesiastical authority, which seemed to consider that, at that time, the remedy would be worse than the disease. In this it should seem that they judged wisely, for proceedings against Mr. Newman in the ecclesiastical courts would have had the effect of at once disseminating more widely than necessary his mischievous teaching; and of enlisting public feeling in his behalf, among persons wanting the leisure or the information to form a correct judgment upon the matter. Under which circumstances his defalcation from the Church, in whatever direction he might have adopted, would have been attended with that of twenty for every unit who has followed him now. As it is, he has himself, of his own accord, retired from our communion, and so (we trust) has removed from our Church the guilt of allowing such doctrines as the following to be broached with impunity within her pale.

I.

From Mr. Newman's sixth volume of Parochial Sermons.

ON FASTING.

* "Our Saviour's fast was but introductory to His temptation. He went into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil, but before He was tempted He fasted. Nor, as is

worth notice, was this a mere preparation for the conflict, but it was the cause of the conflict in a measure. Instead of simply arming Him against temptation, it is plain that, in the first instance, His retirement and abstinence exposed Him to it. Fasting was the primary occasion of it. When He had fasted forty days and forty nights, He was afterward an hungred; and then the tempter came, bidding Him turn the stones into bread. Satan made use of His fast against Himself. In other words, *Our Blessed Lord fasted, NOT TO OVERCOME TEMPTATION, BUT TO INCUR IT.*"

Observation on the foregoing.—For such a construction of this passage of our Blessed Redeemer's life, I have sought in vain among ecclesiastical writers. I say not that no warrant for it can be found: possibly Mr. Newman, whose reading is far more extensive than mine, may have found, and be ready to cite authority for it. All I say is, I have myself looked for it in vain; and as I believe the construction to be without countenance from the Church, so I am sure it is unsupported by the context of the Sacred Scriptures, if not inconsistent with it. Mr. Newman says of our Lord, "before He was tempted He fasted;" and "when He had fasted forty days and nights, then the tempter came to Him," as though he had not come before. And if we had only St. Matthew's narrative, such might seem to have been the case; but St. Mark and St. Luke throw further light upon the transaction, and show that our Blessed Lord endured temptation during the whole of the forty days, though the three instances of it recorded occurred at the close of them. St. Mark says,—“He was there in the wilderness forty days, tempted of Satan;” St. Luke,—“Being forty days tempted of the devil.” But a novel construction of a passage in our Blessed Lord's life, even though at variance with the

Sacred Text, would not of itself necessarily call for expostulation, remonstrance, and testimony. It is the doctrine which Mr. Newman has founded upon this novel, and at least questionable, construction, which has been a load on my mind ever since I read it; and forced me, after much endurance, to bear witness against it. Mr. Newman proceeds—(The Italics and Capitals are my own):

“ And this is singularly the case with Christians now, who endeavour to imitate Him; and it is well they should know it, for else they will be discouraged when they practise abstinences. It is commonly said, that fasting is intended to make us better Christians—to sober us, and to bring us more entirely at Christ’s feet in faith and humility. This is true, viewing matters on the whole. On the whole, and at last, this effect will be produced, but it is not at all certain that it will follow at once. On the contrary, such mortifications have at the time very various effects on different persons, and are to be observed not from their visible benefits, but from faith in the word of God. Some men, indeed, are subdued by fasting, and brought at once nearer to God; but others find it, however slight, scarcely more than an occasion of temptation. For instance, it is sometimes even made an objection to fasting, as if it were a reason for not practising it, that *it makes a man irritable and ill-tempered. I confess it often may do this.* Again, *what very often follows from it is, a feebleness which deprives him of his command over his bodily acts, feelings, and expressions.* Thus it makes him seem, for instance, to be out of temper when he is not: I mean, *because his tongue, his lips—nay, his brain—are not in his power.* He does not use the words he wishes to use, nor the accent and tone. He seems sharp when he is not; and the consciousness of this, and the reaction of that consciousness upon his mind, is a temptation, and makes him irritable, particularly if people misunder-

stand him, and think him what he is not. Again, weakness of body may deprive him of self-command in other ways: perhaps *he cannot help smiling or laughing, when he ought to be serious*, which is evidently a most distressing and humbling trial,—or *when thoughts present themselves, his mind cannot throw them off, any more than if it were some dead thing*, and not spirit; but *they then make an impression on him which he is not able to resist*: or again; *weakness of body often hinders him from fixing his mind on his prayers*, instead of making him pray more fervently: or again,—weakness of body is often attended with languor and listlessness, and strongly tempts a man to sloth. Yet, *I have not mentioned the most distressing of the effects* which may follow from even the moderate exercise of this great Christian duty. It is undeniably a means of temptation; and I say so lest persons should be surprised, and despond when they find it so. And the merciful Lord knows that so it is from experience; and that He has experienced, and thus knows it, as Scripture records, is to us a thought full of comfort. I do not mean to say, God forbid, that aught of sinful infirmity sullied His immaculate soul; but it is plain, from the Sacred History, that in His case, as in ours, fasting opened the way to temptation. And perhaps this is the truest view of such exercises, that in some wonderful unknown way, they open the next world for good and evil upon us, and are an introduction to somewhat of an extraordinary conflict with the powers of evil. Stories are afloat (whether themselves true or not matters not, they show what the voice of mankind thinks *likely* to be true) of hermits in deserts assaulted by Satan in strange ways, yet resisting the evil one, and chasing him away, after our Lord's pattern and in His strength; and I suppose, if we knew the secret history of men's minds in any age, we should find *this*—(at least I think I am not theorizing)—

viz., a remarkable union in the case of those who, by God's grace, have made advances in holy things (whatever be the case where men have not): a union on the one hand of temptation offered to the mind, and on the other of the mind's not being affected by them, or consenting to them, even in momentary acts of the will, but simply hating them and receiving no harm from them. At least, I can conceive this; and so far persons are evidently brought into fellowship and conformity with Christ's temptation, who was tempted yet without sin."

Observation.—The Reader who is but moderately acquainted with Ecclesiastical History, will not fail to remember, that such a distinction as pervades this whole sermon, and is here prominently brought forward, namely, between "those who have made," as Mr. Newman says, "advances in holy things" and those who "have not:" and the assigning to the former degrees of mortification, which need not be required of the latter, formed a marked feature in the heresies of Manes (the Manichean) one of the Persian Magi, and of his (apparent) disciple Hierax; in the third century¹.

"Let it not then distress Christians, even if they find themselves exposed to thoughts from which they turn with abhorrence and terror. Rather let such a trial bring before their thoughts, with something of vividness and distinctness, the condescension of the Son of God. For if it be a trial to us creatures and sinners to have thoughts alien from our hearts presented to us, what must have been the suffering to the Eternal Word, God of God, and Light of Light, Holy and True, to have been so subjected to Satan, that he could inflict every misery on Him short of sinning! Certainly it is a trial to us to have motives and feelings imputed to us before men, by the accuser of the brethren,

¹ See Mosheim's Eccles. Hist. i. 302. 304.

which we never entertained; *it is a trial to have ideas secretly suggested within, from which we shrink*; it is a trial for Satan to be allowed so to mix his own thoughts with ours, that we feel guilty when we are not; nay, to be able to set on fire our irrational nature, till in some sense we really sin against our will. But has not One gone before us more awful in His trial, more glorious in his victory? He was tempted in all points 'like as we are, yet without sin.' Surely here, too, Christ's temptation speaks comfort and encouragement to us."

Observation.—Can any Christian who has not surrendered his brain and heart both to the power of the tempter (as Mr. Newman has here encouraged the undergraduates of Oxford to do, and all the silly men and women who looked up to him as inspired), read and weigh the (apparently) unavoidable purport of this fearful sentence without shuddering?

"This then is, perhaps, *a truer view of the consequences of fasting*, than is commonly taken. Of course, it is always, under God's grace, a spiritual benefit to our hearts eventually, and improves them,—through Him who worketh all in all; and it oftentimes is a sensible benefit to us at the time. Still *it is often otherwise*; then it but exercises the excitability and susceptibility of our hearts; *in all cases it is therefore viewed chiefly as an approach to God*—an approach to the powers of Heaven—YES, AND TO THE POWERS OF HELL." pp. 6—10.

Observation.—I will content myself with asking, "Do the Shasters or Vedams of the Brahmins contain any thing more utterly unchristian than this which has been uttered in the British, and is now maintained in the Italian, section of the Catholic Church; and is, as yet, unproved by any authority in either? *

The above, from page 61 to 66, preceded and terminated by * *, forms part of the original appendix to the sermons on fasting, which I published with a view to counteract the heretical tendency of Mr. Newman's teaching on that subject. I was persuaded by friends to reduce the appendix to its present state. Previously to that I had prepared a *preface* to that appendix, which I now subjoin:—

“If any friend of Mr. Newman's shall say or think that his words do not necessarily, or to their minds, convey the impression which they have done to mine, and that they admit (in their opinion) of a safe exposition, let me beg them to consider that this forms no reason for my withholding these remarks. The question which the ministers of religion, who are set to seek and guard ‘the souls which Christ has bought,’ have to consider concerning any teaching thrown down into the midst of the Church, is not in what sense the writer himself may have conceived it, nor in what sense his immediate friends would of themselves receive it, or would perhaps by personal explanation with the writer be persuaded to receive it; but in what sense it is reasonable to expect the indifferent readers or hearers to receive it. If there be but reason to suppose that ten persons, or even one, out of one hundred would receive it in a sense injurious to themselves, every one who knows that every single soul has been bought with the blood of the Son of God, would admit that there is both room and need for explanation; if fifty out of one thousand would do so, that the need of explanation is great indeed; but if ninety-five out of one hundred, they would admit it to be of vital and most urgent importance; and such I believe to be the proportion in the present instance. I heard the sermon spoken of as frightful and dangerous by those who had read it before myself. I thought it frightful and dangerous when I read it myself, but was willing for a time to believe

that the fault might be mine own; but when convinced in my own mind that such was not the case, and having written what is here presented to the reader, I showed it to one whose calmness and soundness in judgment is unequalled within the range of my acquaintance, he expressed his satisfaction at knowing that I was about to expose it, as he had deemed it a sermon very loudly calling for remonstrance. When lately at Oxford I showed what I had written to one of the most intelligent laymen there, whose acquaintances and connexions all inclined to Mr. Newman's side, he expressed himself thus: 'Sir, I thank you very much: *I heard the sermon*; it has been *a weight on my mind ever since* (or words to that effect), which you have now entirely relieved.' And when, only yesterday, I mentioned the subject to one at the head of one of the most important institutions in the country, he said, 'the mischief that sermon has occasioned, and the difficulty it has given me among the young people under my care, is very great;' or words to that effect. I think after this, not the veriest worshipper of Mr. Newman,—and I do not hesitate to say that he is the object of idolatrous worship at this hour with many,—can say that I have written without cause that which I have written. All must admit that there was at least reasonable ground for calling for *explanation*; and this is all I ask. If Mr. Newman's statement of his theory of fasting admits of a safe explanation, what but an act of charity have I done, both to him and to others, in affording him an occasion and excuse for such explanation?

"But why," some of his friends will say, "why not suggest the necessity of this to him in private, instead of dragging him before the public? Is this last the office of a friend?" My answer is contained in the following correspondence, which passed between Mr. Newman and myself before I had put pen to paper on the subject.

“From Mr. Perceval to Mr. Newman.

“East Horsley, Feb. 8, 1844.

“My dear Newman,

“I am about to comment upon certain theological positions and certain ecclesiastical conduct of yours, which seem to me (at least under present aspects) to be highly injurious to truth and to the well-being of the Church: thus affording you an opportunity,—and that from a quarter whose affection and fidelity you have (I think) no reasonable cause to doubt,—an opportunity of removing the (apparent) offence (*scandalum*) either by explanation or acknowledgment.

“I write to apprise you of this as an act of Christian brotherhood, and as a pledge of unshaken affection; to afford you also an opportunity of saying (if you see any reason) why I should not pursue my intention; and especially with the hope, that you will authorize me to contradict utterly the ground usually, nay, as far as I know, the only ground, alleged for your resignation of St. Mary’s and Littlemore, namely, that the undergraduates were prohibited from attending your sermons.

“The points I propose commenting on are these:—

“(1.) What you have said about fasting in the first sermon of vol. vi.

“(2.) What you have said concerning ‘development’ in the last sermon in the volume of those ‘before the University: particularly, p. 324.’

“(3.) What you have said of B. Virgin in p. 43 of your last volume of sermons.

“(4.) Your note at p. 384 of the same volume; and

“(5.) Your resignation of your benefice.

“I am, with truth and fidelity,

“Yours,

“ARTHUR PERCEVAL.”

“*From Mr. Newman to Mr. Perceval.*

“*Littlemore, Feb. 9, 1844.*

“My dear Perceval,

“I have nothing to say in answer to your letter, except to thank you for its straightforward character, which belongs to all you do.

“I am,

“Yours, &c.,

“J. H. NEWMAN.”

II.

From Mr. Newman's Sermons before the University of Oxford.

“The abuse or partial absence, or incompleteness of dogmatic statements, is no proof of the absence of impressions or implicit judgments, in the mind of the Church. Even centuries might pass without the formal expression of a truth, which had all along been the secret life of millions of faithful souls. Thus, *not till the thirteenth century was there any direct and distinct avowal, on the part of the Church, of the numerical UNITY OF THE DIVINE NATURE which the language of some of the principal Greek Fathers, primâ facie, though not really, denies.*” p. 324.

Observation.—As none of Mr. Newman's worshippers, whose blind adulation helped to turn a brain, voluntarily and deliberately weakened and exposed to the temptation of Satan by excessive fasting, could put a good construction on this sentence, nor say to what it referred; and as he himself, when appealed to for the purpose, peremptorily refused all explanation; and as *de non apparentibus et de non existentibus eadem est ratio*, neither he nor his flatterers (for they do

not deserve the name of friends) can blame me, if I suppose that no sound explanation of the passage can be given ; and therefore take it as it stands, in its obvious and natural acceptance. On the strength of which I am content to ask, whether Arius, or Macedonius, or Sabellius, or Eutyches, or even Simon Magus himself, ever broached, under cover of Christian baptism, a sentence more utterly subversive of the foundation of Christianity, and of religion altogether ?

III.

From Mr. Newman's Sermons on the Subjects of the Day.

“ In the gifts promised to the Apostles after the resurrection, we may learn the present influence and power of the Mother of God.” p. 43.

The worshippers of the Virgin Mary in the fourth and fifth centuries were known by the name of the “ Collyridian heretics,” from the word collyridium, which designated a species of cake which they offered to the “ Queen of Heaven ;” and for which the Church of Rome has substituted incense. St. Epiphanius, who flourished about A. D. 368, wrote strongly in condemnation of this heresy, and his writings on the subject will be found, to this day, among his works. They who are curious in such matters, will do well to refer to them ; and when they have read them, may well ask themselves this question, is there any single passage broached by the old Collyridian, or by the modern Roman, Mariolatrists, which equals, in its (apparently-unavoidable) blasphemy, this awful sentence of Mr. Newman's ? Surely, when compared with this, even the blasphemous paraphrase by Cardinal Bonaventure of that passage in the Psalms, to which Our Lord Himself appealed in proof of His own divinity : “ The Lord said unto my LORD,” which Bonaventure (thereupon canonized

by Rome) has rendered, "The Lord said unto my *LADY*:" and even the still more revolting blasphemy of the present Roman pontiff, Gregory XVI., in his Encyclical letter of 1832, "That all may have a successful and happy issue, let us raise our eyes to the Blessed Virgin Mary, who *alone* destroys heresies; *who is our greatest hope, yea, THE ENTIRE GROUND OF OUR HOPE,*" sink into insignificance.

And was it meet, surely every Catholic Christian may ask, that in behalf of one by whom such sentences as these had been uttered, and not retracted, open sacrilege should be committed in the face of the whole Church by the leaders of the Italian schism in Britain, by repeating over him that *ONE* baptism, to the unity of which the Catholic Church—by her Sacred Scriptures (Ephes. iv. 5), by her Profession of Faith, "I acknowledge *one* baptism for the remission of sins;" and by the decision of her councils (as at Arles, which has been received, in principle and by profession at least, notwithstanding the instances of inconsistency of individual conduct which may be alleged in any quarter,) received by the whole Church;—has borne testimony almost as plain, as by all these she has ever done to the doctrine of the numerical Unity of the Divine nature, which the rationalizing advocate of development has dared to attempt to reduce to the doubt, suspicion, and uncertainty which surround the peculiarities of the Roman faith?

If I forbear to pursue the inquiry, by dwelling upon the next obvious question, viz.—where was the Oxford board of heresy, which has rendered itself so unhappily memorable by its proceedings against Dr. Pusey, that it could suffer, year after year, such doctrines as these to be propounded from the University pulpit, for the edification of the undergraduates, without remonstrance, it is because I myself received my education at that University; and that on that board of heresy sat one (the Provost of Oriel)

under whose tuition I was placed; and the proceedings before it were promoted by another, (the Margaret Professor of Divinity,) to whom especially I am indebted, for having in his Bampton Lectures first directed me to that line of reading, by which, according to my feeble powers, I have ever since endeavoured to defend both the religion and the Church of Christ. These reasons will, in the judgment of all reasonable men, explain sufficiently why, in addition to the pain of having to expose the errors of one whom I have loved, and continue to love as a brother, and in whose company I yet hope, when the trance is passed, again to contend for that pure Catholic faith, which thirteen years ago formed our only letter of introduction, and only bond of union, I have shrunk from dwelling upon derelictions of duty in those to whom I owe somewhat of filial reverence.

And here I would quit so painful a subject altogether: only, since in 1843, when it seemed to me that Dr. Pusey was cruelly and unrighteously borne down, I was forward to express my sympathy by dedicating some sermons to him, with a preface, in which I did not care, at that time, to say how far I considered his sermon on the Eucharist to be deserving of reproof: it will, in respect to him also, be due to truth and to myself, to give publication to the following paper, written and shown to Dr. Pusey in 1844, but from publishing which at that time I was dissuaded by those to whose advice I considered deference to be due.

“Whereas I last year made some observations upon the censure pronounced by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford upon Dr. Pusey, which observations, upon the suggestion of one of his assessors (my former tutor, the Provost of Oriel), that they reflected more severely than was meet upon the Vice-Chancellor’s personal estimation, I at once withdrew, though unable myself to see the reasonableness of the objection; and whereas my remarks upon the subject were

written under a misapprehension of what I have since, upon reasonable authority, ascertained to have been the ground of the censure upon Dr. Pusey ; I desire to take this opportunity of stating publicly that which I communicated at the time privately to Dr. Pusey himself ; namely, that although he had used no language in his sermon for which I could not find warrant among the most approved Fathers of the Church ; and I staked my character openly last year upon this assertion, as I do still ; yet that he had so used that language as to render him justly liable to reproof, which, if it had been openly administered, would (I think) have been an act of charity to him, to the University, and to the Church. For in page 21 of his sermon he uses language concerning the oblation in the Holy Eucharist, which taken by itself conveys no other idea to the common reader or hearer, than that figment of Popery propounded and defended by Harding the Jesuit in his controversy with Bishop Jewel, and by other Papal writers, namely, that of the *continuation* of our Lord's sacrifice ; the very doctrine which under the term 'blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit' our Church (I believe) intended to condemn in the 31st Article. And though it be very true, that S. Chrysostom uses upon this point the very self-same language that Dr. Pusey has done, yet S. Chrysostom gives elsewhere that explanation which Dr. Pusey omitted from his sermon (but appended in a note to page 23), which sufficiently shields his language from any injurious effect : 'We do not make a different, but always the same sacrifice ; *or rather, we make a memorial of that sacrifice.*' And though it be very true, that that explanation occurs in the Homily XVII. on Heb. ix., and the language cited by Dr. Pusey in the Homily XXIV. on 1 Cor. (and therefore it might be argued, that as S. Chrysostom did not use this guard in the same Homily, so neither ought Dr. Pusey to have been

censured for not doing so), yet this (according to my judgment) ought to have been borne in mind by Dr. Pusey, namely, that S. Chrysostom was not surrounded, as the Catholic writers of this day are, by two sets of erroneous teachers on this very point; to wit, the Papists on the one hand, who twist every passage of the Fathers and of all who write after them (which will by possibility admit of it) in support of their errors; and on the other hand by Zuinglians and Lutherans, who deny (apparently) all idea of a sacrifice, even commemorative and eucharistic, in the sacred service, and are ever on the watch to hold up as Popery every enunciation of Catholic doctrine which is not most cautiously guarded; consequently, that no writer of the present day ought to hold himself at liberty to use even the very words of the most approved of the Christian Fathers,—nay, I will go further and say, not the words of Holy Scripture itself upon the point,—without endeavouring so to use them as may reasonably prevent such mischievous perversion of them on either side.”—(Dated) *All Souls' College, Oxford*, Second Friday in Lent, 1844.

As upon the expiration of his sentence of suspension, Dr. Pusey has not only preached in the University and diocese of Oxford, but has likewise published to the whole Church, a sermon far more unsound and dangerous, according to my judgment, than that which was made the occasion of the previous strange proceedings against him; and as that sermon has as yet received no mark of disapprobation from the authorities, neither of the University, nor of the diocese, I am unwilling to forego the opportunity here afforded me of offering a few observations on it, with a view to protect from its injurious influence those young, inexperienced, and feeble persons, (of both sexes,) who may be more than commonly disposed to receive, for good or evil, whatever proceeds from the mouth or pen of Dr. Pusey; whose meek and affection-

ate character must ever procure him ready access to the good opinion and regard of those of the like dispositions. In doing this, I would suggest as a clue to the whole course pursued by Dr. Pusey and others upon the subjects of post-baptismal sin and its remission, that, from some cause or other, their reading upon these subjects has been (chiefly) directed to, and their opinions (almost without mitigation) formed from, that severe African school of theology which never lost the taint of Montanism with which Tertullian, whom the holy Cyprian himself venerated as his master, had so deeply imbued it. This school, as every person moderately versed in ecclesiastical history will have observed, ever had a peculiar character of its own *distinct from that of the Catholic Church*, with which on many points it was brought into striking contrast. This character it never lost, until (which those who regard with reverence the workings of Divine Providence with things below, especially with the Church, will think *no insignificant circumstance*;) the portion of *the Church in which it had obtained ceased to exist*. The distinctness of character of which I have here spoken was evinced in one instance by the controversy concerning the re-baptism of those who had received the "Water with the Word" (or Name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost,) among heretics or schismatics; in another, by the separate canon of Scripture (including most of the books called Apocryphal, and nearly resembling that which the modern Church of Rome has adopted since 1546,) which this Church adopted: in another, by the fact that while the canons of the provincial councils of Ancyra, Antioch, Gangra, Laodicea, and Neocesarea, were adopted into the Catholic code, (thus giving the stamp of the Catholic Church to the canon of Scripture set forth by the Laodicean Council; the same which England has ever received, and which was alone received by

Rome until 1546;) and were confirmed by the authority of the fourth General Council; the canons of the councils of Carthage were never so adopted. Other instances of the like sort might be alleged; but these perhaps will be deemed sufficient to illustrate and establish the truth of my position, that the school or Church of Africa or Carthage had a character of its own distinct from that of the Catholic Church, though the distinction did not involve separation or excommunication on either side. In the writings of this school or Church, and (I believe I speak correctly when I say) of this only, will authority or precedent be found for that view of post-baptismal sin, which from time to time has ever had occasional favourers, but which we have seen lately put forth in force by several writers with more or less distinction; *e. g.* Messrs. Froude, Pusey, Newman, and Charles Wordsworth; which represents it as something of which the pardon is doubtful; difficult; to be *earned* rather than received as a free gift; not to confer full peace on this side of the grave; nor to efface traces of sin, scars, which even the pardoned are to carry in the courts of heaven through all eternity! Consequently, that the gracious invitations to return, and promises on return, with which both the Old and New Testaments abound, are to be understood as applicable to those who sin after baptism, only with great limitation and reserve; and that it is merely fond and presumptuous delusion for persons in that condition to apply them confidently to themselves. What injury this accursed substitute for the Gospel may have wrought upon the souls of others, there is a day coming that will declare; but of its agonizing and awful effect upon my own, though I was forward, almost on its first appearance in 1839, to bear public testimony against it, I could speak at large were this the fitting place. Of it I will say no more, than that if there be any who from

infant baptism have preserved unsullied the robe of holiness with which they were then of free mercy invested, let them, if they please, entertain and speculate to themselves upon such a theory: but in the name of a God of mercy, and of Him Who died for poor sinful human nature upon the cross, let it be withheld from all others, lest it mar, to an extent too awful to contemplate, the work of salvation begun upon Mount Calvary, pouring in scalding vitriol, or rather intruding the actual cautery, to aggravate, and render hopeless of cure, those wounds of sin which the balm of the gracious words which fell from His lips would soothe and heal, so as to leave no trace behind. Be it, that free mercy had been so recklessly proclaimed as to amount to and encourage Antinomianism: shall we cure one extravagance by rushing into the opposite? God forbid!

But to return. For this appalling doctrine precedent can be found in the writers of the African school, and (I believe) in them only; and by some strange fatality the attention of the writers under consideration has been directed so exclusively to them, that they appear actually to have been unconscious of the very existence of the direct testimony to the contrary afforded by what may (without just exception) be called the Catholic school; which, as for instance in the writings especially of S. Chrysostom, maintained the direct contrary, affirming the freedom, certainty, and entireness of the Divine forgiveness even for post-baptismal sin; so that, to use S. Chrysostom's iterated expressions, there remains neither scar nor blemish of any kind.

It should seem that Dr. Pusey, either shaken by the remonstrances of his friends, or (as is not improbable) appalled by the effects which he may have known to be produced by his teaching, has been led to the conviction, that, in adopting the African severity unmitigated, he has

been in error; and has sought to repair the fault. But how? By frank acknowledgment of his error? by stating that upon more extensive reading, and better "comparing of things spiritual with spiritual," and of patristical with patristical, he had convinced himself that the Church after all was right, who by her sentences of invitation prior to confession, and of consolation in the Communion service, has shown how little sympathy she has with the Africans, and that her sinful children have her sanction for applying to themselves in full the fulness of those gracious words of comfort and encouragement which she has collected from the Scriptures for them; and has shown still further how much she treads in His footsteps Whose "mercy rejoiceth against judgment," in that while she pronounces *twice a-day*, the *promises of forgiveness*, free and entire, for the penitent, has reserved for *once a-year* "the *sentences of God's awful judgments against impenitent sinners*;" nor put forth these without accompanying them with such a full body of promise as is no where else to be found. Dr. Pusey, I say, instead of acknowledging that, after all, the Church's teaching in this matter is right (which he and his by their counter-teaching have impugned), has sought to mend extravagance in one direction by extravagance in another. Hence his ill-judged and obnoxious discourse upon "the Eucharist," which furnished the insufficient plea for unjust proceedings against him; and hence his still more obnoxious discourse upon "absolution," which is in this respect more painful than the former, in that it has in it the stamp of a mind seeking here and there for any thing which may be pressed in to maintain positions *against which inward suspicion, if not inward conviction, has testified*. This appears from the indecision and hesitation manifest throughout the discourse; from its inconsistencies; from the scantiness of authorities cited, though he has had three

years to collect them ; from the almost total omission of any testimonies at variance with his drift. The impression left on the mind by reading his discourse is, that it is the work of one who would fain, if he dared, maintain *absolutely*, as Rome for the last three hundred years has done, the Divine *necessity* both of auricular confession and of sacerdotal absolution ; in the pronouncing of which absolution he distinctly arrogates to the Christian priesthood the office, not simply of ministry, but of *judgment* ; Preface, p. ii. ; again, p. 26 : and he encourages as commendable and healthy, that miserably-enfeebled or morbid state of mind which makes some people think it necessary to have recourse to the private ministrations of the priesthood from day to day ; thus making themselves absolutely their slaves : a state of things as hurtful to the clergy as it is for the laity. He would *commend* that for *daily use*, which the *Church* has only *advised* for cases of *extreme* character. He seeks to palliate his fearful teaching concerning post-baptismal sin by urging means of recovery, even auricular confession and individual absolution, which, after the experience which the Church for so many hundred years has had of the evils resulting from them, is to leave the matter, in strong minds as hopeless, in feeble minds perhaps even more dangerous, than it was before. But I question whether even from the African school he can produce vouchers for this remedy ; certainly from none other collectively, neither in the early nor in the mediæval ages. For the *necessity* of *auricular* confession and *individual* sacerdotal absolution was no where more freely impugned than in the Church of Rome ; and has only finally obtained in her since Trent. If the learned reader who is interested in the subject will refer to the canon law, Decreti ii. P. causa 33, quæst. 3, he will find his mind relieved by the cloud of witnesses whom Gratian has there collected. For the unlearned reader, I know nothing better

to commend than Bishop Hacket's sermon on the effects of baptism, in Mr. Brogden's valuable collection; and those sweet poems of George Herbert, beginning, "Sweetest Saviour," and "Oh! spiteful, bitter thought!"

One might have thought, as well as hoped, that from his three years' retirement, however unjust the sentence, and unjustifiable the proceedings which occasioned it, Dr. Pusey would have returned to his duties a wiser and a happier man. But at the end of the term he re-appears, to "strengthen the hands of the wicked" (for so even those who heretofore have been faithful servants of God must be accounted, while fallen into and continuing in sin) "that he should not return from his evil way," by overlooking heresy, and palliating, nay, justifying schism in one in whose behalf his blind affection and devotion has made him overlook the caution, "in the Lord," wherewith, according to the Apostle, even the affections of husband and wife are to be hallowed and restrained; and "making sad the heart of the righteous" (for so even those who heretofore have sinned are accounted by God in Christ when they have returned and made their peace with Him in penitence) "whom God has not made sad." Such at least is the view of the matter which, under correction, I submit to the consideration of the Church, not needing (I hope) to assure all, that if any can show this view to be erroneous, and that in stating it I have been guilty of injustice, I shall have far greater pleasure in correcting my error, than in committing to paper and publishing such a view of the conduct and position of men, in whose company heretofore I should have deemed it a privilege to die: which thought, I will not doubt, there will again be reason for entertaining; for I would fain regard their present temporary lapse to be no more than might naturally be expected from human nature exposed to the superhuman temptations with which they

have been surrounded, as well from the blind following and idolatrous creature-worship of their admirers, as from the bitter and anti-Christian spirit displayed by their opponents, in the utter absence of all wholesome exercise of legitimate authority, on the part both of the University and of the Diocese in which their lot has been cast.

APPENDIX III.

Conversations with British Roman Catholics at Home and Abroad.

THE only actual Jesuits (such at least I concluded them to be) whom I encountered abroad in 1845, to my knowledge, were Englishmen: one a layman, the other an ecclesiastic. The layman I met at Leipsic (the day of the affray there). He was seated at a small table in the centre of one of the great saloons for table d'hôte, all the rest of the guests at which small table bore the stamp of England in their countenances. Not so this individual, who looked so like a foreigner, that I accosted him as such in French. He replied in the same language, but in a manner so repulsive, as to preclude further attempt at conversation. The rest of us spoke frankly in English, and, as was usual at that time, the all-engrossing subject was religious or ecclesiastical matters, on which we spoke without restraint, our foreign-looking friend not giving the slightest intimation, by word or sign, that he understood what we were talking about. But when, in illustration of some part of our conversation, I narrated the incident, mentioned in the "Results of an Ecclesiastical Tour," page 59, this individual's patience (which must have been sorely tried by previous portions)

could forbear no longer, and in excellent English he interrupted us, avowing himself an English Roman Catholic; and prohibiting (!) us from pursuing the subject under discussion. We did not, of course, fail to represent to him our sense of his disingenuousness. I found him utterly misinformed on the simplest truths of ecclesiastical history: contending, e. g. that at the time of the Reformation the whole Irish episcopate had been deprived, and that the Italian bishops now in that country were legitimately descended from them; whereas every child knows that there were only two who were so deprived, and that those two neither performed any consecrations subsequent to their deprivation, nor has any statement to the contrary ever been alleged. I succeeded, apparently, in, at length, convincing him of his error; and if it shall have the effect of leading him to inquire further, the disagreeableness of the encounter will not have been endured in vain.

The Jesuit priest I met at Cologne. He was a young man, dressed (so it struck me) like an English clergyman: and when he first came into the room, before I had read his countenance, I supposed he was one. But my mistake was soon corrected. Our first meeting was at breakfast, in the *salle à manger*, where, with the exception of the waiters, who understood English, we were alone. At first his vapouring was something more than ordinary, but when I got him to close quarters, he tried, again and again, to back out. "This is no place for controversy." "Excuse me," I said, "I can conceive no better. It is morning; we are at leisure; and by ourselves; and in the next room I have books to refer to." Presently, "Oh, now you are personal." "I beg your pardon," I replied, "nothing could be further from my intention; and if I have offered any offence, I can freely ask your pardon, for I meant none." Again, "Now let us change the subject." "No, if you please," I said,

“You are a priest of the Church of Rome, I wish for information concerning her doctrines and views. It is your duty to afford that information, if you can: and you dare not refuse.” I asked him to define a general council. He began, “It must be summoned by the pope.” “Then,” said I, “you will exclude, to name no others, the second general Council of Constantinople. For the pope never summoned that, his purpose had been to summon one in Italy: and that at Constantinople was summoned without his knowledge; nor did he receive its decrees until a year afterwards.” “Then,” said my companion, “it must be presided in by his legate.” “Indeed?” I replied, “what then will you make of the first general Council of Nice, where the emperor presided?” “No,” quoth he, “the pope’s legate, Hosius, presided.” “If you will look to the books,” I answered, “you will find the historians distinctly affirming that he sat with the *οἱ πολλοί*.”

I asked him to define an article of faith; and procured his assent to this definition: namely, “that it must have warrant in the Holy Scriptures, and have been attested by the Church from the beginning.” I then asked him if one of the decrees of the Council of Trent was an article of faith? He replied immediately that it was. “How can that be,” I said, “when we can produce a chain of witnesses against it from the beginning, down to the year preceding the passing of the decree?” “Oh,” replied he, “I made a mistake: I meant a point of faith, not an article. There is a great difference between a point of faith and an article of faith.” I did not ask him to define the difference.

We met again at dinner-time, at a crowded table, when I renewed the conversation: and to efface any disagreeable reminiscences of the morning’s conversation, took occasion to express my admiration of the services for the different hours which the Church of Rome has retained: saying, that, in so

doing, I thought she had done better than we, who had so reduced them, that though we might have prayers at three, six, and nine, P. M., the same service had to be repeated every time. My companion plumed himself upon this not a little, and expatiated on the beauty of the services, and the delight of attending them, &c. "You will oblige me," I said, "if you will help me to refresh my memory, by specifying the different hours at which they occur. I have read the account again and again, but always forget: I find such a difficulty in assigning the proper time respectively for prime, and lauds, and matins; and then again for nones, and vespers, and complines." When, to my utter amazement, I found my friend, who had been speaking so warmly about them, more ignorant than myself. All he could tell me, with any confidence, was that *vespers* were at *twelve o'clock at noon!* "Nay," said I, "that cannot be; for you usually have high mass at twelve o'clock: and vespers, as the name implies, *must* be some time in the evening: but whether three, or five, or six, or later, and whether complines comes before or after vespers, I quite forget." And so did my friend; or rather, I suppose, he never had known. "Dear me," said he, with a simpering laugh, "how could I make such a mistake?" When I expressed surprise that, considering their numbers and leisure, the Roman clergy in Britain had produced so few learned men—"Oh, you need not blame us for that, at any rate," said my companion, "for you took away all our libraries!" "When, and what do you mean?" I asked. "At the Reformation, to be sure!" said he. "Even if we had," I replied, "that is three hundred years ago: and one might have thought that you could have supplied yourselves afresh during that time. But what do you mean in saying that we took your libraries away from you at the Reformation?" "When you changed your religion," said he, "and turned us out." "Excuse

me," I said, "but in what did we change our religion? Have we not received and professed throughout the same Catholic Creeds which our fathers did from the beginning?" He could not deny this. "Is not the case just the reverse?" I pursued; "Is it not you who have changed your religion? Have you not received, and adopted, and turned into a term of communion the Creed of Pius IV., which the Church of England at no one period of her existence ever received; and which had no existence prior to 1564: so that your religion is not yet quite three hundred years old?" "I see I have a great deal to learn," he replied, with an affectation of a smile. "You have indeed," I said, "unless your conversation does you great injustice." In the course of conversation, he laid down some unsound dogma, as peremptorily as if it had been an axiom: "You may palm that on the Romanists, if you please," I said, "but it won't do with Catholics: it is directly contrary to such and such," naming them. "Oh! now you are personal," he again remarked, "and I must decline the conversation." "If I am," I again said, "I ask your pardon; I thought I had taken care to avoid everything which would give offence. What is it you object to?" "To the term Romanist." "Indeed," I said, "I thought I was quite safe in using that term. I knew you objected to be called Papists, notwithstanding your attachment to his holiness: but as in your Creed you profess the *Roman Faith*, I could not have supposed that you would object to that term." "Oh!" he replied, "there is a great deal of difference between Roman and Romanist." I could only thank him for the information, and promise to be guided by it. At parting, I wished him a prosperous journey, and restoration to the Catholic Church. He could do no less than wish me the same: and we did not meet again.

With respect to the Creed of Pius IV. I may mention

what struck me as a remarkable circumstance. I travelled some way from Paderborn with a country priest, returning to his parish from paying his first respects to the newly appointed bishop of that see, whom I heard highly spoken of. The priest seemed a sincere and amiable man, with his heart devoted to his sacred calling; frank and agreeable in conversation: in the course of which, upon my mentioning the Creed of Pius IV. he expressed his utter ignorance of the existence of any such document; assured me that it was not in use thereabouts to his knowledge; and that he had never been called upon to subscribe or assent to it in any way. I regret much that I did not make this the subject of further investigation.

THE following conversations with Roman Priests occurred in Ireland in 1844:

I.

ON THE SUBJECT OF IMAGE-WORSHIP.

I HAD a remarkable conversation with one of the Italian priests in Ireland. He was showing me over his chapel very courteously, and took me into the vestry or sacristy at the back of the altar, where was a beautifully-executed figure, purporting to be that of our Lord upon a cross, to which he called my attention, evidently expecting me to admire it. "This," I said, "is one of the points in which we cannot go along with you. To the cross itself we have no objection; as a memorial of Him who died upon it, as an instrument for suggesting holy thoughts and chasing away evil ones, we value it as much as you can do. But to represent upon it the image of Him who died upon it, we shrink from that." "Why," said he, "you believe in Him?"

“As firmly as you do,” I replied; “but it is because we believe in Him, and because we reverence Him, that *we* shrink from doing that which seems to us irreverent.” He was apparently struck with this mode of putting the case; and after musing for a time, he said, “But there were images in the temple.” “Yes,” I said, fixing my eyes on his, and watching his countenance, “*but was there any image of the Deity?*” His countenance changed colour, and he seemed to me to tremble or quiver from head to foot. As he remained silent, I proceeded: “I will tell you what it is that you do. Either you make an image of the Deity, which you know to be wrong, or else you set up an image of what you call Christ, representing only his human nature; and thus run into the error of the Monophysites.” Instead of seeking to offer any reply, he observed, “Are not you a Puseyite?” “I am one of those,” I answered, “who are generally so called.” After a few remarks upon some of the most prominent of those who have been so designated, he said, “I am glad they are increasing.” To which I replied, “So am I; because I hope that by the pure Catholic truths, which it is their object to teach, our differences may at length be removed, and we may worship God again in one.” “God grant we may,” was his reply; and with mutual salutations we parted.

II.

ON THE ORIGINAL INDEPENDENCE OF THE CHURCH OF IRELAND.

I HAD entered the Italian chapel in Dundalk, and, as my custom is, had knelt before the altar and offered the following prayer: “Almighty God, who rulest the hearts of all men, I beseech Thee to dispose the hearts of all who worship Thee in this place, to remove from their doctrine, disci-

pline, and worship, whatever is displeasing to Thee ; that so we may become again one people, and worship Thee together, to the glory of Thy great name, and the edification of Thy holy Church, through Jesus Christ our Lord." The priest, who perceived me earnest in prayer, but knew not for what I prayed, took me for one of his own communion ; and when I rose from my knees, concluding, from my looking at the beautiful architecture of the building, that I was a stranger, very courteously accosted me, and offered to show me the building. I thankfully accepted his services, and proceeded to inspect and admire a very beautiful stone altar in the south aisle, one of the chastest ecclesiastical ornaments I ever beheld ; totally free from the abomination of images, (for I am not afraid to enrol myself among the iconoclasts,) which I grieve to see creeping into our English churches, and loudly (I think) calling for the interference of the ordinaries to put in force the statute of 3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 10, § ii. against them. Not wishing that my companion should continue under his mistake as to my real character, I took occasion to say, "Very beautiful indeed, and totally free from every thing calculated to give offence." This of course betrayed who I was ; and as he showed evident surprise, I added, "I think it right that you should know, that though I am, I trust, a Catholic, I am not a Roman." "Oh ! a Protestant, I suppose. I cannot see how Protestant and Catholic can go together ; nor ever could." "Why," I said, "we British Catholics are at a loss to understand why we should be called upon to pay any obedience to an Italian bishop. You know it was not so from the beginning." "Oh yes, it was," he interrupted, "and always will be." "Nay," I said, "it is no use speaking in that way ; we can tell the very year when it came in." "Oh no, he had it from the beginning." "Well," I said, "there is little profit in bandying 'yes' and 'no' ; but

tell me, are you aware that in the ninth century the bishops in communion with Rome, in England, drew up a canon repudiating all communion with the Irish, for this simple reason, that they did not know where they got their orders from?" He started back, and with loud and vehement voice, declared, "There is no such canon." "Oh yes," I replied, "there is, and I can show it you, if you please." "Ah," said he, "it is one of your making. You are always palming upon us things which we repudiate." "Nay," I said, "it is in the best and most approved editions of your own canonists. And if you will not be judged out of your own books, what will you be tried by?" "Oh this" (the chapel) "is no place for controversy." "I most readily admit it," I observed, "but you will do me the justice to remember that I did not begin it."

Another instance of the same kind occurred at a conference which I sought with the head of Carlow College, the most intelligent of the Italian communion whom it was my lot to meet in Ireland. After visiting the chapel in the town, and offering up my accustomed prayer, I waited on him according to appointment. Upon his entrance into the room into which I had been shown, I asked, "Am I in the presence of the president?" Upon his affirming it I proceeded; "Then, according to our Master's bidding, I say, 'Peace be to this house, and to all that dwell in it;'" having made up my mind, if he did not return the salutation, to wipe my shoes on his carpet, and to leave the house. He was taken apparently aback at being so accosted, and remained silent. Not wishing to do any thing rashly, I caught his eye, and fixed it; and then, in a tone of rebuke, asked, "Have you no answer?" Whereupon he replied, "And I also say, 'And with thy spirit.'" "Oh, then," said I, "we are brothers, and may sit down and talk together." So we sat down; and I stated my motive in

coming, not for controversy, but for information; that I was deeply anxious for the welfare of Ireland; that that welfare could never be promoted while her children continued to quarrel with one another; that I was desirous of ascertaining some means of promoting reconciliation, and putting an end to religious differences; that it seemed to me, from all I could observe, that the only real obstacle to this was the authority claimed by the Bishop of Rome, and allowed by those of that communion in Ireland: that before I could judge whether it was reasonable to encourage a hope of removing that obstacle, I found it necessary to seek more information than I had as yet been able to gather as to the grounds on which that claim was advanced and allowed; and that this information I should be happy to learn at his mouth. "Your sense of obligation to obey the Bishop of Rome rests partly, does it not, upon your belief that Ireland was converted by missionaries from that see?" He assented. "Now," I continued, "what I am anxious to know is, whether, if it could be clearly proved that Ireland was converted by St. John or his disciples, and not from Rome, it would make any difference in your sense of obligation to obey the Roman bishop." "None in the least," he replied, "you may make yourself quite sure about that; if you reckon otherwise, you will find yourself entirely mistaken." "I am both surprised and sorry to hear it," I said; "but it only makes me the more anxious to know upon what your sense of duty to the Bishop of Rome really rests. Your position, if I rightly understand it, must imply a belief, that St. John himself owed and paid obedience to St. Peter." "To be sure he did; there can be no doubt of it," he answered. "Well," I continued, "remember I am only come for information, not for controversy. I am anxious not only to know your exact opinions, but to learn the grounds on which they rest; that I may examine and

judge for myself whether they ought to bear the weight which you attach to them. Will you be kind enough to tell me, in what part of Scripture you think you can trace intimation of such authority having been conferred upon St. Peter?" "Feed my sheep, feed my lambs," was his reply: "that was only said to St. Peter." "I have always been led to regard that threefold address to St. Peter," I observed, "as an intimation of his pardon and restoration to his office after his threefold denial, of which none of the other Apostles had been guilty. But, for argument sake, I am perfectly willing to admit that these words are capable of the force you ascribe to them. Only, if that were the true sense, it seems to me reasonable to expect, in the subsequent history of the Apostles some trace of St. Peter's having exercised the authority you suppose to have been conferred upon him on that occasion. Can you assist me in pointing out any instance of the kind?" He referred immediately to the synod at Jerusalem, where the Apostles and elders came together; and observed, "You see, when St. Peter had spoken, his testimony was deemed conclusive; which implies that he had the chief authority." "It is strange," I said, "how differently we view the same transaction, according as we have been brought up. I have always regarded that synod as conclusive against St. Peter's authority over the other Apostles. For did not St. James preside in that synod?" "Yes," he answered; "but that proves nothing." "Nay," I pursued, "he not only presided, but he summed up the evidence, and then pronounced sentence, saying, 'my sentence is;' does not this look as if he had had the chief authority?" "I do not see that it does," he replied. "Well," said I, "if you go into the House of Lords and see Queen Victoria sitting on the throne, does not that imply that she has chief authority there?" "I must admit it does," he said. "And if you

were to see her sitting somewhere else, and some one else in the throne, would it not imply that that some one else had chief authority?" "I suppose it would," he replied. "Or if," I continued, "in an assembly of bishops, our Archbishop of Canterbury had the chief seat, and your Bishop of Rome sat elsewhere, would it not imply that our Archbishop had the chief authority?" He could not deny this. "Well," I said, "I did not come here for controversy, but only for information. Can you show me any other place in Scripture which seems to you to infer the existence in St. Peter of any such authority as you suppose him and his successors at Rome to be invested with?" He admitted that he could not. "As I am not here for controversy," I said, "I will not dwell upon the passages to the contrary which the Scriptures seem to furnish, especially St. Paul's rebuking him and withstanding him to the face as one to be blamed; we will leave the Scriptures, and come to the fathers. If the authority which you attribute to the Bishops of Rome be true, it must needs have been possessed by them from the beginning, and been claimed by them, and allowed to them from the beginning." "No doubt it was," he said. "Well," I replied, "that is just the point where I want your assistance. Will you have the kindness to point out to me the places in the fathers where this claim is made and allowed, or exercised?" "St. Cyprian," he replied, "speaks of the *potentiorē principatē* of Rome." "It is not St. Cyprian," I said, "I think, but Irenæus who uses that expression; but that is of little moment. The expression itself conveys no very definite meaning: it is only when we come to the decrees of the second general council that we understand it; there we find the fathers decreeing that the see of Constantinople should rank after that of Rome, because it was become the seat of empire; which is stated still more distinctly in the

fourth general council;" [I alluded to the 28th canon of that council, where it is said, "The fathers, with reason, gave precedency to the throne of Old Rome, *because it was the imperial city*; and the 150 bishops, beloved of God, moved by the same consideration, awarded equal precedency to the most holy throne of New Rome (Constantinople); reasonably judging that a city which is honoured with the government and senate should enjoy equal rank," &c.] "can you give me any other instance?" He admitted he could not, but said, he was sure there were plenty. "Well," I said, "all I want is, to know where they are, that I may judge of them. I will not limit you to the first or second century: I will take, if you please, the first seven: and if you can show me in the whole first seven centuries an instance of what you are saying, I shall really be much obliged to you. I have hunted for such myself for many years in vain. I have invited all your clergy and laity to assist me in finding what I could not discover myself. I am told that my book has been considered of importance enough to be placed in the list of those prohibited. But though my invitation has been out ten years, not a single answer has it received, save from one person, who alleged two passages, both of which your own writers have declared to be spurious. But now, to return to Ireland. If, as you believe, the Irish Church was planted by missionaries from Rome, and supplied with bishops from Rome, the Romish clergy must have known something about them: must they not?" He admitted, somewhat unwillingly, that they must. "And therefore," I continued, "if they disclaimed all knowledge upon the subject, would it not imply that the Irish orders did not come from Rome?" He was a long while before he would admit this. At last he did. "Well, then," said I, "if I can show you that in the ninth century, the Romish clergy in England repudiated communion with

the Irish for this express reason, that they did not know where they got their orders from, you must admit it to be at least most probable that they did not come from Rome." He expressed curiosity to know where the canon was. "I cannot, out of book," I said, "give you chapter and verse; but if you will come to the library I will find it directly." He begged to be excused a few minutes, on the score of business. I, of course, assented: and he disappeared for about ten minutes. On his return, he was accompanied by, I suppose, an Acolyth. "This young man," said he, "will show you the library." "No," I said, "that won't do for me. I want to show *you* the passage, not him. If you will come with me to the library, I will go. If not, I will wish you good morning." He excused himself on the score of business: so I wished him good morning, and came away.

THE END.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

I.

THE CHURCHMAN'S MANUAL.

New (tenth) Edition, revised.

Note.—In completing this little work the Author was assisted by the Bishops of Brechin (*Gleig*); Edinburgh (*Walker*); Moray (*Jolly*); Ross and Argyle (*Low*); and North Carolina U.S. (*Ives*): Rev. *J. H. Rose*, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Routh, President of Magdalen College, Oxford; Dr. *Wordsworth*, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; Archdeacon Churton; A. Feachem, my successor at East Horsley; *R. H. Froude*, Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford; Dr. Hook, Vicar of Leeds; H. H. Norris, Rector of South Hackney; W. Palmer, Author of *Origines Liturgicæ*; James Round, Rector of St. Botolph's, Colchester: *Thomas Sykes*, Rector of Guilsborough: by Sir *James Allan Parke*, and Joshua Watson, Esq.

II.

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Note.—These Sermons were printed in 1844, and the Appendix added, with a view to counteract the heretical tendency of Mr. Newman's teaching on the same subject.

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